

Ἑεγὶ Δάκρυα,
Ecclesiae Anglicanae Suspiria.

THE
 TEARS, SIGHS, COMPLAINTS,
 AND PRAYERS
 OF THE
 CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

Setting forth
 Her former *Constitution*, compared with
 Her present *Condition*;

ALSO
 The visible *Causes*, and probable *Cures*
 of Her *Distempers*.

In IV. BOOKS.

By the Right Reverend Father in God,
 JOHN Lord Bishop of Exon.

Jer. 8. 28.
*Is there no Balm in Gilead? is there no Physician there? Why then is not
 the health of the Daughter of my people recovered?*

L O N D O N,
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Illustrissimis

ANGLICANÆ GENTIS Nobilibus,
Omniúmque Ordinum Generosis & ingenuis.

Qui

Natales Eruditione, Eruditionem Virtute,
Virtutem Fide, Fidem Moribus

Verè Christianis

(Sanctitate Suavitatéque conspicuis)

Vel exæquarunt vel exuperarunt,

Φιλοχρίστis & Φιλοκλήστis

omnibus,

Religionis Christianæ,

Tam à *Romanistarum* Fæce & Scabie

Quàm *Fanaticorum* Spumâ & Rabie

Reformatæ, Professoribus,

(Hoc est, verbo vitæque vindicibus)

Hæc

ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ,

MATRIS,

Olim Florentissimæ, nunc Afflictissimæ,

(Lugentis, Languentis, Suspirantis,

Et tantum non Expirantis)

Lacrymas, Suspiria, Planctus, Preces,

Summa cum Reverentia,

Debitaque Observantia,

Pro Charitate & Sympathia

Quâ decuit

Humillimum in Christo Servum,

D. D. D.

f. G.

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Revel. 3. 2.

Be watchful, and strengthen the things that remain, which are ready to die.

Lam. 1. 22.

My sighs are many, and my heart is faint.

Synes.

Οὐδ' ἴν' ἀπυρόντος πῖλον ἐκάρμεν.

Ferreo est, non fidelis, non Christianus, sed crudelis, quem MA-
TRIS Lacrymæ non molliunt, Suspiria non movent, Planctus
non mordent, Preces non vincunt, Vulnere non cruciant.

J. G.

Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria :

THE SIGHS
OF THE
CHURCH
OF
ENGLAND,

Humbly presented to my Honoured and
Beloved Countrymen :

*Persons of true Honour, Piety, and Prudence ;
Who have a just Gratitude, Love and Pity for HER.*



Am not so ignorant of YOU (Honoured The Preface
or Address. and worthy Gentlemen) or of my Selfe, as
to think, That you need be put in mind
by Me, (or any private Monitor) of that
Justice, Moderation, and Prudence, which
you owe to your Countrey; in reference to
those Civill Interests of Peace, Plenty, Safety, Honour, Li-
berty, Settlement, and the like: Which, I know, doe
usually fall under the first cares and counsels of men;
(Momentary concernments giving us poore Mortals quicker
summons and resentments, than those that are eternall:
These being the objects of our Faith afar off; Those of
our senses neerer hand:) For the just establishing and pru-
dent managing of which, if Gods Providence either hath,
or ever shall, give YOU any opportunity, worthy of
B YOUR

Isa. 58. 12.

Tunc severissi-
me punit Deus,
quum penalis
nutritur impu-
nitas. Aug.
Hol. 4. 17.
Isa. 1. 5.

Mit. 5. 45.

1 Tim. 2. 2.

Gen. 32. 10.

YOUR abilities and integrity, I have no more to doe or say (as to any of these *secular accounts*) save onely to crave, in all humility, of the *Supreme Wisdome*, and *Mighty Counsellour*, That he would make you *Repairers* of those *Breaches*, relievers of those burdens, and dispellers of those feares, which we owe, not so much to the impotence, or violence of other mens passions, as, each of us, to our own sins and *personall impieties*: Those importune solliciters of *Gods Judgments*; which by a strange vicissitude, and unexpected retaliation of vengeance, doe testify to our faces, against the *crying iniquities* of all estates in these *British Nations*: Which have provoked the *just Judge of Heaven and Earth*, to punish some of us, by sore adversities; others by *severe impunities*; justly letting us alone, and *smiting* us no more: Our Sins then becoming *Gods greatest grievances*, when they are lesse ours (as to Contrition, Confession and Reformation) than they should be; And possibly would be, if we felt their burdens in our afflictions. Hence they also grow at last our greatest penalties and infelicities; even then, when Prosperity betrayes us most to Impenitency; setting us farthest from Amendment and Remorse; our earthy hearts (usually) most hardning, when we enjoy the warmest beams of that Sun, which Providence makes to shine upon good and bad, the *just* and *unjust*.

As for those pecuniary and *politick pressures*, which most men fancy to be their *greatest grievances*, (having a quicker sense of what pincheth their purses, than what wounds or pierceth their consciences) I have learned after twice seven yeares experience, to be a *Christian Stoick*; Not utterly stupid, and *improvident*; but yet, not so *impertinent*, as to complain of any common charge, or burthen; which seems necessary to the present Polity, under which I may have leave to live a *godly and peaceable life*; much lesse, so discontent, as not to be thankfull to God and man, for any moderate blessings I enjoy; The least of which, I may say with *Jacob*, is beyond my greatest de-

defects. I am of opinion, That, *No price is too dear to purchase civill peace*, except onely that, which *pawits*, or sels the peace of a good conscience for it; That the *Liberty*, and security of a private Christian, under any *Government* and *Governours*, to whom God hath subjected him, is, First to pray, 1 Tim. 2.3. Next to pay, Rom. 13.6.

Vide Tert. Apol. cap. 30, 31, 32. & 39.

I am no stranger to the domestick defeats of humane policies, pretensions, *protestations*, presumptions, which have by their frustrations not onely confuted the light and vulgar confidences of some men and their parties; But they have even *non-plussed* and confounded the most pregnant hopes, and assured expectations of many, both too credulous, and too presumptuous Christians: Who, looking too much upon the (supposed) meritorious virtues of some men, and the enormous vices (as they thought) of others, have allowed lesse freedom to the wonderfull operations of God, and the intricacies of Divine Providence, than is fit to attend the Abyss of Sovereign power, and the Majesty of Infinite wisdom. In which onely, a wise man, and good Christian, (who lives by Faith, not Sense) may safely rest, and glory, even then, when he is most posed, and least understands the riddles of Gods wayes, or the depths of his unsearchable judgements; whose fathomings and unfoldings are reserved to make up the eternall admirations and beatitudes of patient and humble Christians in another world.

Rom. 11. 33, 34

Hab. 2. 4.

Jer. 9. 13.

I know we live in a *querulous Age*; where few men are so modest, as not to think, they deserve larger enjoyments and better preferments than they enjoy; Or so content, as not to think, they suffer more pressures than they have deserved. You might (no doubt) have many importune monitors, and would have infinite earnest Suppliants (if YOU were in place, and Petitions were in fashion) from every County and Corporation in ENGLAND; Where the meere vulgarity (like Swine) are prone to cry out more, for a little bite by the eare, than for all

the sordidnesse of sin, and irreligious sedities, into which they shamefully fall; and in which they securely wallow, if left to themselves, by the cruell indulgence of their betters and superiours: The out-cries and complaints of the Commonalty, in civill regards, if you should every way effectually satisfie; (which is no easie matter; It being as equally hard to please, as it is base to flatter, the Populacie) And yet should leave the concernments of their soules, as to the true Christian and Reformed profession of Religion, to that loose, licentious, and languishing posture, whereto some mens distempers and indifferencies already have, and farther seek to reduce this Nation, as to any settled doctrine, uniform profession, Catholick order; and Nationall combination, best becomming this, as all such famous and ample Churches of Christ: Certainly Your secular agitations, compliances and successes would as little commend your fidelity, and discretion, much lesse your Christian zeal and charity, as those cures would doe the skill of any Physicians, who should take care to mend the clothes, or heale the scratches of their raving and distracted Patients; without any regard to their feavers and frenzies, which are their greatest maladies, and (uncured) will be their greatest miseries.

I presume you well understand, That true Religion is the chiefeft ingredient, not onely to make up mens spirituall and eternall peace; but even their civill and temporall tranquillitie: That no men can be good Patriots, who are not good Christians; That men heal but slightly (as Physicians of no value) the hurts of the daughters of their people, if they doe not apply seasonable and soveraign medicines to those (καρκαλιαι, and καρδιαλιαι) pestilent distempers, which disaffect the heads and hearts of men in matters of Religion; whose Body is Truth, whose Soule is Love; Its Beauty is Good Order; Its Health is Peace with God and good men. The indication, crisis or judgement of its maladies are to be made, not onely by that totall defect, or absumption of Religion, which is natural-ly

ἡ τῆς βασι-
λειας κρητις,
ἡ πρὸς τὸν
Θεὸν εὐσέβεια
1f. Pel. ubi 3.
ep. 149.
Jer. 6. 14.
Job 13. 4.

ly incident to the profaner sort of men; but many times it hath dangerous symptomes and effects arising from *Pleurisies* of piety; from *Surfets* of Sanctity; from the too hot Livers, and over-boylings of Religion; even in those, that are (as Solomon calls them) *righteous overmuch*; Ecclef. 7.16. of too high and *plethorick constitutions* in Piety: For (as a wise and witty man once said) The heads, even of Gods children, are as prone to breed nits and lice, as other mens. Infinite odde opinions, like the itch, and scabs, or boils of Egypt, arise from the ranknesse and luxuriencie of some mens crude and indigested godlinesse. The best and most generous Vines, even of Gods owne planting, will Isa. 1.9. soon run out by their luxuriencie, not onely to *sowrenesse*, but even to barrennesse, as to good grapes, unlesse they be carefully pruned, and orderly bound up, by those holy severities of *Christian discipline*, order, government and communion, which are necessary to every Church, especially those that are grown to so large a size, to so numerous an extent as that of England.

Christian Counsellours and States-men (such as YOU either are, or may be) will then prosper most in their *politick counsels* and designs, when they suffer not *Policy* to overlay *Piety*; when *secular projects* are neither the sole, nor principall objects of their endeavours: But primarily, and impartially seek the *kingdome of God and his righteousness*; Mat. 6.33. Not putting that in the reare (to be brought up in the sag end of a *Civil war*, when both Church and State are sore and circumcised) which should have been in the Van, or front of all *Parliamentary counsels* and proceedings: Nor setting mens heels above their heads; Or (which is more deformed) preferring their Bodies and Estates before their Souls and Consciences.

Which *preposterous methods* doe oft make, not onely *Parlaments of State*, but even *Church-Councils*, and *Assemblies* (as *Greg: Nazianzen* complains) to become *Nehastan*, broken idols, and defiled vessels; while *Christian men* act more like cunning and pragmatick *Politicians*, than cha-

ritable and sober *Christians*; Passionately intending *humane* designs; and *Divine* onely with partialities, and factious *byassings*. In such cases, who can wonder, if their results and conclusions be as wretched and ridiculous, as their premises are unworthy of wise men, and ingenuous *Christians*? Who should never so remember they are *Men*, as to forget they are *Christians*; Related in Sacred and Religious, as well as Civill and Naturall bands; not onely to one another, as *Men*, as Brethren; but also to one *God*, their Father; one *Saviour*, their Elder Brother; one *holy Church*, both as Catholick and Nationall, their common Mother.

I cannot but observe the solicitous counsels, the sequacious compliances, the vigilant cares, the resolute endeavours of my *Countrymen*, to preserve the civill unity, and ancient polity of this Nation: Not to suffer any part of this *Commonwealth* to be dismembred; or under pretence of either *naturall Liberty*, or a *secular Independency*, to disassociate, sever and withdraw it self from that grand community, and *Nationall subordination*, which is justly esteemed, by all wise men, and therefore exacted by wise Governours, as most necessary for the safety, peace, strength and honour of the Nation.

And can it (I beseech YOU) be thought by any wise and honest men, to be lesse safe, honourable and necessary for the people of *England*, (who were all heretofore professedly *Christians* and baptized) to live in an *Ecclasiasticall* unity, in a Catholick order, in a *Nationall*, religious polity? Is there no weaknesse, deformity, or danger to be observed, feared and avoided, in all these breakings, dividings, shatterings, schismes, separatings, sidings, strifes, envies, animosities, contempts, cruelties, factions & strifes, (whence grow confusion, and every evill work, as *St. James* tells us, *Jam. 3. 16.*) with all which this Church, and so the whole Nation, is now much over-grown, as to matters of Religion, past all private help and recovery, Requiring no lesse publique care, united counsels, and

authoritative endeavours, to compose and heale these Ecclesiastique or Church-distempers, than those civill disjoyntings and disaffections doe, under which this State hath long laboured, and which are yet scarce fully healed; After so many cuttings and lancings, blisterings and blood-lettings; which I doe not think proper remedies for such religious maladies as are not yet ulcerated to immoralities.

'Tis true indeed (as *Optatus* speaks) That each particular Churches welfare is much concerned in that of the Civill State or Common-wealth where it is imbarqued: Yet it is as true, which the Emperour *Theodosius* said to *S. Cyril*, That the happinesse of these doth no lesse depend upon the purity of Religion, and peace of the Church, in which they are so bound up, as *Jacobs* soule was in *Ben-jamins*, that they live and die together.

*Non est Respu-
blica in Eccle-
sia, sed Eccle-
sia in Republi-
ca. Optat. l. 3.*

*Reipublica
Christiana con-
stitutio ea que
est in Deum
pietate præci-
puè nititur;
multaq; inter
Ecclesiam &
Rempublicam*

*cognatio intercedere solet; ex se invicem pendens, & utraq; prosperis alterius successibus incrementa sumit. Tom. I.
Concil. Bin.*

As some of your Fore-fathers and Countrymen have (in my memory) found it, so will YOU and your Posteritie, That it is no piece of Good husbandry so to look to your own sieled houses, as to neglect the Temple of God; yea, that part of the Bodie of Christ, which is (at least was) in this Nation, under the glorious name and title of The Church of England; Sometimes famous and flourishing, now grievously wounded and wasted, torn and mangled, dis-joynted and divided, having many yeers suffered the Strapado in England, as to the Christian and Reformed Religion.

*Hag. i. 4.
Eph. i. 23.*

In which behalf, as the freedome of my present publique Addresse to YOU (my Honoured and beloved Countrymen) ariseth from the highest and best motives in the world, so I hope it confines it self to that Sphere, which is most proper for Me, as a Minister of the Gospel; Not onely a Professor with You, but duly ordained to be a Preacher among You, of that Christian reformed Religion, which hath been wisely established, and mightily prospered in the Church of England.

In

In whose honour and happinesse, (which chiefly depend upon the continuation and restauration of the true Christian and Reformed Religion) since I know *You* are, as good Christians and honest Englishmen, most highly concerned, both as to your persons and your posterity; I presume, it will not be either unsuitable to *Me*, or unacceptable to *You*, That I here endeavour, with all Christian freedom and faithfulness, to present to your serious consideration, First, *The present distresses of the Church of England*: Secondly, *The causes or occasions of them*: Thirdly, *The evill and dangerous consequences of them*: Fourthly, *The probable remedies, and preventions of them*: So far as God hath enabled me to understand and expresse them.

Whose gracious assistance in the first place I most humbly implore; Next, I crave the pardon, prayers and acceptance of all wise and worthy persons. Their pardon, for my baldnesse and defects; Their prayers, for Gods gracious direction; Their acceptance of my honest endeavours; which I chiefly devote (after the Divine glory) to your service, under the most endearing notions of my Countrymen, and Fellow-Christians.

*Anhelantium
animarum su-
dores sunt pia
lachryma.*

Whose judicious affections, tender compassions, prudent counsels, and consciencious endeavours, attended with discreet zeal, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears, (which are as the sweat of industrious and devout souls in their holy labours and agonies) if I may be so far blest, as to excite in *YOU*, proportionable to the Majesty, sanctity, and concernment of this great Subject, set before you, under the name of *The distressed Church of England*, I make no doubt, but I shall (by Gods help) be an happy instrument, at once to procure some peace and rest; at least some ease and relief to *Her*, while she may (however) see her selfe pitied by so many worthy persons: which is no small comfort to any in affliction: And (possibly) I may be some means to stave off, abate or defeat the restless agitations and unreasonable expectations of *Her* most implacable enemies both at home
and

and abroad: Who (as the *Dragon* that gaped upon the *woman* in the *Revelation*) have already swallowed up Rev. 12. 3. (whilst it is yet *quick and alive*) this *Reformed*, and sometime *united* Church of England, in their malice and presumptions; between *Rome* and *Babylon*; *Superstition* and *Separation*; *Papal tyrannie*, and *Popular Anarchy*. Hoping, on all sides, to make their advantages, not onely by this Churches *sufferings*, but by the want of *sympathie* in her children: Whose *silence* and *restivenessse*, in behalf of this *Church*, and its *Reformed Religion*, must needs prove their *sin* before God, and their *shame* before all wise and good men, in this, and after-Ages; when they shall see, how infinitely this generation of *English men*, and *Christians*, come short of that duty they owed to their *God*, their *Saviour*, their *countrie*, their own *souls*, and the good of their *posteritie*; which are all included in the welfare of this *Church*; to which they are neerly related, in a double regard, *naturall* and *spirituall*, *civill* and *religious*, as they were born and *baptized* in Her.

And here, because I know infinite prejudices, sinister suspicions, and undeserved jealousies, are prone (like *Flies* in *summer*) to light upon every thing that is publique, and sold (as it were) in the *Shambles*; I crave leave to present YOU, and all men, in this *Porch*, or *Preface*, with a true Prospect of my own *Integrity*, as void of private passions and interests; a qualification necessary for those that will meddle with Religious concerns.

This my present importunity, and publique Addresse to YOU (my *worthie* and *honoured Countrymen*) is, not to give vent to any private discontent, forced by any such pressures, as (*Solomon* tells us) are capable to make a Ecc. 7. 7. *wise man mad*; nor is it to take, or seek revenge upon any, that hath offered injury or insolency against me in particular. As for *private petulancies* and indignities, I thank God, through his mercy, and my own *Integrity*, (though I am not wholly without them, yet) I am as

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much

much *above them*, as Armour of Proof is above the stings of wasps or hornets. As for my *publique station*, or *fruits*, I must ever with all gratefull humility to God, and ingenuity to men, acknowledge the great experiences I have had of Gods gracious providence, and mans generous *indulgence*, (Notwithstanding that I have freely declared my dissent in some things, wherein I thought my self in a high nature concerned). Hence I esteem it both just and comely for *Me*, to use the like candour, equanimity, and moderation to all others, who fairly differ from me in things Civil or Sacred; Against whose persons, estates, places, and preferments, I professe to you I have no private *picque*; no envy, no malice, no animosity. Nor am I much moved by the various opinions, and different perswasions of any person or party, in matters of Religion, if their opinions have any thing in them that seems so dark and dubious, as makes their dissentings *veniall*, or, if the persons be so *modestly scrupulous*, as they appear both consciencious and charitable; if they be not grossly blasphemous, manifestly erroneous, rudely immorall, palpably injurious, or impudently foolish and fana-ick; if they be not of a deep and scarlet die, as to evill speaking and evill doing.

Of which tincture I confesse some mens spirits, opinions, principles and praactices seem to be, who have, and still doe, very inordinately endeavour to divide and destroy, to condemne and contemne, to dishonour and impoverish, to dissipate and desolate this Reformed Church of *England*; which was, in all wise and sober mens judgements, too precious, too polished, and too ponderous (or *burthen some*) a stone, for any private hands to take up, and cast (as the *Angel* did that *mil-stone*, which was the embleme of *Babylons fall*) into such a sea of blood, such an *abyssse* of confusion, as some men seem to aim at: Who think, that *Christ* cannot sit on his *Throne*, nor they on his right and left hand, judging the tribes of *England*, while any learned, ordained, orderly Clergie, or any

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Zach. 12. 3.

Rev. 18. 21.

orthodox, uniform, united, Reformed, and National Church remains in *England*.

I confesse I admire that providence of *God*, and prudence of man, which keeps these mad men in any *Bedlam*; which is able to put some *chains* upon their *furie*, and restraints upon their *folly*. To whose *persons* though I am generally a stranger, yet so far a *Christian friend*, that I wish them the blessings of heaven and earth, of this moment and of eternity; such *graces*, as may prepare them for glory: That doing *justice*, shewing *mercie*, and walking *hum- bly*, they may rest with *God* at last. Although they have a long time, *breatbed out threatnings* against, and sought to make *havock* of the whole *Church of England*, and the Majesty of it; yet (as the *Father of the Prodigall*) I rather pity than despise them, in the *rags* and *busks* which they have chosen: I should be glad to be any means to bring them home to their *Fathers house*, and their Mothers bosome: I should joy to see them in their right minds, and clothed with modesty and meeknesse, with shamefastnesse and sobriety; notwithstanding some of them may feed on the Churches ancient patrimony, and clothe themselves with the *pieces* they have torn from their Mothers garments. My aim is not at any mans being sequestred, proscribed, undone, imprisoned, persecuted, starved or oppressed. I design no benefit by any Birds feathers; and therefore desire not they should be pluckt so bare, as some *Eagles* and *Doves* (excellent *Bishops* and *Presbyters* too) have been in *England*, with whose spoils some have well feathered their (heretofore) hard and uneasie nests; while those poore (but precious) men have (some of them) scarce wherewithall to cover their nakednesse, or where to hide their heads. But if such robbers and destroyers of this Church and its Clergie, be the onely true *Israelites* and people of *God*; and if We (the sons and servants of the Church of *England*) be the onely *Egyptians*, (which is a point I desire to search,) we may with the more patience beare their *spoiling us* of our jewels, our

Gen. 14. 25.

Amos 2. 6.

honours, estates and liberties; especially if they have an *extraordinaire mandate* and call from God to strip us, and destroy this whole *Reformed Church*; which some doe strongly pretend and fancie. Nor is this pretence more than needs; For I am sure, they have no ordinary call or command so to doe; either from the word of God, or the good Lawes of this or any *ancient Christian Church or Nation*. But by way of reprisall, I desire not to take from them a *shoe latchet*; Though some of them aime to make all the Bishops and true Ministers of this *Reformed Church* to goe *bare-footed* with their families, and would fain sell many an excellent Preacher, for a *paire of shoes*.

As for any *publique* and popular *advantages* to be obtained by my thus scribling; I am not so fatuous as to fancie, That the *Name* of the *Church of England* (which is alwayes inscribed on my papers, as well as on my heart) is in so much favour either in City or Countrey; what ever it may be in Court. I know, that Religious unity and national harmony in *England*, as a Church, may seem uselesse, if not dangerous in point of policy, untill there be a greater firmnesse and stability in civill affairs. All *Ladders* must have two sides, besides severall staves; and *scaffolds* must have many staves, while they are used in the building; though they be all afterward removed, when the *Palace of Power*, and *Temple of Peace* are finished. As for lesser projects, and those opiniasters which make up plebeian parties, I know my lines to be diametrell against them.

Jer. 45. 5.

It were a blind and impotent ambition in Me, or any man of my *Coat*, to seek great things for *themselves*, when they cannot but see how great a *gulf* there (now) is between any professed Minister of the *Church of England*, and *Abrahams* bosome: The favours to be expected either from the Populacy, or the Powers. Alas, we poore and despised Clergie, must not (now) aime at any earthly heaven; or return to that *terrestriall Paradise* which

which our fore-fathers enjoyed, out of which the *Angels*, with *flaming swords*, have driven us. It is well, if we escape *hell* and *Purgatory*, or keep our selves in *Limbo Patrum*: Primitive Poverty, with Liberty. The pulse of the times bears very weakly, as to any *double honour* of profit or preferment, for men of my profession and perswasion. Indeed it is no time (as *Elisha* told *Gebazi*) for the ruinous and divided *Clergie* of the Church of *England*, to seek or receive *vineyards* and *olive-yards*, *talents of silver*, and *changes of raiment*. 'Tis a very great mercy that we have our lives for a prey, (as *Jeremie* told *Baruch*) That any of us may sit still under those poore *vines* and small *fig-trees*, which the storm and hail of the times have shrewdly battered. 'Tis well if we can get any decent employment, or any competent maintenance; for we have enemies that grudge us both these: Though I trust, the *all-sufficient* God, through the favour of good men, will ever give us competencie, and contentednesse. A *Skullex* will carry one to heaven, as well as a *Barge*; And one may ride on an *Asse* to *Jerusalem*, as well as in a triumphant Chariot.

2 King. 5. 16.

Jer. 39. 18.

Ambitious vanities are never seasonable or comely for any humble Christians, and least for the Ministers of Christ, (who ought to be crucified to the world, and the world to them, *Gal. 6. 14.*) especially at my years, and in my condition. 'Tis honour and grandeur enough for Me, if I may (next the advance of Gods glory) promote Your, and my *Countries* common good, which, I must tell you, doth not a little depend upon the good order, unity and government; the honour, peace and safety of the Reformed Religion, duly established in this Church and Nation of *England*: Of whose festred scratches, and deep wounds, since I cannot but have a great sense, both of Grief and Shame; and toward whole healing, since I am (indeed) very ambitious to drop one drop of *soveraigne balsome* before I die; I have here endeavoured to seek Your face, and to recommend Her distress to Your compassions.

Jer. 8. 12.

It is for Her sake, and for Yours in Her, that I again adventure

venture (for truly it is an adventure, and no small one in this age) thus to appeare in *publique*, possibly with more forwardnesse and zeale, than prudence and discretion, in some mens censure; Who (it may be) have not so much charity or courage in them, as to own an afflicted *friend*, an impoverished *father*, or a distressed *mother*.

Yet to justifie my *discretion*, this may be said, That nothing seems to me (in Policy as well as Piety) more rationally and religiously necessary, than a *publique* tender regard to the state of the *Reformed Religion* in this Church and Nation. To me, *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, *Citizens*, and *Yeomen*, all sorts in their private and *publique* capacity, seem, if not to want, yet to expect something in this kind from some of us Ministers of the Church of England, which might handsomely excite to honest industry, those sparks of piety and generosity which heretofore flamed in their *Fore-fathers liberall breasts*, toward this Church of England, as Christian, and as Reformed. Nor are they (I presume) quite extinct in yours, who now succeed them; whom I doe not arrogantly instruct, as if I thought you ignorant; but humbly provoke to doe what you know, when opportunity shall answer your abilities and good will.

Not, but that I have (also) pleasing speculations (many times) of that *silent safetie* and *secure latencie*, in which I see others, my betters or equals, hug themselves. I know there are men (otherwayes of good worth and parts) who dare not speak one good word, either of, or for, the best *Bishops*, the best *Presbyters*, or the best *Nationall Church* in the world, (as this of England was.) These (over-bred, and too much *Gentlemen*) may consider, That a good man may be more wary than wise, more fearfull than faithfull, more cautious than consciencious. The Prophet *Jeremie* resolved, by reason of the danger and ingratitude of the *Jewes*, to *speake no more to them in the name of the Lord*: but the word of God was as fire in his breast,

breast, he could not hold his peace, and keep peace in his soule. I could as easily *wrap* my self up in silence and privacie, as some others doe, if I did not feare sins of *omission*, as well as *commission*; which was the jealousie a most learned and godly person had of himself, lately dying; who yet had been an earnest intercessor for the relief of many distressed Ministers in England.

I would also cover the reputation of a *wise man*, by *keeping silence in an evill time*, if I had not many and great stimulations, while my life is declining, and my death approaching, to give what further constant and comely proofs I may, to *this and after-ages*, of my zeal for God, of my love to my Saviour, of my communion with his Catholick Church, of my particular respect to this noble part of it, *The Church of England*; and in this, of my due observance to my Reverend *Fathers*, and beloved brethren, the godly *Bishops*, and orderly *Presbyters*, of this *Church*; yea and lastly, of my charitable ambition to *heap coals of fire* (not scorching and consuming, but melting and refining) even upon the heads of those, who still professe to be remorselesse enemies to my calling, and to the whole Church of England: who seem to me, as if they sought totally to debase the *Clergie of England*, yea utterly to destroy the ancient *Catholique* order and government, succession and authority of the Evangelicall Ministry in this Reformed Church; while they endeavour to remove able, ordained and autoritative *Teachers* into *corners*; and to obtrude I know not what *volantiers*, new and exotick intruders into that holy *function*. These will, certainly, (in a few years) make the *Sun goe down upon England at noon-day*; bringing upon this Nation the *shadows of the night*, Superstition, ignorance, profaneness, irreligion and confusion; leading Posterity to *Poverty*, by the way of popularity, poverty, parity, despiciency, and Anarchy, falling upon the Ministry, and the Reformed Religion of this Church. In which blackness of darkness (debasings and disorders) the *Seers of this*

Amos 5. 13.

Rom. 12. 20.

Jerem. 30. 20.

Amos 8. 9.

this people will in time grow *blind*; the guides unguided; the teachers will be untaught; the *Pastors* unbred; the flock unfed, by a mushrome and novell Ministry, multiforme, miserable, mechanick Grows-up, neither duly ordained, nor decently maintained, nor much deserving either of them; being *crest-faln* in themselves, and contemptible to others.

I cannot be satisfied in Reason or Religion, in honour or conscience, in policy or piety, how it can be happy for You, your *Posterity*, and this *whole Nation*, to live after a *vagrant*, loose and indifferent way of Christian administration and profession, according to every mans private fancy, choice and humour, without any such *Nationall* settling and combination, such publique *Ecclesiasticall* union, as hath in all Ages and Nations best edified and fortified, counselled and corrected, excited and increased both gifts and graces in a most comely and most Christian order; with such harmony, unity, majesty, and authority, as best becomes the Disciples and Churches of Christ.

I confesse I am ashamed to see and heare any Gentlemen of honour, or other persons of commendable qualities, of good estates, of ingenuous parts and breeding, poorly and meanly to forsake the *waters of Siloah*, and to follow the brooks of *Teman*, to discountenance at least (if not quite discard) their learned, grave, godly, and experienced *Ministers*, who are of the true metall and stamp too, which a *Minister of the Gospel* ought to be, (that is, really enabled, and duly ordained or authorized to that great work.) And this mostwhat not out of any serious advice and consciencious choise, becoming Christians in so great a concernment; but rather out of easinesse, levity, curiosity, popularity, or some pittifull compliances with novell upstarts, and rude intruders into that *Sacred office*.

Among whom, if they doe save their purses, (which is by some deserters of their lawfull Ministers much looked

looked after) yet I am afraid they too much venture their souls, I am sure they lose much of their credit both in present, and after-ages, among learned, godly, and wise men. Nor doe I beleieve, that in point of *conscience*, they have hitherto found any great *improvement* of piety in themselves, their families, children and servants. Yea, I cannot but think, they must be very sensible of those many breaches, flaws and leakings, which daily grow, as upon their Country, so upon their Parishes and Families, by the extravagancies of their children, strangeness of their acquaintance, and irreligiousness of their servants, besides the factiousness of their neighbours, and coldness of their very kindred: who all affect (according as they are cunning, proud, or simple) the name of *LIBERTY in Religion*: that is, (in some mens sense) neither much to *fear God*, nor to *reverence Man*.

However I wonder, that any persons of great worth and prudence, can with indifferency see the publique, Nationall interests of Religion sinking, (which are the greatest jewels, ornaments and honour of any Nation) so as themselves may but have *liberty* to swim or paddle in what new pond, puddle or plash of Religion, they list to fancie. 'Tis strange to me, that any persons of steady and sober *brains*, should not easily foresee, that these strange *vertigo's*, these *tempests*, and continuall tossings of Religion, will in a short time, if they have not already, make the whole Nation quite *giddie*, and as it were sea-sick, even to a vomiting up of its Reformation.

But if there be (indeed) a *Libertie* indulged to every one, for the *picking* and *choosing* what way of worship, Religion, Church and Ministry best likes them; sure, it will be the greatest honour, and noblest freedom of all true English Christians, to own and adhere to that, solidly, soberly Reformed Religion, which was duly settled in this Church of England, by better heads, and (I think) as honest hearts, as any, *either brokers or abettors*

of novelties, can justly pretend to : who (as I conceive) come vastly short, in all their variations, and new inventions, of that Scripturall verity, Catholick antiquity, yea and of that *Parlamentary* authority and majesty, which had once happily reformed and established Religion in this *Church of England*, by the full counsell and free consent of all Estates, Princes and People, Clergy and Laity.

Joh. 12. 15.

Numb. 22. 28.

What is of late by Novellers pretended of an *Apostolique rudenesse*, *plainnesse*, *illiteratenesse*, and *simplicity*, which ought to be in Ministers of the Gospel, is ridiculous, unlesse these new Teachers could shew us their speciall gifts and extraordinary inspirations, better than yet they have done; which were indeed miraculously bestowed upon the Primitive Planters and Preachers; but very superfluous in a Church so full, and blest with the ordinary endowments of *pious literature*, and all good learning, both Humane and Divine, as *England* was. How childish an affectation were it in the *Gentrie of England*, to forbear to ride on good horses, because *Christ* once rode upon an *asse*? (shewing, that the greatest triumph of all Christians, is *humility*, *lowliness*, and *meeknesse*.) How silly were it in them to expect, that *Asses* should alwayes be able to instruct them, because *Balaams asse* did once with great justice, and a prodigious gravity, rebuke his *masters madnesse*? Much lesse should Gentlemen of worth and breeding, be such silly sots and children, as to fancie, that every jingling *hobby-horse* will be sufficient to carry them to heaven.

No, the ministry of your souls is a far greater work, requiring greater ability, and better authority; to convince men of their sins, to encounter their lusts, to moderate their passions, to purge out their corruptions, to break and soften their hearts, to terrifie and appease their consciences, to prepare them for God, to graft them by true faith into a crucified God and Saviour, to wean them from the world, to win them to goodnesse, to pull them

out

out of hell, and the devils snares, to bring them to heaven, and into the arms of Christ. All which are the great works of true, able, and authoritative *Ministers*, requiring other-gates *workmen*, than are (now) in many places much in fashion among common people; though not so in favour with the wiser and better sort of Christians in *England*, as to prefer these mens new and various fancies, before the wise constitutions, the ancient customes, the Catholick and Religious Orders of the Church of England, established by their pious and *prosperous Progenitors*.

All the world at home and abroad sees, that after all the many changes, and troublesome *essays* of new-modelling the civill *state* of this *Nation*; yet true reason of State, and publique peace doe command, yea inforce us to justify the wisdom of our *Fore-fathers*, by bringing back matters of *Soveraigntie*, power and government, to the former plat-form and polity, as to reality; onely changing a few *formalities*. Truly this makes me not despaire, but, when all new fangles of Religion, and popular models of *Churches* have been tryed in vain, and are found (as they will be) both impertinent and incompetent for the happy state of *Reformed Religion* in this Church and Nation, we may (by Gods blessing) return to those pristine and primitive forms of sound doctrine, uniform order and government, which were never taken up by any private inventions here or elsewhere, but were of Catholick observation; and so (no doubt) of *Apostolique* direction, and *divine institution*.

Which, if all men should silently forsake, and (in so doing) reproch not onely the *Church of England*, but the very first Catholique and Apostolique Churches; yet let me cease to live, when I cease to sympathize with them in their unjust reproches, and with Her in her great distresses: and 'tis fit my *tongue* should cleave to my mouth, when I forbear, or am afraid to pray for the peace, and happy *restitution* of our *Jerusalem*: I, who have seen Her in

Ps. 122. 6.

such order, beauty, peace, plenty, honour, prosperity, and piety: I, who have received in her bosome and tuition so many and great mercies, not onely *temporall*, but (I hope) *spirituall* and *eternall*: I, who desire my posterity, kindred, friends, and countrey, may never have other God or Saviour, than what was owned and worshipped in the Church of England; no other Scriptures and Gospel, than what have here been excellently preached, and comfortably believed; no other Sacraments, than such as were *here* duly administred, and devoutly received; no other Liturgie, or prayers and holy offices, than such as were here both publicly proposed, and privately used; no better Bishops & Presbyters, pastors and guides of their souls, both for learned abilities & exemplary life, than such as I have known frequent and flourishing in the *Church of England*; I pray God they may but have as good; for better Ministers, and better means of salvation, as they shall not need them, so they cannot have them without miracles, of which God is no prodigall.

I should greatly sin, if I should not daily sigh and weep over the Church of England; if I should not poure out my soule to the God and Father of Mercies for *Her*, since she is now counted, by many, (as *Jeremie* complains) an out-cast and forsaken; whom no man (in comparison) seeketh after; her bruise is almost incurable, and her wound is very grievous: There are few to plead her cause; she hath no healing medicines; her lovers have forgotten her, since God hath wounded her with the wounds of enemies, and with the chastisements of cruell ones: who in her dust and captivity require of her to sing the songs of *Sion*; commanding her to call her ruines, *Reformations*, and to account their persecutions, her *perfections*.

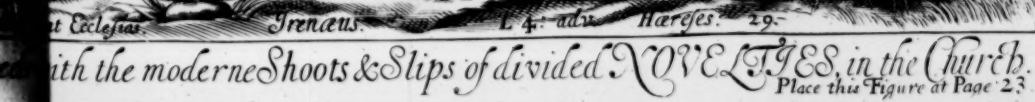
It is time (then) for all that have any regard to the Church of England, to cry mightily both to God and man, to give them no rest, till they return to be gracious to this much afflicted, impoverished, despised, divided, disordered Church: It is high time for all honest *English* Christians

to pity her *ruines*, to *favour her dust*, to *speak comfortably to her*, Isa. 40. 1, 2.
 to put an end to her *warfare*, to bind up her wounds, to
 make up her *brea-ches*, to repara her losses, as *Jobs friends* Job 42. 11.
 did his, with their kind and *munificent compassions*: that Po-
 sterity may not read in the sad *ruines*, divisions and desola-
 tions of this famous and reformed *Church of England*, *pristine*
liberality, and *modern sordidnesse*; the bounty, beauty and
 order of former times; the deformity, sacriledge and con-
 fusion of these later. Who can consider without shame and
 regret, how much more generous, and large-hearted even
 those Ages were, which had some *rust* and *dimnesse* of su-
 perstition growing upon their Religion, then these are, in
 which the English world is filled and confounded with the
 noise and shews of brightnings and *reformati-ns*; in which
 by new & most preposterous methods some of our late un-
 lucky *Architects*, or *Antivitruvian Builders*, have endeavoured
 with their axes and hammers to *break down* more good Psal. 74. 6.
Church-work in twice seven years, than the best *master-builders*
 can hope to repair in seventy seven: I doe not mean (onely)
 as to the material and mechanick fabricks of goodly Chur-
 ches, (which in many places lie sordidly wasted, & shame-
 fully desolated) but as to that which was the rational, poli-
 ticall, morall, the prudentiall, and truly pious structure of
 this well-reformed *Church of England*? of whose ruines I
 shall give you afterward a more particular account.

But it is now time for me (in order to work upon your
 affections) to give over such tedious *Prefacings*, and to pre-
 sent You with as true and lively a prospect as I can, of *Her* sad
posture: There being more pathetick power in your hearing
 or seeing one of *her* own sighs and tears (O what is there in
 her wounds!) than in the greatest *seas* of any mans oratory, to
 stir up in You those *filiall compassions* which most become You,
 to so deserving, and now so distressed a *Mother*, as is this
Church of England.



Omnes enim illi valde posteriores sunt, quam Episcopi, quibus A...
 The goodly CEDAR of Apostolick & Catholick EPISCOPACY, co...



with the moderne Shoots & Slips of divided NOVELTIES, in the Church.

ΔΕΝΔΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

The Embleme of the Trees explained. In which is briefly set forth the History and Chronology of Episcopacy, Presbytery and Independency, as pretenders to Church-government: their first planting, growing and spreading in the Christian World.



He design of this Figure or Embleme is to instruct Christians of the *meanest capacities*, who have less abilities or leisure to read large Discourses, touching the due Order, Way and Method of *Church-union* and *Communion*: which Subject is now multiplyed to so many parties and opinions, that ordinary people (as in a *Wood*, or *Maze* and *Labyrinth*) are unable to disentangle themselves of those perplexed contentions and confusions, which have of late so miserably divided and almost destroyed the Harmony and Happiness of the *Church of England*, upon the disputes, not so much about *saving Faith* and *holy Life*, as those of a *Churches right constitution* in its *Divine Original*, *Apostolick Derivation*, *Catholick succession*, *Regular Subordination*, and *Brotherly Communion*.

First, most people, learned and unlearned, were heretofore prepossessed with the Catholick use and approbation of *Episcopacy*, as (*ubique, semper & ab omnibus*) ever and onely used in this and all other Churches, from the first planting of Christianity. After this, many weaker Christians came to be dispossessed of their former *persuasions*, by the violent obtrusions of such a *Presbytery* as challengeth Church-government, not in common with Bishops, but wholly without them. This forreign plant, not taking any deep root in this *English soyle*, was soon starved and much supplanted by the Insinuations of a newer way called *Independency*. At last many, heretofore well-meaning Christians, finding such great *Authorities*, even from Christ, pretended on all sides, for these diversities of *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *People*, (each challenging the right of *Church-government*, *Rule* and *Jurisdiction*, as principally due to them, and from Christ immediately committed to them) have by long, perplexed and sharp disputes been brought to such doubtings as have betrayed them to strange *indifferencies*, as to all Ecclesiastical *Society* and *Order*, (which is the very band of Christian Religion) so far that they care for no Church, no Christian Communion, no settled Government, no sober Religion.

(*)

By

By this *Figure, Type or Scheme*, every one may easily see in one view their rise, growth and proportions, what in the beginning was, what ever since for above 1500. years hath been, and what in right reason ought to be the authoritative and constant *Order, Polity and Government* of every particular Church, as a part of the universal: if we regard either *Scripture-direction*, or *Christs institution*, or *Apostolical prescription*, or *universal practise* of all Churches in all Ages and places, till of later dayes, wherein the *factious Ambitions* of (καταστά) abortive and divided *Novelties* have, either in too indulgent or in troublesome times, strangely warped from, or contested against *uniform Antiquity*, either usurping upon, or denying those just *Interests*, which ought to be preserved joyntly in every well-ordered Church to *Bishops*, to *Presbyters*, and to *faithful people*; who as Members of one Body, and Branches of one Tree or Root, ought to be but one in an *Ecclesiastical harmony*, though they have different uses and offices for the common good.

Psal. 80. 9,
10, 11.

1 Cor. 12. 28.
Eph. 4. 11, 12.

Eph. 4. 15.

1 Pet. 2. 5.

The *Catholick Church of Christ*, which all true Christians believe to be (*Sponsa unica & dilecta*) the *Spouse and Body of Christ*, one and intire, as united to him the *Head* of all by one *Faith*, so to one another as *Members* by one *Spirit*, one *Baptism*, one *Bread* and one *Cup*, which are visible *symbols* or *signs* of that invisible Communion in Truth, in Love & Charity, which every true Christian hath with Jesus Christ, and all true Believers in all the world; This *Catholick, one and uniform Ch.* is here set forth under the similitude of one, *fair, straight, well-grown, fruitful, flourishing, & uniform Tree*, as the *Cedar of the Lord*, full of sap, rooted in *Christ*, from whom it derives the *spirit, life and radical moisture* of Grace, by such outward means and *Ministers* as the Lord hath appointed to be *workers together with him*, as some *Apostles*, some *Prophets*, some *Evangelists*, some *Pastors* and *Teachers*, for *planting, propagating, watering, pruning, fencing and preserving* this goodly Tree in its several Branches, which have spread forth to several parts of the world, but were never quite parted or separated from either Christ or one another, but grounded in Christ, they have alwayes grown up in him to such an *holy Harmony*, without any *Schismatical slipping, breaking off, or moral dividing* from one another; every small *twigg*, every bigger *branch*, every maine *arme* of it, either for private *Christians*, or publick *Congregations*, or *Episcopal Combinations*, still holding that mutual Communion which became them, both to Christ and his Church in general, also to each other in particular, according to the several Places, Duties, Stations and Proportions wherein the God of *Order and Peace* had set them, under the Authority, Power and Episcopacy of his *Son* Jesus Christ, as Lord of all, the *King, Priest and Prophet*, the chief *Bishop* and great *Shepherd*, the principal *Teacher, Pastor and Ruler* of his Church.

From

From our Lord Jesus Christ (whose love to Mankind intended to enlarge the branches of his Church beyond the *Jews*, even to all Nations under Heaven) this small and tender Plant was afterward, as a fruitful Vine and flourishing Tree, carefully husbanded and orderly extended by such workmen as the Lord was pleased to chuse and appoint for this holy care and culture; whom he endued with the spirit of power, both for Authority, when he solemnly breathed on them, and for Ability, when he powerfully sent the Spirit upon them, enabling them not onely with such ordinary gifts as were necessary for all true Ministers, and such ordinary authority as was fit to governe the Churches they gathered, but also with such extraordinary and miraculous endowments, as were meet for the Apostles to carry on the first plantations of the Gospel to all the world without any Interpreter, beyond all contradiction; the doctrine they taught of Jesus Christ being confirmed to be the Will and Wisdome of God, by the concurrence of his Omnipotency in infallible signes and wonders.

The beginning of Episcopacy Aans Christi 30.

Joh. 10. 20, 21. Acts 2. 2.

By these twelve Apostles (when their number was completed, and the Apostasie of Judas made up by the choise of Matthias, to succeed and supply his Episcopal charge and Office for the teaching and ruling of the Church, (to whom, as a supernumerary help and great additional, St. Paul was afterward joyned) by these, I say) as by so many chief Pastors or Oecumenical Bishops, (who had the general care and joynt oversight or Episcopacy of the Catholick Church, both Jews and Gentiles) was this Tree mightily advanced in a few years, both in bigness and bredth, in strength and extention; so that the Gospel, according to Christs command, was preached, more or less, to every Nation under Heaven: and as the beams of the Sun are seen, so the Evangelical sound of the Apostles was heard in all Lands, so loud and audibly, that every Nation might have applied themselves to listen and seek after the Lord; and have heard and found him in the voice of his glorious Gospel, if they would have followed that news which they heard of, according to the curiosity after novelties which is in the nature of man.

Acts 1. 26.

Mat. 28. 19.
Rom. 16. 26.
Rom. 10. 18.

The news of which, so good and so great, was every where reported to be, as foretold by so many Prophets long before, so attested and confirmed by so many Eye-witnesses, who not onely spake to every Nation in their several tongues, but also wrought great miracles in every place where they came; according to those several lots or portions which they had taken by the Lords appointment, or by mutual consent, as their particular Bishopricks or Dioceses; for the more orderly carrying on of the work: some staying at Jerusalem, as St. James the Elder, and the other James surnamed the Just, where they were slain; others dispersed themselves, as St. Peter who went to Antioch, Alexandria and Rome, there planting eminent Churches, & appointing Bishops over them, as Eudius at Antioch, Mark at Alex-

Gal. 2. 7.

Gal. 2. 18.

The Embleme of the Trees explained,

andria, Clemens and Linus at Rome; one for the Circumcision, the other for the Uncircumcision, (which Churches ever after, even before the Nicene Council, had the eminence of Patriarchal seats, as afterward Jerusalem and Constantinople had.) The Histories of the Church, either Sacred or Ecclesiastical, are not punctual or exact in setting forth the several Countries to which the Apostles divided themselves, or where they most resided, and at last ended their days: nor is it material, it being sufficiently clear, that, as they did not at first so confine themselves to one place or Country, as to exclude any other Apostles from coming thither; so they went, some one or more of them, to all chief parts, to Syria, Arabia, Persia, India, Ethiopia, Armenia, Scythia, Asia the Less and Greater, all Greece, Illyricum, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Cyprus, Britanny, Africa, and all the rest of the grand parts of the then-known World, Continents and Islands, where, at last, they either fixed in their old age, (as St. John did at Ephesus) or were martyred; leaving, besides the Monuments of their preaching and miracles, their Apostolical Seats supplied by an orderly Subordination and authoritative Succession of such Bishops and Presbyters, Pastors and Teachers, able and faithful men, as they had Commission to ordain, and did authorize for their successors in that holy Ministry, spirit and power of Christ, which was to continue to the end of the World, for the further planting, propagating and preserving the Church of Christ, by such Doctrine, Government and Discipline, as they; for the main rules and ends, clearly by word and practise delivered to them, which was then, as their Faith, Baptism and Hope, but one among all Churches in the all world: single Christians, private Families of them, small Congregations, little Villages, greater Cities, ample Territories, large Provinces, great and small Churches (as to their several distributions for conveniency of actual converse and communicating in holy Mysteries) had still but one and the same Polity, Order, Discipline, Ministry, Government and Communion; no Variety, no Difformity, no Deformity in Doctrine or Discipline, among any Orthodox Christians, but every one observed that Place, Office, Duty and Proportion, wherein God, by the Apostles and their successors, had set him or them, in relation to the whole Church, as well as to that particular part or Congregation of it, to which he was more locally and personally joyned, yet mentally, spiritually, charitably, cordially and consentiently he still adhered to the Catholic Conformity and Unity, according to that holy Polity and Oeconomy which the Spirit of Christ in the Apostles first and for ever established, so far as the nature of times and Gods providence would permit; that as there was but one God, and one Lord Jesus Christ, so there might be but one Church, one chaste Virgin, as the Spouse of Christ, in all places.

*Cum nobis totus
orbis commercio
firmaturum in
una communi-
onis societate
concordat.
Optat. l. 2.
Rami erroris
proteati de
mundacio, non
de radice veri-
tatis. Id.*

*The complea-
ring of Eccle-
siastical Com-
binations or
great Church-
es by the Apo-
stles.*

For these holy Husbandmen and chief Labourers in Christs Vineyard, the twelve or thirteen Apostles, did not think it sufficient to teach, to catechize, to convert, to baptize, to confirm, to communicate,

to admonish, to excommunicate here and there several *Christians* and their families, as single *Slips* and *Off-sets* of *Christianity*, which might grow apart by themselves; but their aim was, with preaching Verity to plant Unity, and with true Faith to graft fraternal Charity, which conjoynd them to and with Christ and all *Christians* in the world. This being a most visible *mark* of *Christs Disciples*, also a special means for mutual assistance and comfort amidst the many persecutions which *Christians* would meet with, sufficient utterly to discourage them, if, when they were scattered from each other, they were presently without any joynt harmony, & greater combination and ampler communion of *Saints*: by which means, wherever *Christians* fled from one place to another, if they met with *Christians*, they were sure of hospitable friends, bringing, as they ever did, letters of communication or commendation from their Bishops; which presently made their way to such a kind reception and communion in all holy duties, as that station permitted, as *Catechumens*, or *Penitents*, or *Eucharistical Communicants*, in which they stood wherever they had lived. Therefore as the Apostolical wisdom, so all their successors, diligently gathered single believers and private families of *Christians* into greater Congregations; these they led on to larger combinations, which comprehended the *Christians* of many Villages, Towns, Cities and Territories, according as the Spirit of Christ directed them, for the greater conveniency and benefit of both Ministers and people, who scattered in small bodies or parcels, must needs be both more cold and more feeble, but so united in grand Societies, they would be both warmer, stronger and safer, and besides more eminent and conspicuous in the eyes of all the world.

Joh. 13. 14, 15
and 15. 12.

Such, beyond all doubt, were those Apostolical and famous Churches, distinguished by the Spirit of God according to the chief Cities, which were the centre of their Religious addresses for Church-Order, Authority and Communion; as the Church of *Ferusalem*, *Antioch*, *Rome*, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, *Sardis*, *Smyrna*, *Colosse*, with many more: whose Cities being most-what Metropolitan or Mother-cities, as to secular power and distribution of civil justice, they were chosen as meetest for the principal residency of Religious Order, Polity and Authority; wherein (as was meer) the blessed Apostles did, during their lives, preside as Bishops, either in their persons, or by those faithful Apostolick men whom they (as St. Paul did Timothy, Titus, Archippus & others) appointed as Rulers or Bishops under them, for the carrying on of the service of Christ & his Church, partly by the common duty and office Ministerial, which was to preach, baptize, & celebrate other holy Mysteries in an orderly way, even in lesser Congregations, yea to private Families and single persons, as occasion required (which was the work of Bishops and Presbyters in common) and partly to manage that presidential power and Episcopal Authority over both Presbyters and people, (united in larger combinations and Churches) as might best preserve the Purity, Unity and Honor of the

The Succession of Episcopacy.

1 Tim. 3. 2.
Tit. 1. 5.

the Church and Christian Religion in doctrine and discipline, also derive by way of *right Ordination*, after the pattern given to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and others, a *continued succession* of an holy and authoritative Ministry, by such an eminent power of Order as was specially delivered to the chief *Apostles*, and by them to their principal successors as Bishops in those great, Apostolical and complete Churches, where, as Christians increased, many Presbyters were ordained by the chief Pastor or Bishop, to be both Counsellors and Assistants to him in that Evangelical work of teaching and governing the Church committed to him : First, as appointed *immediately* by the chief Apostles while they lived ; and after, as chosen by the surviving Presbyters in every *precinct* or *Diocese*, to succeed so far in that *Apostolical* eminency and presidential authority, as was necessary for the Churches constant Order and good Government, according to that *precedent Charter* and *Commission* which all Churches had received from the Apostles, and they from Christ, not as a temporary Ordinance, but such as for the main end and method the Lord would have continued till his coming again, by a succession of ordinary *Bishops*, who are a lesser or *second sort* of Apostles, in many things short of their gifts, yet having the same ordinary power to *ordain* Presbyters and Deacons, to appoint them their offices and places in the Churches Ministry, and to see they execute the same as is meet for the edifying of the Church in *Truth* and *Love*, to rebuke and reject them in case of failing and obstinacy.

As the Church daily thus increased, spreading its boughs even to the *utmost seas*, still its *Polity* or Government, as the *bark* or *rinde* of the *Tree*, enlarged with the body or bulk, being most necessary for the preserving both of lesser and greater branches, to knit and bind all together, to convey the sap and *juice* to every part, and to the whole. This once *peeled*, or *broken*, or *cut*, wounds the tree, weakens, and oft kills *that part* which is so injured : Trees may as well thrive without their *bark* and *bodies*, live without their *skins*, as Churches without settled and united Government. Therefore that all true Christians might still keep a *Catholick Correspondence*, *Subordination* and holy *Communion*, between the whole and every branch or member, they had not onely Deacons above the people, but Presbyters above Deacons, and Bishops above Presbyters : yea and as the borders and numbers of the Church so increased, that not onely Presbyters but Bishops grew many, and so fit to be put into some method and order, they had Archbishops or *Metropolitans* above ordinary Bishops, and Patriarchs above Archbishops or *Metropolitans*, and a generall Council above all, thus still drawing nearer to a center of union and mutual intelligence.

So that first three, afterward five Patriarchs had the general Episcopacy, Superintendency and Inspection over all the Christian world. Nor were these Bishops Metropolitans and Patriarchs, any ambitious

ambitious affectations or forcible intrusions of pride or tyranny upon the Churches of Christ, but by a wise and general consent on all sides, Christian Bishops did so cast themselves into comely rancks of Subordination, after the Apostolical pattern, as might most suit to the good order, correspondence and unanimity of all Christians, as but one Church; there being in the first 300. years of *fore persecution*, no other motives to these eminent places and regular orders in the Church, of *Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans, Primates and Patriarchs*, but onely those of Labours and Cares, of Sufferings and Martyrdoms, which still pressed most upon the Presidents and chief Governours or Bishops of the Churches: as was evident in the glorious marks of the Lord Jesus to be seen on the Faces, Hands, and other parts of the *Bodies* of those *venerable Bishops* (318) which met at the first great *gaudy-day* of the Church in the Council of Nice, which all made but one Episcopacy, and were Representers as well as Presidents or Rulers of but one *Catholick Church*.

The primitive care of the Union and Communion of all Churches.

After which time, by the favour of Christian Emperors, the Churches Polity and Government, being carried on by the same Apostolical power and Episcopal spirit, was highly promoted, even to secular Dignities and Estates; Bishops being not onely every where unfeignedly venerated by all sorts of Christians, as chief Pastors and spiritual Fathers succeeding to the chief Apostles by an uninterrupted and undoubted succession, of which every Church had pregnant Records and Memorials, but they were invested in such civil honors as make them *Peers* to the *Senators*, Nobles or *Patricians* of the Empire: which was more to their pomp and lustre, but not more to their Episcopal authority, and that filial respect which was paid to Bishops by all good Christians, even then when they and their Clergy had nothing to live upon but (the *dona Matronarum & oblationes Communicantium*) the contributions and offerings of devout people.

In this fair and sun-shine-weather, as secular Peace and Plenty increased to the Church, so Christianity spread very far, as to the Fashion, Profession and Form of it, in *branches* and *leaves*, but grew (among many) less fruitful in the real effects of *Piety* and *Charity*: many now thronged into Christs Church, but fewer touched him with the hand of Faith, so as to heal their infirmities. Yea, as in the very first times under the Apostolical Episcopacy, the *Simonians, Nicolaitans, Gnosticks, Cerinthians* and others, afterward, (during the still-persecuting Ages) the *Marcionites, Carpocratians, Valentinians, Montanists*, and others; so in the most prosperous times, the *Manichees, Novatians, Donatists, Arrians* and *Pelagians*, with diverse others, became as branches either miserably split and flivered by their own schismatick and separate humors, or quite wholly broken off by blasphemous Apostasies, and the just sentences of Excommunication, from that one *Catholick Church* and the unanimous Bishops of its communions.

The withering, decay and falling of some branches.

Mark 5. 30.

The Embleme of the Trees explained,

munion : for whom one *Bishop* did rightly *excommunicate* by the lesser or greater *censure*, all *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Christians* in all the world did the same virtually. Hence many lesser and greater branches, even some *Bishops* with their whole *Presbyters* and *Churches*, grew sometimes *scare* and *withered*, twice dead and pulled up by the roots, by Error and Obstinacy, by voluntary Desertion and Ecclesiastick Abdication, as many *Arrian* and *Donatist Bishop* :

Yet still by the correspondence and care of the excellently learned, resolute and unanimous *Bishops* of the fourth, fifth and sixth Centuries, with their orderly *Presbyters* and faithful *Flocks*, the *Church* ceased not to flourish, for the most part, in Verity and Unity, in Piety and Charity, as well as in civil Peace, Plenty and Honour, the holy and good *Bishops* every where still clearing the *moss* and *cankers* which grew upon this fair Tree : they pruned the *Excrecencies* and *superstities* both of *Jewish* presumptions and *Heathenish* superstitions, all and every one being prudently intent, as far as times and the manners of men would bear, to preserve his lot part of *Diocese* committed to him by consent of the people, by the choice of his *Presbyters*, and by the comprecation or consecration of his colleagues the *Neighbour-bishops*, so as became the relation they had to the whole Church, after the grand patterns and models received from the blessed Apostles ; who first, as *Bishops* of equal size and authority, yet as men using an orderly precedency, sprang from that one Root *Christ Jesus*, and by their united Ministry spread abroad the Church far and neer.

The laxation
of Ecclesiasti-
cal discipline.

'Tis true, the primitive severity and rigour of Christian discipline much abated in times of greater peace and plenty : many primitive signs of Christian love and communion, as the *Holy Kisse*, their *Love-feasts*, their *Oblations*, their *Hospitality* to all *Christian stranger*, and the like, were crowded out by the Wantonness, Factionness, Hypocrisie, Luxury and Avarice of some Christians, besides Churchmens Ambition and Hereticall Furie ; none of whom would indure the sharp yoke of primitive Penances, Abstentions, Castigations, and many wayes of Mortification, by Watching, Sackcloth, Fasting, Prostrating, Weeping, Confessing, &c. At length *Mahometan* payson and power cruelly pressed upon the divided and debauched *Eastern Churches* : after this the *Papal policy* and power by insensible degrees in ignorant and turbulent Ages so prevailed upon the blindness and credulity of these *Western Churches*, (who were much wasted also with wars in *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, and here in *Britanny*, by domestick Rebellions and barbarous Invasions,) that the face of this goodly Tree was much battered and altered from the primitive floridnesse and fruitfulnessse ; the *Roman Church* and its *Bishop* or *Patriarch* being, like an *Hydropick body*, swoln by secular Pride and Usurpation so much beyond its pristine comelinessse and honor, that in stead of an holy and humble Apostolick *Bishop* of the same Order and

and Authority with his other brethren, he must be owned in a *super ecclesiastical*, and a *super episcopal*, and a *super imperial height*, as Lord, and Sovereign, and Prince, above that is called God in Church and State. Yet still, while this *Papal branch* presumed thus to grow beyond its proportions, to the over-dropping and dwindling of all other parts of the Church, its form or fashion, as a Tree in its winter or less-thrifty state, remained even under those sad seasons of *Papal perturbations* and *presumptions*; God never suffering the Church to be quite deformed, much less *hewen down*, because it was never so *barren*, even in those dayes, but it brought forth some tolerable *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and other *Christians*, yea many of them very commendable ones. Neither *Papal Foxes* nor *Mahometane Wild Bores* had ever power to lay it quite *wast*, or overthrow it both root and branch, as to its saving foundations, or its orderly constitutions, or its authoritative successions in Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons: still holy Mysterys and holy Orders, the holy Ministry and holy Scriptures, holy Examples, holy Doctrines, holy Duties and holy Lives were continued in such order and by such *conduct*, as easily represented the *primitive* pattern and *Apostolick* figure of this Tree, though with many *accretions* and some deformities, which time, and ignorance, and superstition, or humane policy and secular pride, had affixed to some main *Branches* of it in these Western parts of the Church; yet the ancient Lineaments and true Model were very visible in Christian People, Christian Deacons, Christian Presbyters, and Christian Bishops, directed into several stations, as Helps for the more orderly carrying on of the Churches Government in grand and *national* combinations.

In this posture stood the state of the *Catholick Church*, as in all other places where the Vastations of *Saracens* and *Turks* had left any miserable Remnants of *Christian Churches*, so most eminently in this Western world, which the Providence of God had not yet wholly delivered over to *Gog* or *Magog*: none of these Churches were without their *Deacons*, *Presbyters* and *Bishops*, untill that great Reparation rather than Alteration of Christian Religion began in these *Western Churches* about the Year 1520. which was justly called a blessed *Reformation* in many respects, as to clearing the corruptions of *Doctrine* and *Manners* which had been contracted every where, which by learned and godly men, Bishops and other Ministers, were notably discovered, and by some *Christian Princes* or *States* happily amended with great order and by due authority, as in other places, so no where with more *Wisdom*, *Justice* and *Moderation* than in *England*.

The state of
Episcopacy
under the Pa-
pacy.

Where (as in most of the Churches protesting against the *Roman deformities*, especially those of the *Lutheran denomination*) the ancient Orders and Authority both of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were preserved, as is evident in the *Augustane confession*; which finds no fault with, but highly approves the Government of the Church by *Bishops under Episcopacy*, provided *Bishops* would joyn in a just *Reformation*

(**)

of

The Embleme of the Trees explained,

of those grofs abuses which were the Churches intolerable grievances, as well as the dishonour of Christian Religion and Christian Bishops, whose deserved Honours, Estates and Eminencies in Authority they saw no cause to envie, grudge or diminish. So far were these first Reformers from hewing down Episcopacy, as if it *cumbred* the ground, that they onely digged about it, and mended it, that it might bring forth good fruit, as it did in *England* and elsewhere.

The beginning of the Presbyterian Government Anno 1541.

While the *Western Churches* Reformation was yet but *crude*, and in motion by *Luthers* means, there arose Mr. *John Calvin* about the Year 1541. a man of good Learning, acute Wit, copious Eloquence, great Industry, quick Passions, sharp Pen, of reputed Piety, and of no less Policy. Him the people of *Geneva* thought the fittest man in the world to settle their *distracted Church and State*, after they had, with the wonted arts of tumultuating and discontented people, forced *Eustace* their Bishop and Prince to flye from his Palace and City, his Bishoprick and his *Seigntorie*, because he would not presently gratifie them with such a Reformation as they imperiously demanded rather than modestly desired.

Mr. Calvin's grounds for Presbytery were not against Episcopacy:

Mr. *Calvin* (as Mr. *R. Hooker* hath excellently set it forth) undertook with much *difficulty* and after many *indignities* (worthy of popular levity, fury and petulancy) put upon him, to settle their Church-affairs, together with the civil State, in such order as he thought, not most *Scriptural, primitive* and *Catholick*, but most prudential, plausible and probable in humane reason and honest policy, to take and hold the tumultuating inconstancy of that people, so to bring them to something of civil and religious order; acting herein, not upon any *Wiccesian* or the after-*Presbyterian* and *Antiepisopal* Principles, as imagining either Episcopacy to be unlawful, or sole Presbytery to be necessary as of *Divine Institution*; neither of which were his judgement, as is sufficiently and vehemently declared by his passionate approbation of reformed Bishops, and his esteeming so honourably of regular Episcopacy, that he passeth all Anathemas or curses on those that are against them: so far was *Calvin* from laying the *Axe to the root of this Tree*, which, with Christianity, had ever, as he confessed, born Episcopacy.

But he rather went upon *Erafsian* principles and *politick* grounds, looking, it seems, upon the *Government of the Church* (as he did upon the *Lords-day*, which is not elder, nor more authentick or Catholick as to the Churches use and obervation, than Episcopacy) to be in their nature *mutable*, (as of *Ecclesiastick*, yet *Divine prescription*) according as Times, Occasions and Minds of men might fall out. He well knew, being a learned man, and oft confesseth in his Writings, the *primitive* blessing and *universal* authority of *presidential Episcopacy* in all Churches: yet he neither thought it, nor any forme of *Government* (any more than clothes) to be *essential* to the substance and

and *body* of any Church or of the Christian Religion, but variable to several *forms* and *polities*, as prudence might invite, or necessity require: so that he never set up any sovereign and unepiscopal *Presbytery* as an *Idol* or *Moloch*, to which not onely the *children*, but the *Fathers* of the *Churches*, even very godly and reformed Bishops, were all *sacrificed*. He thought it did not misbecome his policy and prudence to serve the *times* and *humors* of the *Citizens*, so far as to seem to vary the outward mode of their and all other Churches ancient government; provided, he served the *Lord* and that people in settling such a *government* as might preserve the Christian Reformed Religion among them in true *Doctrine* and good *Manners*, which was the main work which *Calvin* seemed to mind most.

To have *reconciled* the *City* and their former *Bishop* was a matter *impossible*, unless he or they had changed their *minds* in Religion: to have perswaded them to elect a new *Prince* and *Bishop* of their own profession and opinion, had been very imprudent, considering either the fair offers they made to *himself*, of being, not *titularly* indeed, but *virtually* and *really*, both the *Prince* and *Prelate*, or remembering that strong *fancy* of *Liberty* which had now so filled and *intoxicated* all sorts of *Citizens*. In the last place, to have set up *himself* in the pomp and *formalities* of a *Bishop* and a *Prince*, had been an act of too much Impudence and Envy for a person of his *Ingenuity*, *Policy* and *Dexterity* in publick managements: it sufficed his design, so far to gratifie both the *Populacy* with seeming *Liberty*, and the *Optimacy* with some civil and Magistratick *Authority*, all of them with such reformed *purity* in Religion, as most pleased them, and yet to keep up *himself* and his *colleagues* of the *Ministry* to such an height of *Ecclesiastical Influence* and *Church-power*, as made them far from being either *slaves* to the *Vulgar*, or *cyphers* to the *Government*: for all cases, civil and criminal as well as religious, were one way or other *reducible*, and so responsible, either by way of *comprimiting*, or upon scandal, or repentance, or satisfaction, to the *cognizance* and *consistory* of him and his colleagues, himself being as the *Cesar*, they as his *Bibuli*. In effect, his *Wisdom*, *Reputation*, *Eloquence* and *Courage* set him up in *Geneva* and other places to so high an eminency of respect and authority, as he *equalled*, yea *exceeded*, most Bishops: however his *pomp*, *train* and *pension* were but small (after the usual bounty expectable from any State or City that list to make their *Reformations* of Religion compleat by robbing the *Church* and *Clergy* of their *ancient* Lands and *Revenues*) which doubtless in that City had been so great and princely, as upon the *confiscation* of them to their *Town-box* or *Exchequer*, they might well have allowed *Mr. Calvin*, their great Reformer and chief Pastor, and his Associates, a Salary much beyond an hundred pounds *per ann.* with a little provision of Corn. But he wisely dissembled this *Indignity*; finding that, as Riches, Pomp and Luxury had undone former Bishops, so a voluntary kind of *Poverty* and *Austerity* would now best conciliate to

Mr. Calvin's difficulties in settling the Church-government of Geneva.

him and his colleagues a greater *Reverence* and *Authority* : nor was it considerable to have a *gay* or *rich scabbard*, provided they had sharp and well-metall'd *swords* : their *Ambition* was rather to intend Gods *work* in reforming Religion of its Leprosie with *Elisha*, than in taking mans rewards with *Gehazi*.

In this *Presbyterian Prelacy* or *Prelatick Presbytery*, which seemed to bow Church-government to the ground, and make it, like a Bramble, take root at the neather end, Mr. *Calvin* lived and died at *Geneva*, never either rigid for a parity of *Presbytery* as of any Divine Institution, nor against a comely eminency of *Episcopacy*, which he owned as a very commendable, useful, venerable, ancient and universal Order of Church-polity and Government, where it was paternal, not imperious, as an elder Brother among brethren, not as a Master among servants. Such Bishops presiding as Fathers among Presbyters, yet gravely and kindly advising with them, and assisted by them in all the grand and joynt concernments of the Churches wellfare, these he never wrote, nor said, nor thought, nor dreamed to have any thing in them *Papal*, *Antichristian*, *Intolerable* or *Abominable* to God or good men, as some hotter and weaker spirits afterward declaimed. *Episcopacy* and so *Presbytery* had indeed (as other holy Mysteries, Orders and Customes of the Church) suffered very much smut, soyle, darkness and dishonour by the Tyrannies, Fedities, Luxuries, Sotteries and Insolencies of some Bishops and other Church-men under the *Papal* prevalency; but Reformed *Episcopacy*, which in many Churches continued with reformed Doctrine, never received the least blame or blemish from Mr. *Calvins* Tongue, Pen or Judgement, no nor from any of his colleagues and successors in *Geneva*, who were learned men and of sober minds.

The growth
of the Presby-
terian way of
Church-go-
vernment.

But from the reputation of Mr. *Calvins* name, this new and rather necessitated than elected project of Church-government and Discipline, under the name of a *Presbyterian* parity or *Consistorian* conclave, grew to be looked upon with very favourable eyes by other free Cities, petty States and Princes, as their Interest lead them; each crying it up, together with the reformed Doctrine, to such an height, as if the new paper and packthred in which Mr. *Calv.* had wrapped those old, yet good spices, were of equal value with them. Several Interests advanced the businesse, shews of Liberty with the people, parity of Empire and power with the ordinary Preachers, and hope of gain by confiscation of Church-lands and Bishops Revenues, with some States and Princes, as in the *Palatinate*, *Hassia*, and other parts of *Germany*, so in *Scotland*, with some *Suitzer* Cantons and *Hanf-towns* : the zeal for Reformation which was very plausible, the zeal for Imitation after the copie of so renowned a person which was very popular, and the zeal of Confiscation, where so opulent and profitable a booty would fall into some mens purses and Coffers, all these together carried many men with ful sails to Presbytery, and with a strong

strong tyde against Episcopacy, by whose spoiles many hoping to be enriched, they rather chose to ruine than reform it, that extirpating might justifie their stripping of it, which had more Revenues, but not more deformities, than Presbytery had under Episcopacy.

To make this *Transport* of some men good, which not onely deserted, but defamed, despised, and in some places destroyed the *Ancient, Catholick and Apostolick* state of the Churches polity of old by *Episcopacy*, hereby varying even from the *Lutheran Moderators* and *Superintendents*, (which were reformed and qualified Bishops) as well as from all the present *Roman, Greek, Armenian, Abyssine*, and all other ancient Churches in the world, to their great and insuperable scandal, yea and from some *eminently reformed* Churches, as *England* and *Ireland* were, in which *Episcopacy* was still continued, as the *Honour, Centre and Fixation* of all *Ecclesiastical Order, Unity and Authority*; to avoid the *odium* and envy of this scandal, all plausible wayes were taken by the great *Admirers* and *Adorers* of the new *Geneva* platform, to set further glosses and titles upon this new *Presbyterian government and discipline*, finding that the water-colours of *Prudence, Necessity, Policy and Conveniency*, which Mr. *Calvin* had used, would not hold long; especially where *Episcopacy* now kept its pristine power and possession in so many famous reformed Churches and States, as *Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, Brandenburg* and others, besides *England*, which outshined them all.

All these so asserted the honour of true and reformed *Episcopacy*, that all sober men saw *Prelacy* was no more of kin to *Popery*, than *Regality* is to *Tyranny*, or *Magistracy* to *Oppression*, or *Presbytery* to *Popularity*, or *natural Heat* to a *Fever*, or *Wine* to *Drunkenness*, or *Good cheer* to *Gluttony*, or *Good order* to *Insolency*, or due *Subordination* to *Slavery*.

'Tis true, great Indulgencies and soft Censures were carried by those Churches which were *Episcopal*, toward such of their reformed Brethren who were not opinionatively but practically Presbyterian, pleading for themselves not choice so much as force and urgency of their present Affairs and Condition; considering either the pressures even to Persecution which some were under, or peoples impatencies, or Princes sacrilegious aims: all which made their deviation from the confessed *Catholick and primitive pattern* of *Episcopacy* so long venial as their Judgements were right and their Charity candid toward *Episcopacy*, either approving of it, or deploring their want of it, or wishing for it as the best Government, where it might be enjoyed with the *Reformed Religion*. While Presbytery continued thus humble and poor in spirit, it was esteemed honest and excusable upon Christian charity, pleading not perversity but necessity; not a schismatick Faction or Usurpation against *Episcopacy*, but an humble submission to a condition which, as *Peter Moulin* owns, was far short of the happiness they desired under good Bishops.

Whence the former brotherly correspondence between Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches,

But

But this *equable* and *charitable* temper was too lukewarm and cold for some hotter Zelots for the *Presbyterian* way ; they did not like that their new *platform* (which they called the *pattern* in the *Mount*) should thus take any quarter from Bishops any where, but rather be in a capacity to give no quarter to any *Bishops* or any presidential *Episcopacy*.

From private and amicable contests, which began at *Franckfort*, and so by degrees were *fomented* in other Cities, between some reformed *Divines*, it grew to higher flames of contention than those between *Paul* and *Silas*: at length it rose to a *Rivalry*, to Reproches, Menacings, Fewds, Despites and bitter Animosities between such as adhered to ancient *Episcopacy*, and those that admired the new-sprung plant of *Presbytery*.

Mr. Beza's Patrocinie of Presbytery beyond Mr. Calvins principles.

To dig about, to muck and mend this last, the Learning, Wit and Credit of Mr. *Beza* contributed not a little, who first of any man openly inscribed Presbytery with a Title looking very like to *Divine*, as Christs true and onely *Discipline* ; in which yet he was not so punctual and peremptory as many that followed him in his supposed Opinion, but came far short of his real Learning, which still forbad him to deny primitive, paternal and reformed *Episcopacy* its due Honour, Use and Place in the Church of Christ, or to demand the *extirpation* of it where it was settled and reformed, which he deprecates as an intolerable arrogancy in him or any man. To which moderation if his Judgement and Conscience had not led him, yet he was shrewdly driven by the notable charges of learned *Saravia*, a man of veterane courage, of a steady judgement and unpopular spirit, who pressed upon his *Unepiscopal*, much more against his *Antiepiscopal Presbytery* so strongly, that he forced his Antagonist to stoop and subscribe to *Primitive* and *Catholick Episcopacy*, yea, and to acknowledge *Bishops*, even from the Apostles dayes, to have been the (πρεσβυτεροι, Presidents or chief Rulers among Presbyters in all Churches.

Mr. *Beza's* *Essayes*, not so much to have undermined *Episcopacy*, as to have fixed or earthed his *Presbytery* better, being thus notably countermined, yet upon his very breaking the earth, and promising, at least pretending, to spring some rich Mine of Scripture and Antiquity, to prove, if not the sole, yet at least the concurrent Divine right of *Presbytery*, on both sides of it, both as to its preaching & ruling Elders, as stamped with the mark of Christ and his Apostles, (besides his and others terrifying the world, as if *Popery* had begun with *Prelacy*, and *Antichrist* had sucked the breasts of *Episcopacy*) it is not imaginable what industrious Pioneers and Souldiers followed these charms, this alarme for Presbytery against Episcopacy, who sifting every name of *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, *Elder*, *Evangelist*, *Messenger*, *Apostle*, *Prophet*, *Pastor*, *Teacher*, *Ruler*, *Governments*, *Helps*, &c. in Scripture and Antiquity,

quity, found or fancied upon all of them something that made very much, if not onely, for *Presbytery*, and very much, if not wholly, against *Episcopacy*, so far that they would not allow so much as the *twelve* or *thirteen prime Apostles* any *Episcopal* Presidency, Eminency or Authority above the *seventy Disciples*, or any *Presbyters* whom they ordained, much less any *Bishop* after them, above the youngest, meanest and pettiest *Presbyter*; rather suspecting, yea aspersing all *Antiquity*, even in the primitive and purest times, for *Ignorance* and *Error*, or *Falsity* and *Ambition*, in following the *Catholick* custom of *Episcopacy*, after the great *Apostolical pattern* (which was (in them) given to all Churches by the Spirit of Christ, and after continued by the Apostles own appointment) than any way admitting any *Innovation*, *Flaw* or *Defect* to be in their new-formed *Presbytery*.

Heats unhappily growing great, and Eruptions many, from the *Etna* or *Vesuvius* of mens passions, the sulphur and ashes at last came from *Geneva*, *Franckfort* and *Edenborough*, over to *England*: where at first they onely fell upon the square *Caps* and *Rochets* of our excellent, reformed and reforming Bishops; but at last they flew in their very *Faces* and *Eyes*, without any respect to their *Age*, *Learning*, *Piety*, *Sanctity*, and *Martyrly Constancy*, besides the *honourable* places they still held, both in Church and State, according to our *Laws*.

The heats about Church-government among some reformed.

For the *Undertakers* for the Cause (as they called it) of *Jesus Christ*: first picking at the outworks of *Ceremonies*, next at the spiritual *Courts* or *Jurisdictions* of Bishops, after that at the excellent *Liturgj*, at last they laid amain at the whole *Body* as well as the *Branches* of *Episcopacy*, going much further than ever their first Founders of *Presbytery* abroad, or the *modester Non-conformists* at home ever designed or desired. Thus a bolder Generation of men (stopping their ears against all the charms of *Scripture*, *Antiquity*, *Universality*, *Prudence*, *personal Merits*, *publick Blessings*, and all *proportions* of Government and Policy, only urging a *peremptory necessity* and a *self-inforcing novelty*) perfected that in a *dreadful War*, which was neither begun, nor promoted, nor desired by the chief *Magistrate*, nor by his chief Council in its *pristine fulness* and *freedom*, nor ever before was acted in any *reformed Church* whatsoever against their *reformed Bishops*.

After much *bustling* and *blood-shed* in perilous times, this crooked and low *shrub* of *Presbytery*, which having never much thriven or grown handsomly in *Scotland* or in any other Kingdom, (where it had been happily and handsomly grafted by King *James* with a renewed and well-reformed *Episcopacy*) this bitten, mangled and misshapen, was brought over on the sword's point, and wrapped up in the cover of a *Covenant* (as Plants in Mats) to be set in this good soyl of *England*, after sweating *Smectymnus* and the industrious *Assembly* with many Heads, Hands, Tongues and Pens, had *digged* and *prepared* the ground for it, by gaining the minds of some *wel-affected* Members in the two Houses, and others in other places.

The first planting of Presbytery in England to supplant Episcopacy.

About

The terrible
equipage of
Presbytery at
fi ft.

About the Year 1649. (the *Fasces Imperiales*, and the *Sacra Secures*) the *Holy Rods* and *Imperial Axes* of *Presbytery* were displayed to *England*, in their *Ruling* and *Teaching Elders*, in their *High* and *Mighty Consistories*, *Parochial*, *Classical*, *Provincial*, *National*, *Oecumenical*: for the *Presbyterian* power was in all the world to prevail against *Episcopacy*, as *Daniels He-goat* did against the *Ram*, casting him to the ground, and stamping upon him. Every *Presbyter*, young and old, ripe and raw, was to have not onely a *sword* in his *mouth*, but a *switch of correction* in his *hand*; which, lest he should use too *rashly* and *sharply*, he was to be pinioned and surrounded with certain *Lay-Elders*, each of them furnished also with a *Rod of Disciplinary* or ruling power equal to the *Minister*. All this dreadful dispensation of *Presbyterian* discipline was pontifically and punctually set out by many discourses, to the no small wonder of all wise men, who knew the disproportions to all Government generally, which were both in younger *Ministers* and in most *Lay-men* of plain parts and plebeian breeding, such as in most places these herds of ruling *Elders* must be, into whom the spirit of Government must presently enter. And no less terrible was this *paradox* and *parado* of *Presbyterian Discipline* and *Severity* even to *Common-people*, yea and to the most of the ablest *Gen-try* and *Nobility*, except some few, whose itch and ambition of a *Lay-elderships* place had possibly biaised them to smile upon their persons and their now-*Presbytery*, to which they were invited solemnly to be *Gossips*.

The activity
of Presbytery.

Thus armed and marshalled in its *Ranks* and *Regiments*, *Presbytery* began to hasten its *March* in its might, furiously enough, setting up its *Conventions*, *Ordinations*, *Jurisdictions*, trying the metal and temper of its *Censures* by *Ebaptizations*, *Corrections*, *Abstentions*, *Excommunications* and new *Examinations* even of ancient *Christians*, old and eminent *Disciples* to whom they had formerly given the *Sacrament* twenty times: some of which they sought to win by fair speeches; some people they perswaded, others they menaced and scared to submit to their new *Scepter*. *Daily Intelligences* and *brotherly Correspondencies* were zealously kept every where, very quick and warm among the *Presbyterian Fraternity*. *Bishops* never so aged, learned, unblameable, venerable and meritorious for their *Labours* and good *Examples*, were as *Underlings* and conquered *Vassals*, not so much as pittied, but despised and trampled under foot, exalted and vilified by every young *stripling* that had got the switch of *Presbytery* in his *hand*, which he saw now was beyond the *Bishops Keyes* or *Crozier*.

The dwind-
ling and wi-
thering of
Presbytery in
England.

Presbytery thus driving at *Jehu's rate* for some time, some of its wheels or pins, like *Pharaohs*, began to drop off, which forced it to drive more heavily than its *natural genius* can well bear, (being spirited, like *Ezekiel's wheels*, with so many young *Preachers* of very active fancy and eager to rule.) After

After all this digging and delving this rare plant of Presbytery soon dwindled, either as having no great depth of good earth, or as not planted by so lucky an hand as it should have been in so publick and grand a concern as Government is in any Church or State, or as watered so much with Christian and Reformed blood. In fine, its very Bark grew streight and *hide-bound*, its soft branches and sudden shootes grew weak and withering, its junctures loose and infirm, its top too heavy for its body, and its bulk for its roots; as an Epidemick terror at first, so now a nauseous scorn befell most people, some laughing at, others despising these new Undertakers to govern all sorts of Christians great and small in England, without the leave of the chief Governour in Church and State, to whom they had sworn to be subject, as to the supreme Governour in Church and State.

In a few years the breach which these Trojans had made in the walls of their own City, this Church of England, to bring in this wooden Horse of Presbytery, so weakned their own defence, both for maintenance and authority, that when they thought Town and Country and City had been their own, they saw themselves much forsaken, as by Prince and Peers, so by the people generally, yea and by some of their greatest Masters, who listd not to write upon Presbytery (*Fugum Christi* or *Sceptrum Crucifixi*) the Yoke or Scepter of Jesus Christ.

After this damp and coldness had fatally come upon most men, who were now as willing not to be governed at all by any Presbyters, as Presbyters were unwilling to be governed by their lawful Bishops; no Agitating, no Stickling, no Preaching, no Praying, no Fasting, no Printing, no repeated Crambes of Christs Discipline, of Elders and Elderships, of Helps and Governments, of the Necessity of the Divine right, of the Aarons Rod of Presbytery, which had been kept hid (it seems) in the Ark of the Covenant for 1600. years, no splendid Names of Mr. Calvin, Mr. Beza, Mr. Farel, Mr. Knox, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Baines, Mr. Brightman, Mrs. Smectymnus; no urging the Covenant, the Votes, the temporary Ordinances, of two Houses; no engine was capable to buoy up Presbytery, which was either leaky, as built of green timber in haste, or overloaded beyond its bulk and capacity.

Many sober and good Christians, bred up under Episcopal prudence and gravity, had already felt, and others feared the Pertness and Impertinency, the Arrogancy and Emptiness, the Furvenility and Incompetency, the Rusticity and Insolency of some ruling and teaching Elders too. Sober men disdained, till they saw better reason from God and Man, to put their necks thus into a new Noose, and their hands under the Girdles of their either Equals or Inferiours: no ingenuous man or woman thought that High shoes and the Scepter of Government, yea of Church-government, yea of Christs Government, could well agree together.

(* * *)

So

So that the decoy and fallacy, the sophistry and *shooing-horn* of bringing in *Lay-elders* by Divine right, with some shew of Common-peoples *having* an influence in the new Church-government, was soon *discovered* and *despised*; it being most apparent, that *Ministers* must be very silly *Schollars* and less *Politicians*, not to over-bear by florishes of Words and Wit, or shews of Reason, Learning and Religion all his *Lay-elders* or ruling partners; so that he would (upon the point) enjoy the sole government of his *parochial Principality* or *petty-Episcopacy*, which would make the little-fingers of *Presbytery* in time heavier than the loyns of *Episcopacy* ever were, by so much as many poor mens Oppressions and young mens Follies are like to be more *ponderous* than one rich and aged persons power.

The soft and gentle rise or springing up of Independency, An. 1641.

At this *stand* and *maze*, some Ministers and people (who could not for shame return to *Episcopacy*, nor yet well persist in promoting *Presbytery*, which they saw a *lost game*) very notably betook themselves to a new *Invention* of *Independency*; of which the first five famous *Planters* and *Commencers* in England, were men, as of *prudential* parts, so of good esteem for their *piety* where they were known, and some of them were reputed for their *learning*. These (*Quinquaviri*) with very modest *Applications* and humble *Insinuations* first begged leave and liberty, not onely to dissent from *Presbytery*, (with more brotherly tenderness than that had done from *Episcopacy*) but to attend the further *completing* of that *Church-way*, which they called *Congregational* or bodying of *Christians*, of which they already had some general light and *model* in their heads, as most *scriptural*, though least *discernable* in any track or practise of *former Churches*.

Independency supplants both Presbytery and Episcopacy.

Their grand *postulate* or *principle* was (as *Jacob*) very smooth, popular and pleasing, probable enough to gain Disciples in a more *gentle way* than *Prebytery* had done, which was red and rough handed like *Esau*, the *Independant planters* owning people to be the first and chief Receivers and Dispensers of all *Church-power*. Both of them agree and resolve, having shaken hands for fashion-fake as brethren, utterly to leave their *aged Father* and old stock *Episcopacy*, which they thought (like *Isaac*) now blind, superannuated, doting and quite spent, having no more blessing for them. These, as young and lusty *striplings*, for a while socially apply to shift for themselves, without interfering each with other: the one, as *eldest*, hoped to live by *Hunting*, by using arms and force to compell people to bring them provision; the other, as yet of a *milder* nature, gently applies (in a more furtive way) to gather *Churches*, like little flocks of sheep; from any Fold whence they lifted to stray, to feed them by their *own will*, and to rule them according to their *own pleasure*, because by their own power and popular commission, making the flock to be above the *Shepherd*, and the ruled above the *Rulers* in an absolute, complete and supreme power under Christ, being immediately *authorized* from him to *chuse*

chuse and to depose, to make and to reject, to reprove and to remove their Officers, to Presbyters, Elders, Pastors or Bishops as their menial servants, and Christs Messengers as their dependent and manual Ministers, elected and ordained as well as nourished and maintained by them.

The body of the people thus congregated or congregating themselves being the measure of all Church-power to it self, and to all its members great and small, neither appealing to others, nor requiring others appeales to them, neither ambitious to Rule over others, nor enduring to be Ruled by others; but wrapping up it self in small volumes, every Church carries (like a snail) its shell and all it hath with it; not troubling poor people with tedious and long journies, with vexatious citations and appeales from one Classis or Court to another, which were, they say, the burthens attending both *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*, which last mended (as they truly tell the world) them after very little, in point of peoples *Ease*, *Quiet* and *Liberty*, after it had so quarrelled with *Episcopacy*, and with many sleights as well as violence wrested the staffe out of its hands: *Presbytery* seeming like the plant called *Touch me not*, which flies in the face, and breaks in the fingers of those that presse it; but *Independency*, as the sensible plant, rather yielding to, then resisting any hand that is applied to it.

This later and softer plant no sooner (almost) began to be set on foot in *England* about the year 1650. but it soon gained much ground of *Presbytery*, which had been an old bitten shrub, ill rooted, and never very flourishing or fruitfull, and lesse apt to be now at last transplanted: But *Independency*, as a new slip or full-shoot, springs up apace, spreads its roots and branches without any noise, erects its Churches as fast as *Presbytery* could its Consistories, out of the ruines of *Presbyterian* Parishes, as well as of *Bishops Dioceses*. *Independency* hath no great line or out-work to maintain, and so can do it with fewer numbers and lesse noise: it desired onely in Peace to enjoy it self; affecting no forced ambition or involuntary Rule over others as did *Presbytery*: it professeth to aime at nothing, but a nearer and greater strictnesse of Sanctity, Unity and Charity among Christians in their Church-way than it thought could well be had among the larger combinations of *Presbyterian* or *Episcopall* Churches, which they think are not easily managed without much labour and toile, besides offence and complaint; because they urge many things as of duty, and by constraint, when this is onely by every ones free will and consent.

Nothing is more soft and supple than *Independency* in its first tender branches and blossomes; nor is it other than a little Embryo of *Episcopacy* in a little Parish or *Diocese*: For *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and People, did of old and at first so neerly correspond, as Fathers, Brethren and Sons of a Family, when they were but few, and scarce made up one great Congregation in a City; where one Minister at first

The Embleme of the Trees explained,

was both Pastor and Teacher, Bishop and Presbyter, who, as Christians increased, ordained them Presbyters, to carry on the work, and yet to keep a filial Correspondency with him and respect to him, as became them. The pomp and solemnity of Independent Episcopacy is lesse, but the Power and Authority Ecclesiasticall is, though broken and abrupt, yet full as great and absolute as to all Church-uses and intents as ever Bishops challenged. How far this willow will grow an oake, *more rough and robust, as it growes Elder, Bigger, Higher and Stronger*, no man knowes. I presume it cannot have *better beginnings* of Order, Unity, Purity, Piety, Charity, Meekness and Wisdom, than *Episcopacy* had in its first Institution; which is owned by all learned men to be at least *Apostolicall*, both as to the enlarged Churches, made up of many Congregations, and the enlarged Authority of one *Bishop* placed by the Apostles over many Presbyters and Congregations, so gathered by them into one Ecclesiastick Society or Combination, as those Primitive Churches were in the Scripture. Nor can it have more *specious* and *modest* beginnings for *Purity* and *Sanctity*, than some *former sects* have professed, such as were the *Novatians* and *Donatists*; of which St. *Cyprian* and *Opiatus*, with St. *Austin* and others, give us liberall accounts; whose proceedings did not answer their beginnings, either in Modesty, Charity or Equity, but from rending from, they fell to reviling and ruining all Churches but their own.

From the rise and *advantages* which these two new, and now almost parallel, *plants in England*, *Presbytery* and *Independency*, neither of which are yet any way grown up comparable to the *Procerity, Height and Goodliness* which Episcopacy had, and yet hath, as in many Churches of Christ, so in many English mens minds, (notwithstanding that both of them, as notable *suckers*, strive all they can to draw away all sap and succour from the old root of Episcopacy, that it may quite wither and be extirpated every where, as it hath been lately with Swords and Pickaxes terribly lopped and almost quite stubbed up in *England*;))

The advantages that other parties make by *Presbyterian* and *Independent* sticklings against *Episcopacy*, and Ecclesiastick unity.

From these two (I say) which have so much pleased either some Ministers or People with shewes of *Novelty, Liberty*, and share of *Authority*, other Parties, Sects and Factions have began to set up their *scaling ladders*, and (for a time) staying one of *their feet* either on the standards of *Presbytery* or *Independency*, they fall amaine with their *hatchets* to *hack* and *hew down* the remaines of all Episcopall order and Communion in Churches, to cut off the battered, stript and bare branches of that *Ancient* and *goodly Tree*, which contained once the *Catholick Church* under its boughs and shade.

Thus these petty *planters* begin their new plantations, that every one set up new *Churches* and *Pastors* after their *own Hearts, Opinions* and *Fancies*, making use of what seare, barren and Schismatick slips
or

or abscissions they are able to break or cut off, aiming still to plant (as they say) further off from the root and bulk of Episcopacy (as a notable character of more perfect Reformation) than either *Presbytery* or *Independency* seem to have done, who sometime professe they can comply with something in Episcopacy.

Hence, first *Erastians* or Politicians begin to resolve all Churches into States, all Ministry into Magistracy; making no other origine of Church-power than that of the *Common-wealth*, nor of any *Ministers, Bishops* or *Presbyters* Authority than of a *Justice*, or a *Captaine*, or a *Constable*.

After this *Anabaptists, Quakers, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Ranters*, all sorts of Fanatick Errors and lazy *Libertines*, pursue their severall designs and interests under the notions of some new-found *Church Sprigs* and better *plantations*, filling all places in *England* like a wood or thicker with Bushes and Briers, and Thornes of Separations, Abscissions, Raptures, Ruptures, Novelties, Varieties, Contentions, Contradictions, Inordinations, Reordinations, Deordinations, and Inordinations, no Ordinations scarce owning any *Church* or *Christians* which are not just of their way and form, as *Optatus* tells us the Donatist Bishop *Farmenian* and his party did.

All of them agreeing with *Presbytery* and *Independency* in this one thing (however differing in others, as in the matter of Tithes, which these are reconciled to) that they are enemies against all *Diocesan Ruling Episcopacy*, quarrelling even the *Honesty* and *Credit* of *Primitive Churches* on that account, despising all the *Fathers*, and all the *Councils* and *Canons* of all Churches, as leavened with *Episcopacy*. The reason in all of them is one and the same; because true *Episcopacy* was a notable curb, and restraint, and remedy, equally against all *Schisms* and *Innovations* in the Church of Christ, as *St. Hierom* tells us. And further, by its venerable Authority, so Famous, so Ancient, so Universal, so Primitive, so truly Apostolick, it infinitely and intolerably upbraids all their *Novelties* and *Extravagancies*: besides they are conscious that they shall hardly ever (one for a hundred) either equallize or exceed in many *Ages* the useful and excellent Abilities, Gifts, Graces and Miracles, or the Benefits and Blessings, which by and under regular and holy *Episcopacy* the Lord was pleased to bestow (if ever any were bestowed) on his *Church* in all the world, who never (till of later yeares) knew any thing of other Church-governments, besides that of Episcopacy, any more than they saw new *Suns* or new *Moons* in the Heavens.

It may be these *Parelii* or *Paraselenes*, these *Meteors, Comets* and *blazing Stars*, that now appear in despite of primitive *Episcopacy*, will not be so long lasting, nor so benign to this or any *Church* as that was; though they seem to emulate, yea and strive to eclipse, nay quite

quite to *extinguish* the shining of those *ancient* lights to which they owe their best light of sound *Knowledge* and *Religion*, *Episcopacy* joyned with an orderly *Presbytery*.

Mean time what Inconveniencies, yea Mischiefs and Miseries have or may attend these Fractions, Diversities, Divisions and Confusions upon the account of religious forms and Church-ambitions in this and other *Churches*, between both Ministers and other sorts of Christians, what *spoyle* and *havock* they may be temptred in time to make upon one another, while they seek either to overdrop or to destroy each other, as they have done (beyond all moderation and mercy) upon *Episcopacy*, how little hopes there is that any, or many, or all of them can ever *thrive* and ascend to any height, not of secular glory, but of Christian proficiency in Truth and Love, comparable to the *pristine* or *modern Beauty*, *Fruitfulness*, *Usefulness* and *Goodness* of a right *Episcopacy* in *England* or any other Church, is left to the sober judgement and prudent presages of all wise and *worthy* Christians that list to be spectators and Readers; before whose eyes this *Scheme* is with *Truth* and *Love* plainly and *impartially* set forth, as to the *historick* and *politick Description* of these several and unproportionable Figures, which are lively *Emblemes* of the Catholick and ancient Unity and Uniformity under *Episcopacy*, compared to moderne Diminutions, Divisions and Deformities, as to Ecclesiastical Polity, Order, and Government, since *Presbytery* was planted in blood, and Independency self-sown of late years in *England*; whose Honor, as a Church Christian and Reformed, will then be most advanced, together with its *civil Peace*, when both *Presbytery* and *Independency*, as to the just Interests of godly Ministers and people, are re-ingrafted or re-incorporated with those of *primitive Episcopacy*, which is, beyond all dispute, and ever was, in the best and worst times, the best *Conservator*, as of Bishops *Apostolick Authority* and *Succession*, so of Presbyters worthy priviledges, and of all faithful peoples comely advantages, so far as they are joyntly concerned in Ordination or Approbation of Ministers, in Consecration and Communication, in holy Mysteries, in mutual Counsels, Supports and Assistances both private and publick. The just ballancing or even twisting of which three together, makes Christian Churches and States at once ample, honourable and happy, both in Order and Unity, in Strength and Beauty, in Unanimity and Uniformity, which are the best constitution and complexion of any Church that desires to thrive in Piety and Charity, in Truth and Love; which the wise and blessed God in mercy restore to us.

Book I.

SETTING FORTH THE
Present *DISTRESSES*
OF THE
CHURCH of *ENGLAND*.

CHAP. I.



Est any one should stumble at the very threshold of my Discourse, and by their too much prejudice, coynesse and easines, to take offence from *Names*, should frustrate my whole design of doing them good, by forbearing to read what I write upon such a subject; I am

The Name and Thing: the Title and Truth of the Church of England asserted.

at first, as briefly and plainly as I can, to assert the *Name of the Church of Engl.* Which Title is (certainly) the *crown* of our *Country*, the *honour* of our *Nation*, the highest, holiest, and happiest band of our *society*; the surest foundation of our peace with God and men; which under this *name*, and in this relation, becomes *sacred* as well as *civil*, religious as well as rational. It was a very sad and bad exchange, if this Nation then began to be no Ch. of Christ when it began to be a Common-wealth; if it ceased at once to be an earthly, & heavenly kingdome: which last, as the Emperour *Theodosius* said, was the greater honour of the two.

We eate, and drink, and sleep, we beget our like, we die, or kill and devour one another, as *beasts*: we build and plant, we buy and sell, we rule and obey, as meer *men*: But we believe, and worship the *true God*; we profess the faith of our *Lord Jesus Christ*; we are partakers of the gifts and graces of the *blessed spirit*; we have an holy communion with that *adorable Trinity*, and with one another in *love* and *charity*, as *Christians*, that is, *visible members* of *Christ* our *Head*, and of his Church, which is his *mysticall body*; our noblest life, sweetest society, and divinely *fraternity* is, as we are *Christians*, that is, Emulators of the holy *Angels*, Imitators of God, children and servants in the family of Christ, candidates of heaven, expectants of happiness, partakers of grace, and daily preparing for eternall glory. All which are the dispensations, capacities, and priviledges of that nation and people onely, which are and own themselves *the Church of Christ*.

Eph 3.30.

A title of so much *honour*, and reall advantages, that in earnest, no *Nation* or people once called and converted to be *Christians*, and by publick vote or profession owning themselves to be such, should ever be patient to be robbed, or under any *specious pretences* and novel *fallacies* deprived of it, since the *Empire* of the whole world, and the riches of both *Indies* are not equivalent to this *honour*, for *a people to be called Gods people which were not his*; and for a Nation which sate in

Hof. 1.10.

darknesse

darknesse and in the shadow of death, to be professedly and really *the household of faith, the Church of Christ*, as this of *Engl.* was heretofore owned to be, by the solemn and publick profession of its *Kings* and *Princes*, its *Nobles* and *Peers*, its *Parlaments* and *Synods*, its *Magistrates* and *Ministers*, by the consent, suffrages, and submissions of all estates and degrees of people, ever since its first conversion; who never thought it any *impropriety* or *barbarity* of *speech*, (much lesse any disgrace) to call themselves, according to their joynt and declared profession of the *name* and *faith* of *Christ*, *The Church of England*.

Which Title I use, according to the *good old style* and generall *phrase* of all learned, godly and wise men, both at home and abroad, Ancient and Modern. With which *Inscription*, that excellent *Bishop Jewell* set forth his just and accurate *Apologie*, full of honest learning, potent reasonings, and *unfeigned Antiquity*, besides Scripture-demonstrations: which got It and this Church so great an applause, both at home and abroad, that all *Reformed Churches* and *Divines* admired it, both this Church and that Book. The more learned and modest *Romanists* either found they had not abilities to confute it, or not confidence enough to despise it; nor did any *Non-conformists* then boggle at this Title of *The Church of England*, when they found it convenient to enjoy the benefit of Her shadow and protection, however in some things they then quarrelled at Her garb and fashion.

If any of these be now grown so wilfully ignorant, that they need to be informed in this point, they may please to know, That the *Name* of the *Church of Engl.* is more ancient, more honourable, and every way as proper, as the new style and title of the *Common-wealth of England*. Which denomination imports, not the agreement of all private mens aims, desires, and interests in all civil things (any more than the *other* doth all mens agreement in every opinion and point of Religion:) But it denotes the *declared profession* of far the *major part*, which is esteemed as the whole; whose consent is declared in the *Laws* and publick constitutions.

So by the name of the *Church of Engl.* it is not imported or implied, that we judge every particular person in this Nation to be inwardly a good Christian, or a * true Israelite, that is, really sanctified, or spiritually a member of Christ, and his mysticall body, the *Church Catholick, invisible*: No, we are not so rude understanders, or *uncriticall speakers*. But we plainly and charitably mean that *part* of mankind in this *Polity* or *Nation*, which having been called, baptized, and instructed, by *lawfull Ministers* in the *mysteries* and *duties* of the *Gospel*, maketh a joynt and publick profession of the *Christian faith* and *reformed Religion*, in the name, and as the *sense* of the *whole Nation*; as it is grounded upon the holy *Scriptures*, guided also and administred by that uniform order, due authority, and holy *Ministry*, for worship and government, which, according to the mind of Christ, the pattern of the *Apostles*, and the practise of all *Primitive Churches*, hath been lawfully established by the wisdom and consent of all estates in this Nation, in order to Gods glory, the publick peace, and the common good of mens souls.

I know

* Rom. 1. 28.
Afferimus, Ecclesiam visibili ē in S Scriptura descriptam, non tantum fuisse parochialem, seu particularem; sed esse etiam Ecclesiam quam d. m Nationalem, unius gentis aut regni; quæ constaret ex diversis & multis Ecclesiis Parochialibus uno regimine Ecclesiastico junctis, mutua communione & societate Ecclesiastica visibili inter se devinctis. Apollonius Confid. 63. Aff. 2.

I know there are some *supercilious censors* and *supercritical critics*, who cavill at, disown, disgrace and deny this glorious *Name of the Church of England*: allowing God no *Title to any such Nationall Church*, nor any Nation such a relation to God, since that of the Jews was dissolved; nor doe they much approve the *Name*, or believe the *Article of the Catholique Church*.

The truth and property of both which titles and expressions I know there is no need for me largely to vindicate, among judicious, sober and well-catechized *Christians*, who doe not drive on any design by the fractions, *parcellings* and confusions of *Nationall Churches*, as those seem to doe, who are still affectedly ignorant (for this subject hath been fully handled and cleared by many late excellent pens in England, besides the ancient and forrein writers) that the name of *Church of Christ*, next to the highest sense, which denotes all that holy and successionall society in heaven and earth, who are or shall be gathered into one, as the *mysticall invisible body of Christ*, that is purchased, sanctified and saved by him, which is never at one intuition visible in this world; this is also, in a lower sense, not more usually than aptly, applyed to expresse that whole *visible company of Christian Professors* upon earth, whose historicall faith, declared profession, and avowed obedience to the Gospel of Christ, like a great body or *goodly tree*, in its severall extensive parts and branches, stretcheth forth it self throughout the whole world. This collectively taken, as derived from one root, or bulk, is called the *visible Catholick militant Church of Christ*, being to particular Churches, not as a *genus* to the *species*, but as an integrall or whole to the parts of it.

Besides these, the name of *the Church of Christ* serves to expresse any one of those more noble parts, or eminent branches belonging to that *Catholick visible Church*, which being similiary, or partaking of the same nature by the common faith, have yet their convenient limits, distinctions, and confinements, as to neerer society and local communion, for their better order, unity, peace and safety, either in particular Cities or Countries, Provinces or *Nations*; each of which, holding communion of faith and charity with the Catholick Church, were in that respect anciently called *Catholick Churches*: so were their Synods and Bishops called *Catholick*, (long before the Bishop or Church of Rome monopolized that name) as that of Smyrna is styled in its commendatory Letter, touching their holy Bishop and Martyr Polycarpus.

sum, are called Bishops of the Catholick Churches in those Cities, by Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, &c. *Θαυμασιώτατοι διδασκαλὲς ἀποστολικοὶ, ἡγεμονικοὶ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Euseb. l. 4. Hist. c. 16.*

I deny not but the name of *the Church of Christ*, is in Scripture, and in common use may be applied, in the lowest, and least proper or complete sense, to particular congregations, and small families, especially where others met to serve the Lord: which may in some sense (as *Noahs* family in the Ark) be called Cities, Common-wealths,

Suam utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem Ecclesie, &c. Iren. l. 4. c. 62.

Damasus of Rome, Aurelius of Carthage, Callinicus of Pelus.

Rom. 16. 5. Col. 4. 15. 1 Cor. 16. 19.

*ubi tres Eccle-
sia est, licet lai-
ci. Tertul.
Ecclesia entita-
tive, non orga-
nica: materia-
lite, non forma-
liter eccl. fia.*

*Paræciarum in
quibus conve-
nitur numerus
accidentaria res
est, nihil ad ec-
clesiæ parti-
cularis essen-
tiam perti-
nens; quæ uni
Presbyterio sub-
iuncta, sacros
conventus plu-
ribus locis aut
uno potest agi-
tare. Bucer. de
gubern. eccl.
p. 10. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis, & disciplina unitate, & sp. federe. Tertull. Apol. c. 39.*

Kingdomes, Nations, as well as Churches; being the *Substrata*, *Seminaries* and *Nurseries* of both: yet this in a *defective*, improper and *diminutive* sense onely, as apart from, or compared to those larger combinations and ampler *Communities*, which all reason, besides the expresse wisdom of Christs Spirit, and the practise of the blessed Apostles followed by all the Primitive Churches, invites all Christians in any nation or polity unto, for mutual peace, good order, safety and edification, both as to Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, far beyond what can be enjoyed or expected in smaller parcels, or separated societies: whose meer locall advantages, by neighbourhood or neetness of dwelling, and actual meeting together in one place, make them not any whit more a *Church of Christ*, or in and of a Church, than it makes them men or citizens, but only gives them some conveniences for the exercise of some of those duties and priviledges, which they enjoy, not as *Members* of that single *Congregation*, but as *Branches* of the *Catholic Church* of Christ; to which Mystical Body they were admitted, when they were baptized, and to whose head, *Iesus Christ*, they are related and united, so far as they are believers either in profession or in power: Being further capable to enjoy all those benefits and advantages necessary for the publick Peace, Order, Government and well-being of a Church; All which Christ intended it, and which are not to be had in the small parcels of Christians, but in the joynt authority of larger combinations.

Such sober Christians as live above *capricious niceties*, *captious subtilties*, and popular affectation of novel formes and termes, do well understand; That, as little *slips* grow great *trees*, and small *families* multiply to populous *Cities* and *Nations*, whose strength, honour, safety and happinesse consists, not in their living apart, reserved and severed from one another in their private houses, or parishes and Townships; but in their joynt *counsels*, large *Fraternities*, and solemn *Combinations*, under the same publick *Lawes* and *Governours*; without which they cannot attaine or enjoy Peace and Safety, the noblest fruits and highest ends of humane *Societies* and civil *polities*; whose Dangers, Mischiefs and Miseries are such, as cannot be avoyded or resisted, save onely by united *Counsels* and *Affistances*, to which just appeals and addresses may be made, for redress of such mischiefs as small parties cannot avoid or remedy:

In like manner *Christians* have in all ages grown up, from the first *Apostolical Plantations* of *Christianity*, which were in particular persons and private families, to such holy *Associations*, Charitable *Combinations*, and regular *Subordinations*, as reached not onely to the first Families, or lesse *Congregations* and *Neighbourhoods* (which, as I said, may be called *Churches* in their *Infancy*, *Youth*, and *Minority*;) but they grew up, spread and increased, by the spirit of *Prudence*, *Peace*, *Order*, *Love* and *Unity*, even to great *Cities*, large *Provinces*, and whole *Nations*. To all which more publick and extensive

relations, Christians finding themselves obliged by the ties, not onely of their common faith and love, but of their own wants and mutuall necessities for Order, Safety and Peace; they ever esteemed themselves so far bound in duty to every *relation*, both greater and lesser; as the generall good, and more publick concernments of those Churches of Christ did require of them; which were ever esteemed as (*Ecclesia adulta*) Churches in their full growth, beauty, harmony, procerity, vigour and completenessse, both as to the good to be enjoyed, and the evils to be avoided, by all Christians; not onely in their private, but publick and politick capacity.

'Tis happy indeed, when one *Sinner*, or one Family, one Village or Congregation, give their names to Christ; at which the *Angels in Heaven* rejoyce: But how much more *august* must their joy be, how much more magnificent must the *glory of Christ*, and the renown of his blessed name be, when whole *Cities*, *Countreys* and *Nations* willingly ^a give themselves, and ^b be joynd to the Lord, and to his *Ministers*, or *Ambassadors*? This carries more proportion as to the merit of Christs Sufferings, price of his Blood, and power of his Spirit; so to the accomplishment of those many cleare and munificent promises, foretold with so great pomp and majesty by the Prophets, of Gods ^c giving in the Nations, with the *glory and fulnesse* of their multitudes, to Christ, for his *Inheritance*; so far that many and mighty *Kings* and *Queens* should be *nursing Fathers* and *Mothers* to the Churches of Christ: which should be not onely diffused and scattered according to the latitude and extent of their civil Dominions; but piously owned, prudently governed, and orderly preserved by their princely and paternall care, in their severall distributions, and orderly jurisdictions, according as all true prudence and polity, Ecclesiasticall as well as Civil, doth require of wise and good men. Namely, to such a grandeur, beauty, comelinessse; and safety, as was and is infinitely beyond any of those *modern Models* and *petty Inventions*, which seek to slip goodly *Boughs* into small *Twigs* or *Branches*; to reduce *ancient Churches*, of long growth, of tall and manly stature, to their *pueriles*, their *long coats* and *cradles*.

Such famous and flourishing Churches (for instance) were those in the *Apostles times* and long after, which received their denomination or distinction from those great cities of *Ferusalem*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, *Thessalonica*, *Corinth*, *Rome*, and the like Mother-Cities: According to whose latitude and extensions, in point of civil distinction and *proconsular jurisdiction*, the union and communion of Christians there first converted, and formed into severall Churches, did extend, by the holy and happy ^d Association of their respective *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, *Deacons*, and people, into one Ecclesiasticall polity: whose orderly and united influence contained in it, not onely some one particular Congregation, whose number might fitly meet in one place to worship God; but it comprised all Christians and Congregations in that city, how numerous soever, yea, and extended, not onely to the walls of that city, but to the suburbicane di-

Luke 15. 10.

a 2 Cor. 8. 5.
b Zach. 2. 11.
c Pl. 7. 11, 17.
All nations shall serve him. Isa. 52. 10, 15. c. 66. 20. 65. 1. He shall sprinkle many nations. Zach. 2. 11. And many nations shall be joynd to the Lord in that day, & shall be my people. Isa. 55. 5. Thou shalt call a nation whom thou knowest not, and nations which knew not thee shall run unto thee. Mar. 2. 11. 43 Ro. 10. 19.

d Ecclesia in Episcopo & clero, & in omnibus sanctibus est constituta. Cyp. ep. 27. Radix Christianae societatis per sedes Apostolorum & successores Episcoporum cernitur per orbem propagatione diffunditur. Aug. ep. 42.

a 1 Tim. 1. 3. I
besought thee
to abide still
at Ephesus, that
thou mightest
charge, &c.
Tim. 1. 5. For
this cause I
left thee in
Crete.
b 2 Phil. 25.
ἐμὴν δὲ ἀπό-
στολον.
c Cor. 8. 23.
ἡ πόλις οὖτοι
ἐκκλησίαν.
d Rev. 1. & 3.
ch.
See the Pri-
mate of Ar-
magh's dis-
course of the
Lydian or Pro-
consular Asia.

distributions, yea, to their severall Territories and Provinces appertaining to them: in which, although there were (no doubt) many thousands of Christians, who were divided into severall Congregations, according to the nearness of their dwellings, and conveniencies of their meetings in one place to serve the Lord; yet were they still but one Church, as to that Polity, Order, Authority, Government, Inspection and Subordination which was among them; which cast and comprehended them by a native kind of right, and spirituall descent, as children to fathers, under the care, rule and guidance of that Apostle or Apostolick Teacher, who first taught and converted them; which Apostle afterward committed them, together with his own ordinary Authority over them, to his Vicegerents, Suffragans, or Successors in that chief city, who residing there, was called the Angel, b Apostle, Bishop, President, or Father of that Church, even by the Apostles themselves, and by the Spirit of Christ, c writing to the seven Churches of Asia, Ephesus, Sardis, Pergamus, Thyatira, Smyrna, Philadelphia and Laodicea. All which were ever reckoned by Pliny, Strabo, Stephanns and others, as chief Cities, or Proconsular Residences; to which many other Villages and Towns, yea some lesser Cities and Countreys, were subordinate and united; as first, in civil dependence and jurisdiction, so afterward in Ecclesiasticall Communion and Subjection.

So that it is most evident, by Scripture-dialect, by the wisdom of Christs Spirit, by the Apostolick prudence, and the subsequent practices of all famous Churches, (as at Alexandria, Constantinople, Carthage, and many other instances) that the compleatness and perfection of Church-polity, order, union, power, and authority, was never thought to be feated or circumscribed in every particular congregation of Christians, as they were locally divided in their lesser conventions, which would make all Churches as small twigs, both feeble in themselves, and despicable to others; but it was placed in those great branches, those strong and extensive boughs, which had in them the united power or authority, not onely of many Christians, but of many congregations, in which were many godly people, many grave Deacons, many venerable Presbyters, and one eminent Bishop, or Father, who continued in that Presidentiall authority, to water, propagate, increase, preserve, and govern, in order, peace and unity, those Churches which the Apostles had so planted, fixed and established in their severall polities and limits, as to Ecclesiasticall union, order and jurisdiction; In which the chief Pastor, President, or Bishop so presided in the place, power, and spirit of the Apostle, (yea, and of Jesus Christ) that no private Christian, no Deacon, no Presbyter, yea, no particular congregation might, as Ignatius and other Ancients tell us (regularly) doe any thing, in publique doctrine, discipline, worship, or ministration, without his respective authority, consent, and allowance. Yea all good Christians did ever make great conscience of dividing from the principall succession, seat and Pastor, who was the centre and conservator of that Church-union and government, which was first settled

Ecclesie salus
in summi sa-
cerdotis digni-
tate pender, cui
si non exors
quedam & ab
omnibus emi-
nentur detur po-
estas, tot in Ec-
clesiis efficien-
tur schismata
quot sacerdotes.
Hier. advers.
Lucif.
Quia principa-
lis successione
assistunt.
Iren. 1. 3. c. 40.

settled by the *Apostles* in Primitive Churches, and imitated by all others, which grew up after them.

Primitive Christians ever esteeming it as the *sin of schisme*, the work of the *flesh*, a fruit of *pride* and *factious arrogancy*, for any Christian, or any company of Christians, to dissolve, to divide from, and so to destroy that great bond of Christian communion, and subordination, into which, by the wisdom of the Apostles, the providence of God did at first, and ever after, cast his Church, in its severall parts, throughout all the world, for their greater safety, strength, comfort, counsell, honour, peace and stability, which are then most like to be enjoyed, when *Religious power* and the *Churches authority* run not in small and shallow rivulets, which are contemptible, and soon exhausted; but in great rivers, with faire and goodly streams; in the united counsels, and combined strength of many learned, wise, grave and godly men.

Neque enim aliunde Hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata schismata, quàm inde, quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur; nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, & ad tempus iudex, vice Christi cogitatur. Cyp. ep. 55.

Nor may it be thought, in any probability of reason, that when the *Spirit of Christ* wrote by Saint *John* to the seven Churches in the lesser *Asia*, which was about ninety years after the birth of Christ, and above fifty after his Ascension; or when the Apostle Saint *Paul* wrote to the Churches eminent in other great Cities, that there were (then) no Christians, or no congregations and assemblies of them in the other cities, towns or villages of those large countries and spacious territories; or that those Christians were not at all considered by the *Spirit of Christ*, or the Apostle, as to their further confirmation, instruction, regulation, order and government: No, but all those Christians and congregations, in those respective limits, territories, or towns, belonging to such a principall city or renowned *Metropolis*, were comprehended and included in the dedication or direction given to the Angel, or Bishop and chief overseer (under, or after the Apostle) of that whole Church which was contained in that Precinct or Province. Which method and form of uniting, constituting and governing such amplified and completed Churches, was Primitive and Apostolical: whence it also grew Catholick in all Nations and Churches without exception: no Christians or Congregations (till these last and worst times) ever seeing any cause to think themselves wiser than the Apostles, or the Spirit of Christ; nor ever either finding, or feigning, or forcing any necessity, to alter that constitution; order and subordination, by any unwarrantable breakings, *Schismes*, *Separations*; which are the ready way to weaken and waste the Churches of Christ in their order, safety and majesty, by unbinding and dissolving what was once and ever well combined, breaking the *Staff of Beauty and Bands; of Unity, Defence and Stability*.

Certainly, as no Reason, so much less Religion, doth perswade any men to shrink themselves from their manly stature and full growth, to become dwarfs and children again: who but children, mad-men or fools would rend a goodly and fair garment into many beggarly shreds and tatters, which are good for nothing but to trim up Babies? How savage a cruelty is it in any (as *Medea* did her children) to cut

cut a fair, strong, and well-compacted body into severall limbs, bits and *mammocks* : which thus divided, are both deformed and dead. It argues no lesse a *fierce* and *ferine* nature in any men, to ravell and scatter themselves from all *civil fraternities* and *sociall combinations* (which strongly *twist* the joynt interest of mankind together) meerly out of a lust to return to their *dens* and *acorns* : or out of a fancy to enjoy such *liberty* as exposeth men, by their own infirmities and others malice, both to necessities, wants and injuries. Who, but mutinous and *mischievous* mariners, will cast their wise *Pilots* and skilfull *Masters* over-boord, or *shipwreck* and cut in *pieces* a fair and goodly *Ship*, in which many men being sociably & strongly embarked, they were able to encounter with, and overcome the *roughest seas* and *storms*; meerly out of a *cruell wantonnesse* and *dangerous singularity*, which covets to have each man a *rafter* or *plank* by themselves; or out of a vain hope, to make many little *skiffs* and *cock-boats*, in which to expose themselves, first to be (*ludibrium ventorum*) the scorn of every blast, *tossed to and fro with every wind*; next, (after a little *dalliance* with death, and dancing over the mouth of *destruction*) to be overwhelmed and quite sunk by such *decumane billowes* as those small vessels have no proportion to resist: Alike madnesse and folly would it be in the *Souldiers* of an Army, to scatter themselves into severall troops and companies of fifties and hundreds, that should be absolute of themselves, under no *Generall* or Commander in chief, as to joynt discipline: united they may be strong and invincible, divided they will be weak and despicable. The Polity, Wisdome, Stability, Authority and Majesty of those ancient, ample, and Apostolick Churches was such of old, that all good Christians had infinite comfort, relief, safety and support in their *communion* with them: if any injury were done by any private Minister or particular Bishop to one or many Christians, remedy was to be had by appeale to such whose judgement was most impartiall, and whose authority as well as wisdome was least to be doubted or disputed by any sober Christian. Such as were imprudently erroneous, or impudently turbulent, Innovators of true doctrine, forsakers of Christian Communion, disturbers of Peace, or despisers of *Discipline*, either they were soon cured and recovered by wholsome applications, from the authoritative hands and charitable hearts of many, not onely Christians, but Congregations, and their united Presbyters, with the joynt consent of their respective Bishops, so far as the evil and contagion had spread in particular persons, Congregations or Churches: or in case of *obstinacy*, they were not onely silenced and infinitely discountenanced, by the notable *censures* and just reproches of many, but they were (at last) as it it were with the *thunderbolts* of heaven, so smitten, bruised, astonished and disanimated by the dreadfull *Anathema's*, which from the concurrent spirit of those great Churches and Synods were solemnly denounced in the name of Christ, by the chief *Pastors* or *Bishops succeeding* in the authority and place of the Apostles, that every good Christian feared and trembled;

bled; they wept and prayed for such sinners repentance; and in case of desperate contumacy or incorrigibleness, they gave them over to the Devil, as certainly, as if the sentence of Gods eternall doom had passed upon them. *Summum futurū iudiciū præiudiciū. Terc. Apol. c. 39.*

This, this was the *pristine polity, unity, beauty, majesty and terrour* of the Churches of Christ in their ample and Apostolical combinations; when each of those Churches were (as sometimes in England) *faire as the Moon, bright as the Sun, beautifull as the tower of Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, a city of God, at unity in it self, also terrible as an army with Banners*: for so they are prophesied, of and described, under the name of the *Spouse of Christ*. *Can. 6. 4. 10.*

Can any Christian, that is not utterly *fanatick* and wild with his *Enthusiastick* fancies, ever expect such harmony, weight, lustre, authority and efficacy from any of those petty *Conventicles* and pigmy Churches, into which some men seek first by Independent principles and practices to *mince* all *Episcopall* and *National Churches*; next, by *Presbyterian policies*, to *mould* and *scoulder* them up again (as *Mædea* did *Jasons* limbs) either to partiall *Associations*, or to *parochial Consistories*, or little popular *Conventicles*; where either *Piety*, or *Prudence*, or *Learning*, or *Gravity*, (besides *authentick* and due authority) yea *Civility*, and all good manners (many times) are prone to be very much wanting; or if they be there in some few, yet a thousand to one but they are quite over-born, routed, silenced, over-voted and cryed down by the *plebeian confidences* of those many, whose ignorance and rudeness delights in nothing more, than either to smother and crowd to death by numbers, or to assassinate by downright clamours and brutish violence, any thing that looks like *sober Reason, holy Order, just Restraint and due Authority*; all which the vulgar esteem as their *implacable enemies*, and intolerable burdens.

So little do those men seem masters of true Reason, pious Policy, Christian Prudence, or sociable Charity, who advise, endeavour, or encourage to divide, and consequently to destroy, *Episcopall, Metropolitick* and *National Churches*, by dissolving the noble frames, the ancient and harmonious *jointures* of them, onely to make up small *Independent bodies*, or *Presbyterian Classes*, & *Parochiall Consistories*, as the sole and supreme *Tribunals* or ultimate *Judicatories*, beyond any remedy or appeal, in *Church-affairs*; which is much like the digging down of *Mount Lebanon*, with a design to make it into many fine *mole-hills*: In which a few poor, yet *pragmatick Christians* (like so many *ams*) may busie themselves solely and absolutely about themselves; as arrogating to themselves (though but two or three, or seven at most) the perfect name, complete nature, entire power, and highest emphasis of a *Church of Christ*, to all uses, ends and purposes, without any regard to any other higher authority, or to any greater and completer Society, further than they list to advise or associate with them for a time, as occasion serves, and till some *new invention* offers it self.

Mean time they are not ashamed, or concerned, as to that rude
and

Qui non parti-
cipant Spiritu,
neq; à mamillis
matris nutriun-
tur in vitam,
neq; percipiunt
de corpore Chri-
sti procedentem
nitidissimum
fontem. &c. pu-
tidam bibunt
aquam, &c.
Iren. l. 3. c. 40.
a 1 Cor. 4. 15.
Summus sacer-
dos qui est Epi-
scopus. Tert. de
bap. c. 17.

Tot in Ecclesiis
efficitur schis-
mata, quot sa-
cerdotes, nisi E-
piscopo exors
quedam & ab
omnibus emi-
nens detur po-
testas. Hieron.
adv. Lucif.

Judicabit Do-
minus eos qui
schismata ope-
rantur, qui sunt
immanes, non
habentes Dei
dilectionem, su-
amq; utilitatem
potius conside-
rantes quam u-
nitatem Ecclesie,
& quantum in ipsis
est interficiunt, pacem loquentes &
bellum operantes, veri liquantes calicem,
& camulum de-
glutientes. Nulla enim ab eis tanta potest fieri correctio, quanta est schismatis perniciēs. Iren. l. 4. c. 62.

Coimus in co-
tum & congre-
gationem, ut ad
Deum quasi
manu facta
precaionibus
ambimus o-
rantes. Tertul.
Apol. c. 39.

and ingratfull violation of those *duties* which they owe, and those *re-
lations* which they ought to beare as Christians, by the right of an ho-
ly *propagation*, spirituall descent, and ecclesiasticall *derivation* of
their baptisme, faith and religion, to that Church which was their Mo-
ther, and to those chief Pastors or Shepherds which were their *spiri-
tuall Fathers*, by an *Apostolick* title, designation and succession, both
in place, order and power. Which spirituall relation certainly im-
ports no lesse duty, love, thanks, reverence and submission, than those
of naturall and civill relations doe: since the blessing is at least equall,
if not far beyond, to those that value their souls or their Saviour;
who will not easily abdicate their ghostly parents, or renounce their
spirituall Fathers, though they should see many infirmities, and some
frowardnesse in them.

I shall not need to instance in the many defects, inconveniences, dis-
orders, and mischiefs incident to these (*Ecclesiola*, and *Congregatium-
cula*) little Churchlets and scattered Conventicles: which cannot
but be (as S. *Jerome* observes) the *Seminaries* of Schisme, Nur-
series of Faction, strife and emulation; since the Sire of them seems
to be Ignorance and Weaknesse, or *pride* and arrogancy; as the Dam
of them usually is faction, private ends and popularity: Nor will
their *Issue* faile to multiply and swarm in a few years, with grosse ig-
norance and rudenesse, with all manner of errors and heresies, accom-
panied with vulgar *petulance*, *atheisme*, *irreligion*, *anarchy*, *confusion*,
and *barbarity*, which (like *vermine*) will devoure both themselves,
and those completer *Churches*, from whose communion, order, light,
strength, discipline, integrity, and safety, they have withdrawn them-
selves, by needlesse divisions, to the weakning, shaking, subverting
and endangering of the faith, charity, and salvation of many thousands
of poore soules: the strength, beauty, honour, safety, and comfort of
particular congregations, as of private Christians and families, con-
sisting in that orderly *conjuncture*, as parts with the whole body po-
litick, which may best preserve both *It* and themselves: there being
not onely *more virtue* in the whole than in any part; but more *vigour*
in each part, while it is *continuous* to the whole, than when it is *divi-
ded*. Which as all Reason and Religion, so most sad *experience* in the
Church of England, sufficiently assures us.

For, however private *Christians* have indeed some power, as to
counsell, admonish, reprove, comfort, pray for, and by charitable of-
fices to help and edifie one another; also private congregations have
yet more advantages, being many in their number, to joyn in pub-
lique duties, to comprobe and execute Ecclesiasticall censures;
further, each single *Minister*, or lawfull *Presbyter*, hath yet greater au-
thority in his place and office, to administer holy things, by *preaching*,
baptizing, *consecrating*, *binding*, *loosing*, *exhorting*, *rebuking*; likewise
every *Bishop* hath still an higher order and authority, regularly to or-
daine,

daine, to *confirm*, to *examine*, to *censure*, to *rebuke*, to *suspend*, to *resolve*, to *excommunicate* any private *Presbyter* or other *Christians* under his inspection: Yet, where the *Bishop* is assisted with the desires, consent, and approbation of many *Christian* congregations, also with the joynt assistance of many learned and godly *Presbyters*, yea and with the united suffrages and authority of many *Bishops*, (as in cases of great and generall concernment in matters of *doctrine*, *censure*, and *discipline* is requisite,) O how *ponderous*, how *solemn*, how *celebrious*, how *powerfull*, how *Apostolick*, how *divine*, must the majesty and authority of such *transactions* be in any Church, thus combined, established and fortified; against both secret contagions and violent incursions of any mischiefs, which easily grow too hard for private *Christians* and petty *Congregations*; yea many times for particular *Presbyters* and single *Bishops*! Nor can the remedy expectable from these in their *solitary capacities* and small proportions, either cure or encounter the pregnancy and potency of those maladies which many times infest the *flock of Christ*; as was evident in those Epidemick pests of *Arianisme*, *Nestorianisme*, *Donatisme*, *Pelagianisme*, and others: which malignities required not onely the influence and authority of a few private *Presbyters* with their *Congregations*, or of particular *Bishops* and their *Churches*; but of *Provinciall Synods*, and *Nationall Churches*, yea of the *Catholick Church*, as much as could be, united in those *General Councils*, which were as grand *Ecclesiasticall Parliaments*, by their majority, deputation, inspection and authority, representing all *Churches* in all the *World*; that so the salve might still be wisely commensurate to the sore. The danger of a divided Church being no lesse than that of a divided State or Kingdome, which our Saviour tells us cannot stand; it must not be imagined that Christ hath left his Church destitute of defence and help in such cases of distraction.

*Ecclesiis vocat
Tertullianus c-
tiam eas, quæ
ordinis confes-
sum non habebant:
ubi quisq;
sacerdos erat si-
bi; quorum erat
tò v. d. et v.
tò m. r. v. a-
v. q. i. v. v. d. a.
&c.
At excommuni-
care non com-
mune est; sed
proprium cætu
habentis ordinē.
Grot. Appen.
de Antichrist.*

Mar. 3. 24.

These grand combinations of *Christian* people, *Presbyters* and *Bishops*, convening (as occasion required) not onely to serve God in the piety of his daily worship, but for the right ordering and guiding of themselves and others in such publick concernments as *Christian polity* and gubernative prudence required; these made *Christian primitive Churches* appear in their *Synodicall*, *Provinciall*, *Nationall* and *Oecumenicall Assemblies*, as the fairest sides and goodliest prospects of the *Temple* and *city of God* were wont to do, to the joy or amazement of all *Spectators*, so grand, so stately, so august, so amiable, so venerable, so formidable, that no man could with any modesty despise them, or with any ingenuity refuse their sense and sentence.

Si duo unanimes tantum possunt, quid si unanimitas apud omnes esset? quid si secundum pacem quam Dominus nobis dedit, universis fratribus conveniret? Cyp. ep. 8.

Whereas *Schismaticall scraps* and *scambling separations* of *Christians*, either in their persons or parties, as disjoyned and *Independent* from these *Primitive polities* and *Catholick integrations* of *Churches*, make their scattered fractions & unsociable societies appear not onely to the scornfull world, and to perverse minds, but to all sober *Christians* and rationall men, like to many poor Cottages, or like the late ruined pieces of our *Cathedralls*; like a flock of Sheep or Pigeons, scat-

tered by *Wolves* or *Rites*; or like the parts of a *Lamb*, or *Kid*, which a *Lion* or *Bear* hath torn; without that *Grandeur*, *Majesty*, *Authority* and *Efficacy*, which ought to accompany *Ecclesiasticall* judicatures and *Christian Churches*.

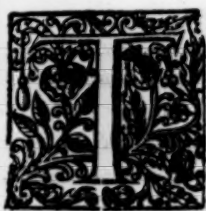
Gen. 26. 4.

In which *pitiful posture*, so *feeble*, so *desolate*, so *despicable*, if the wisdom of our *blessed God and Saviour* had intended to have alwayes kept his multiplied Church and numerous people, which were to beas the *Stars* of the *Firmament*, that they should ever be like the *small parties* of *wild Arabs* and *wandering Scythians*; certainly, those *Primitive* and *purest Churches*, nominally distinguished and locally defined by the *Word of God*, the *Spirit of Christ*, and the *Pens* of the *Apostles*, would never have grown, by an happy diffusion and holy *coalescency*, to such great and *goodly combinations*, such vast, yet comely *statures* and *extensions*; to so large combinations and harmonious *subordinations*, as contained great *Cities*, *Provinces*, and whole *Countreys*: For such Churches those are which are signally described and punctually circumscribed in the *New Testament*, as well as in all other records of the *Primitive Churches*.

2 Sam. 10. 4.

Which fair and firm models of Churches, comprehending many *Christian people*, *Deacons*, *Presbyters* and *Congregations* under one *chief Pastor*, *Bishop*, *Angel*, or *Apostolick President* (who was as the *nave* of the *wheel*, the *centre* of *Union*, the *anchor* of *Fixation*) I make no doubt but the *Spirit of Christ* in the *Apostles* (which so framed and settled them) did intend to have them so *preserved*, as much as morally, *prudentially* and *providentially* they could be; yea rather to have them amplified and enlarged (as time, use, and the Churches occasions required) than *curtailed* (like the *garments* of *Dauids messengers*) or *pared* and divided into small *shreds* and *shavings*. The reason is evident: because the *life* and *spirit*, the *truth* and *charity*, the *honour* and *vigour* of *Christian Religion* and *Church-polity* (like *Wine*) are better preserved in great *quantities*, than in small *parcels*; in *Tuns*, than in *Terces*. *Christian people*, *Presbyters*, *Congregations* and *Bishops*, like *live-coals*, united, glow to a more *generous fervour*; scattered, they cool and extinguish themselves: unlesse in cases of persecuted Churches, where *Martyrly fervencies* are kept high and intense by the *Antiperistasis* of *persecution*; the most *heroick love* and *ambition* of suffering and dying for *Christ* and his Church, then uniting *Christians spirits* most, when their persons are most scattered.

BOOK I. CHAP. II.



THe *Primitive Piety and Charity* so perfectly abhorred all *fractures and crumbings* of Churches, that we see they kept for *many hundred of years*, as *Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenaus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, Eusebius*, and all *Ancient both Fathers and Historians* tell us, their respective *Combinations, Fraternities,*

and *Subordinations* to their *Bishops, Patriarchs, and mother-Churches*; according to those (*Sedes principales*, ^a *Cathedra Apostolica*, or *ἐκκλησιαστικὴ*) limits or *boundaries*, which were laid out and distinguished, either by the ^b *Apostles* first *lots* and *Episcopall portions*, or by their chief *residencies*, and settled *inspections* governed either by themselves, or their *Vicegerents* and *Successors*, most of them *Primitive Martyrs* and *Confessors*: which was done even till the famous *Council of Nice*, which in the point of distinguishing Churches, and keeping their severall *Dioceses* or *bounds*, took care to preserve to after-ages and *successions* of the Church, those (*ἡ ἀρχαία*) *ancient customs, measures, or dimensions*; some of which, begun by the *Apostles*, and carried on by their *Successors*, had passed through and endured the ^c *hottest persecutions*, without ever being so melted and dissolved, as to run into any such new *moulds and fashions*, as this last *Century*, in these *Western Churches*, and these last *seventeen yeares* in the Church of *England* have produced; to such (*frustula*) *fragments, chips and fractions*, as look more like *factionous confederacies*, and furtive *subductions* of yesterday, than like those *Primitive combinations*, and that ancient and ample *Communion* of *Christians* and *Churches*. The endeavour of many *People* and *Preachers* too being (now) like that of *Plagiaries*, to entice and steal *children* from the care of their *mothers*, and the custody of their *fathers*, to ^d *ruine* (as *Tertullian* speaks) rather than to edifie themselves or the Churches of *Christ*, to that full measure, and complete *stature*, which the love of *Christ*, and the wisdom of his *Apostles*, first designed and assigned to the Church of *Christ*, in its severall limits and distributions.

secutione proscripti, &c. Cypr. ep. 52. d Hoc negotium est illis, non ethnicos convertendi, sed nostros evertendi: Ita fit ut ruinas facilius op. ventur stantium edificiorum, quam extruções jacentium ruinarum. Tert. de præf. ad Hæ.

In order to preserve which *Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*, not onely as to private veracity and charity, but as to publick polity and *harmony*, for strength and safety, we find the *Primitive Bishops* and *Presbyters* forewarned by *S. Paul* of *grievous Wolves*, who first divide, then devour: such as should be authors and fautors of *Heresies* and *Schismes* too; affecting to lead *Disciples* after them, apart from the Churches settled order and communion. The *Roman Christians* are commanded to mark with the black brand of *schismatick pride*, those that caused divisions among them, not onely as to private

Primitive Piety and Prudence utterly against *Schismatick* dividing or mincing of Churches into small bodies or parcels.

^a Age jam qui vult exercere curiositatem in negotio salutis tuæ, percurrere ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipse adhuc Cathedra Apostolorum suis locis præsentatur; apud quas ipse Authentica littera recitantur. Tert. de præf. c. 30.

^b Ecclesia; ab ipso Christo inchoata, per Apostolos prævestita, certâ successionum serie usque ad hæc tempora tota terrarum orbe dilatata. Aug. l. 28. cont. Faust.

^c Aet. 1. 17, 20. ^c Episcopi per omnes provincias & singulas urbes ordinati sunt, in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in pressurâ probati, in per-

Eph. 4. 3.

Acts 20. 28, 29, 30.

Rom. 16. 17.

1 Cor. 1. 10.
3. 3.

differences in judgement, opinion and affection (which are of lesse danger, and easily healed among Christians, where the health and soundnesse of the whole, as to publick order and entirenesse, is preserved; which (as the *native Balsam*) easily heals green wounds in any part of the body;) But the *Apostles caution*, as to the *Corinthians*, seems chiefly against those that divided the publick polity, and unity of the Church of Corinth; which having many Christians, many Congregations, and many Preachers in the city and countrey adjacent, was united by one Church-communion, under some one Apostle, or such a Vicegerent as (in the *Apostles absence*) was over them in the Lord: To break which holy Subordination, Harmony and Integrality, the simplicity or subtilty of some factious spirits made use of those Names which were most eminent in that Church, as Planters, Waterers, or Weeders of it, such as Paul, Apollos, Cephas were; seeking by factious sidings and adherings to those principall Teachers, to withdraw themselves into severall Churches or Bodies, from that grand Communion and Subordination, which they received first from the Apostle converting them; next, from that chief Pastor or Bishop, which had the rule, inspection, and authority over them by his appointment.

Which practises in the Churches of Christ were ever esteemed the fruits of a carnall, not Christian minds; of such as had more subtilty than sanctity in them. As the Apostles, so their Primitive successors ever looked upon the wincing and mangling of Churches, as the reproch, pest, poyson and deformity of Religion, being diametrally opposite to those holy customes (ἡ ἀρχαία) which Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and, sixty years after him, the great Council of Nice, so command and recommend, as Ancient, Primitive and Apostolick. For they were not such children, as to fancy those to be ancient customs and usages in the Catholick Church, which were not older than their own beards, or the Gibeonites bread and bottles; which a late Writer of Schisme seems to suspect of those renowned Fathers, who were not above three descents from some of the Apostles. Some Bishops in the Council of Nice might very easily know Irenaeus, as he tells us he did Papias and Polycarpus, who both knew St. John: so that the traditions and customs so evident by matter of fact to all the world, could neither be dark nor dubious; nor justly called Ancient then, if not Primitive.

a 1 Cor. 3. 3.
b Sophista magis verborum, quam discipuli veritatis. Irenaeus.
c Qui à principali abstant successione, quocunque loco colliguntur, sufficiens habere oportet, ut vel hereticos & male sentientes, vel scindentes, & elatos, & sibi placentes; omnes isti decedunt à veritate, sophista magis verborum esse volentes, quam discipuli veritatis. Irenaeus. l. 4. c. 43. & lib. 3. c. 40. Jam pridem per omnes provincias & per singulas urbes ordinati sunt Episcopi, in aetate antiqui, in fide integri, in pressura probati, in persecutione proscripti. Cypr. ep. 52. d Iren. l. 5. c. 33. Irenaeus vir Apostolicorum temporum, Papias discipulus, Polycarpi amicus, & Episcopus ecclesiae Lugdun. Hieron. Catalog.

The greatest glory, and most conspicuous character of the first famous Churches was (as Ignatius tells us) for Christians to love one another, to be of one mind and one heart; for their lesser Congregations to be subject to their severall Presbyters or Preachers; for their People and Presbyters to be meekly subordinate to their respective Bishops; for their Bishops to correspond with one another (and all
Chri-

Christians by them) in their joynt *Councils*, and *publick Conventions*; also by their (*ἐγκύκλια*) *commendatory letters* and *testimonials*, which presently admitted every good Christian to *communion* with any part of the true Church, or any *congregation* in all the world, upon the testimony and account of their *Baptismal covenant*, and orderly conversation, or profession of the same *faith*, once delivered to the Saints; and that one hope, or *common salvation*, by which they stood related to the whole Church as one Body, and to Christ Jesus as the onely Head of it; without any new imposition or exaction of any other explicit covenants, and formall professions, or private engagements, to any one Congregation or Preacher: which must be renewed so oft as a Christian changeth his abode, and may (for ought I see) as well be required by every private Family, before they will pray, or eat, or drink with any stranger-Christian, as by every particular Congregation which listeth to call it self a Church, and so fancies it self to be absolute, sovereign, independent, without any communion with, or subordination to those greater Ecclesiasticall *polities*, which in the primitive style and esteem were called and counted the onely regular, politick, organized and completed Churches; the priviledges and benefits of whose communion every Christian was in charity presumed capable of, and so allowed to enjoy, who having been duly baptised, instructed and confirmed in Christian mysteries, did continue to professe the same by word and deed; neither justly excommunicated out of that particular Church, to which he was orderly joyned, nor excommunicating himself by voluntary Schisme, declared *abscission*, *separation*, or *Apostasie*.

To such Christians as thus professe the true faith, and keep that comely order, communion and subordination, which is publickly professed and maintained in their *respective nationall Churches*, and the severall parts & lesser Congregations contained in them (to which private Christians are (more immediately) *for order sake* related) there is no doubt, but a just right and claim belongs, according to their severall aptitudes and capacities (as younger or elder, catechised or fuller instructed, *novices* or *veterane* and old Disciples) to partake (in due order) of any ordinance and institution given by Christ to his *Catholick Church*, as a mark and priviledge of his Disciples. Nor can it seem lesse than a petulant and partiall, if not a proud, Schismatical and *sacrilegious* practise, for any Minister or people to deny or rob any such approved Christian professor of the comfort of partaking such Christian rights as he duly requires, meerly because he will not gratifie such a Minister, or such a little Congregation, in a new exotick way of bodying, that is formally covenanting & verbally engaging with them & to them, beyond the baptismall bond & vow: Thereby owning first a greater right and priviledge to be received by him from such covenanting with them, than he had before as a Christian baptised, and in Catholick communion with Christ and his Church; next, he must own an absolute, sovereign, and entire Church-power among them, to the prejudice, division, and discarding of those higher

ΣΥΝΑΓΙΚΑΙ
ἑπιστολαί,
2 Cor. 3. 1.

Jude 3.

Eph. 4. 4.

Corpus sumus
de conscientia
religionis, &
discipline uni-
tate, & spei
fœdere. Terr.
Apol. c. 39.
a Eph. 4.4,
5, 6.

Heb. 13. 17.

Col. 2. 1.
Act. 20. 38.

Sicut Smyrna-
eorum ecclesia
habens Poly-
carpum à Jo-
hanne con-
stitutum re-
fert; sicut Roma-
norum Clemen-
tem à Pe-
tro ordinatum
edit; perinde
utique & ca-
eteræ exhibent
(ecclesiæ) quos
ab Apostolis in
Episcopatu
constitutos A-
postolici se-
minis traduces habent. Terr. de Præf. c. 32.

b Ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν, Ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι ἐνχαλεῖται τὸ
δῶν, ἐν ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει ὑπάρχων, μὴ παραβαίνων τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτοῦ κατόντα, ἐν
σημύτῃ. Clem. ep. ad Corinth. 1. p. 53.

higher relations, by which he stands united and subordinate to the Church of Christ in order to higher ends and uses, under greater notions and denominations; as they are distinguished into severall bounds and orders both for *Episcopal inspection*, and *nationall correspondence*, or *communion*; which are of far greater vertue, and more publick concernment and benefit, than that congregating or meeting together, which is (onely) *locall*, and onely follows the aptitude of a Christians *residency* or particular station in one place. Undoubtedly, the grand ecclesiastical relations and sacred generall bands of Christianity in a *one Body, one Spirit, one Faith, one Baptism, one Lord and Father of all*, &c. are of a far higher and nobler nature, than those which arise meerly from cohabitation, or personall convention; which are very variable, humane and uncertain; whereas the other are fixed, divine and immutable, except through mens own default, by Infidelity, Apostacy, and Immorality: Christian people owing to their *Bishops* or chief Governours (as subjects do to their *Princes*) a duty of love, reverence and subjection; also of due acknowledgement and holy *obedience*, although they never see their faces, nor meet them in any *particular place*; as thousands of Christians never did at all, or not for a long time, and *never any more*, after the Apostle S. Paul's departure from them; who yet were *subject* to his orders and mandates, instructions and traditions, according to the mind and spirit of Christ, declared by his own *Epistles*, or such other Messengers and *Apostles*, Bishops and Governours, whom the Apostle sent to them and *set over them*; as he did *Timothy* among the Ephesians, *Titus* among the Cretians; *Epaphroditus* among the Philippians, *Archippus* among the Colossians.

These, and such like, with, under, and after the Apostles, as eminent Pastors, Bishops and Governours of such Churches and Christians, as were contained in one great city, and its Territory or Province (which were called *ἐπαρχία, παροικία, and διοίκησις*) did take care, that every Christian, every Congregation, every Presbyter or Preacher in those precincts, should both do their duties, ^b keep their stations, preserve the private and publick order and unity, enjoy the priviledges of safety, peace and assistance, as parts or members of that *Polity* or *Ecclesiasticall Body*, which still stood further related, and so was subordinate to the Counsel, Communion, and conjoynd Authority of those *integrall* and maine or nobler *parts*, which made up the Catholick visible Church, and sometimes convened in *generall Councils*.

Of all which rights, blessings, priviledges, and advantages, both for *direction* and *protection*, which are best preserved in, and vigorously derived from these ample *combinations* of Churches, which are commended by the Apostolicall wisdom and spirit (which was Christs) for any Christian or Congregation needlessly to deprive themselves,
or

or to withdraw & divide others from them, must needs be, First, their *Infelicity*, exposing and betraying *solitary Christians* and small separate parties of them, to many *dangerous temptations* and disadvantages, of weaknesse, contempt, subdivision, animosities among themselves; also injuries and indignities from others; and at last, dissipations and utter desolations, still dividing to Atomes, and mouldring themselves to nothing.

All which, like continued *ploughes* and *harrowes*, make long and fruitlesse furrowes of deformity upon the *backs* and *faces* of such Congregations and such Christians, who foolishly forsake or refuse those remedies and *assurances* which arise from the larger combinations of Churches: which are easily had, when as whole *Cities*, *Provinces* and *Nations* professe the faith of Christ, and resolve to assert it.

Next, it is their *great sin*, called in Scripture by the odious name of *Schisme*, *Concision*, *Sedition*, *Separation*, *withdrawing* from, *foraking* and *dividing* of the Churches unity; judged by the Apostle to be the *works of the Flesh* and of the *Devil*, when they arise from, and are carried on by wilfull weaknesse, ignorance, pride, arrogancy, popularity, levity, animosity, despight, study of revenge, coverousnesse, ambition, uncharitablenesse, or any other base lust, unholy distemper, inordinate passion, sinister interest, and secular designe, under never so *specious pretensions*, of Church-Reformation, of setting up Christ in greater power and purity: which I am sure is not yet done in *Old England*, nor like ever to be effected by *such strange methods* of new churching men and women; which begins the first step with *spurning* at the *mother* that bred them, and the *fathers* that begat and nourished them; laying the *first stone* of their new building in the ruine of that Churches both Superstructures and Foundations, out of which *Quarry* they were hewen, and to whose *Fabrick* they were once orderly and handsomly conjoyned for many years, as many *thousands of good Christians* still are, whom they endeavour to scare and seduce, with all the *scandalls* they can cast before them upon *this Church of England*.

Gal. 5. 10.
1 Cor. 12. 25.
Phil. 3. 2.
Heb. 10. 15.

Which they having once learned boldly to *reproch* and *abuse*, they must make good their words with *deeds*; that their *schisme* may not favour of malice or ambition, but conscience and Religion. Hence many have fallen to *tear* themselves quite off from any communion with, or relation to the Church of *England*, and from all resemblance, in the point of polity, with any other ancient, or modern, and reformed Churches of any renown; making not onely *rents* in them, and objections against them, but total *ruptures* and *abscissions* from them, and the *Catholick form* of all Churches, no less than from this of *England*; not modestly forbearing the use of some *things*, in which at present they are less satisfied, but *haughtily forsaking*, yea wholly disdaining communion and subordination in any things of *Ecclesiastical order* and *holy ministration*.

And all this credulous *Christians* must needs do with the more
con-

confidence, when they are furnished by potent Orators with such Apologies, as may either silence their own consciences, when they accuse them; or plead, as they think, their excuse before Gods tribunall, when they shall be there charged for the scandals, defamations, discouragements deformities, divisions and vastations, made or occasioned by them in such a Christian, Reformed and united Church, as England sometime was.

1 Cor. 12. 15.

It is not amiss to hear the ground of their plea, which is, with as much reason, as if the hand or foot should think themselves not to be of the body, because in a fit and humour they so say and fancy.

I find the tenour of their Apology runs thus: 'I am by many men of seeming gravity, learning and piety, accused of the sin of Schisme; but very unjustly, because very falsely. I did not, I do not make any division or rent in the Church of England, which is properly and critically the sin of Schisme; but I have totally chopped & quite lopped my self off from it, by Abscission or rupture: I never troubled my self to reform or abstain from what I thought offensive and amiss in the old, but I have wholly erected a new Church: I was not as a wedge to cleave a little, but as a saw to cut all quite in sunder, past all closing with any such society, as the (reputed) Nationall Church of England was, which I do not so much as account to be any Church, but rather a Chaos or colluvies of titular Christians, out of whose masse I have by a new percolation of Independency extracted some such pure materials, as are formable into a new and true Church-way.

'Yet have I not made any formall Schisme: for my work was not to rend the coat, or scratch the skin of Christs Spouse, but to break her very bones, and quite dismember that so diseased and deformed body, which pretended to be a nationall Church, in its severall overgrown Limbs or Dioceses; on each of which I saw a Bishop or Prelate sitting and presiding, which I took to be a mark of the Beast, and denoting a limb of Antichrist; which I know should have no place or influence in any true Church or body of Christ.

'So that to become a perfect Christian, I became a perfect Separatist; I hung by no string, sinew, ligature, skin or fibre, to the so-cryed-up Church of England: no, I aimed not to divide it, but destroy it; my design was, not to weaken its integrity and unity, but to nullifie and abolish its very name and being, its polity, ministry, power, and Ecclesiasticall authority; if (at least) these amounted to any thing more than the Chimæra, fancy and meer fiction of a Church. However, I chose rather to deprive my self of all the good in it, than to bear with what seemed evil.

'I did not carry my self to that Church (in which after a superstitious fashion I was (indeed) Baptised and educated a Christian) as became a son to his sick mother; much lesse as a servant to Christs Spouse, which might have her faintings: But I counted her (when I came to misunderstand her and my self) as a deadly enemy; I treated her as an Adulteresse, I proclaimed her a putid Strumpet; I with-

Magnum & gloriosum Christi corpus con-scindunt & dividunt, & quantum in ip-sis est interficiunt. Irenæ. l. 4. c. 62.

drew

'drew from her as from a dead and noysome carcase, which had
'long layen dead and buried in the old grave of *Episcopacy* these thir-
'teen or fourteen hundred yeares, even from her very *nativity*:
'therefore I condemned and abhorred *Her* with all her *Scriptures*
'and Sacraments, her Bishops and Preachers, her Tithes and Uni-
'versities, her Books and Learning, her Fathers and Histories, her
'Languages and Sciences, her seeming Gifts and specious Graces,
'her Religion and Reformation.

'Notwithstanding the shew of all these, I abhorred *Her* as a *Sy-*
'*nagogue of Satan*, a den of *Thieves*, a cage of unclean birds, a very *Baby-*
'*lon*, worse than that *Church* was from which *Peter* wrote his first *Epi-* 1 Pet. 5. 13.
'*stle*, I called *Her* *sacred things* execrable; I counted her Ministers
'no better than the Magicians of *Egypt*, and *Baals* Priests. Her *mini-*
'*strations* as Magick enchantments; Her *Sacraments* insignificant;
'neither sanctified, nor sanctifying.

'So far am I from being a *poor and sneaking Schismatick* which (like a
'*viper*) secretly gnawes the *bowels* where it is bred and lodged; That
'out of an higher spirit of Zeal and Reformation, I have (like *Saturn*
'or *Time*) quite devoured the old, and wholly begat a *new Church*;
'notwithstanding that I saw heretofore many seeming notes of a
'*true and reformed Church* in *England*; many specious fruits of Christs
'*holy spirit*, in many *formall* good words and *works* of his seemingly
'gracious servants, in Doctrine, Faith and Manners: by which
'temptations I sometimes had been a *great Zealot* and eager Professor,
'having an high esteem both of the *Ministers* and *Ministrations* of
'the *Church of England*.

'But afterward (a *new light* breaking in upon me) I first began to
'scruple some things in the *Church of England*; after, to *suspect*
'more, at last I was *jealous* of all things (but my own heart.) From
'jealousie I soon fell to *enmity*, from *enmity* to a *divorce*; from be-
'ing divorced to prostitute the name, honour, peace and patrimony
'of that *Church* to the most insolent spoilers, profaners and perse-
'cutors; from cavilling I fell to calumniating, then to condemning;
'at last to contemning all its professed *Christianity*, and noised Refor-
'mation, as meer nullities, uncapable to invest any man in the priviled-
'ges, honour and happinesse of a true Christian *Church*, or holy *Society*.

'Thus *bogling* cruelly at the too great *authority and revenues* of *Bi-*
'*shops*; scared also with some *ceremoniall shadows*, and no lesse fright-
'ed with the late Presbyterian rigour and severity, I was so
'driven by I know not what *impulse*, (but I am prone to believe
'well of it, because I have *got well by it*) that I (at last) fled
'from the very substance, shew and name of the *Church of England*;
'chusing rather to be a rank *Separate*, a meer *Quaker*, an arrant *See-*
'*ker*, or *nothing* at all of an old-fashioned Christian, than to continue in
'any visible *communion* with so corrupt, so false, so lewd, so no
'Church: by which high-flown resolution all this while (I thank
'God) I am become no *Schismatick*; because neither *being* nor
'*owning* (and therefore not *being* because not *owning*) my self

‘as any member of *that* Church; from which I rather chose boldly
‘to *separate*, than poorly to *schismatise* in it.

1fa. 65. 5.

‘Having a while wandered alone (as *Lot* when he fled out of *So-*
‘*dom*;) and standing by my self, as *holier than others*, finding none
‘meet to joyn with me in *Church-fellowship*; but growing weary, and
‘a little ashamed of my *solitude*, (neither hearing, nor praying, nor re-
‘ceiving with any Christians for many moneths, nay *yeares* ,) at last I
‘had an *impulse* to *preach* and *prophecy*, that so I might erect and create
‘a *pure* and *perfect* Church after my own heart, and call it after my own
‘name.

Mat. 18. 20.

‘In which though I began but with a little handful, whom I gleaned
‘(most-what) out of the *Presbyterian late harvest*, (which proved too
‘big for their barns, and so was never yet well inned;) yet we (two
‘or three) met together in *Christs name*, though upon our own
‘heads, and by our own authority, expecting, yea challenging his
‘*promise* to be in the *midst* of us , with all that plenitude of *his spirit*,
‘with those clear illuminations and assurances, with that *divine pow-*
‘*er* and supreme *Church-authority*, which next and immediately *under*
‘*Christ* we judge to be in and among us, as the first subject capable of
‘it, and is by us to be *dispensed* to what *Pastors*, *Members* and *Offi-*
‘*cers* we list to chuse. Being thus happily agreed as men, we further
‘*covenanted* as *Saints*, to live together in this *Church-fellowship* : we
‘*organized* our body with all Church-Officers; some of us ordained
‘our selves to be Ministers of the Gospel, others of us begat our
‘Fathers and formed our Pastors; we equally exercised *Church-di-*
‘*scipline* upon one another, so long as we could hold together :
‘some indeed *went out* from us, *because they were not of us*; the re-
‘maining faithfull *Members* of Christs little flock still cemented them-
‘selves, and kept together as a Church, where was *prophecyng*, and
‘*dipping*, and *breaking* of bread, and excommunicating, and all man-
‘ner of censuring and discipline; to far better uses and effects than e-
‘ver were in that spurious as well as spacious and over-grown *Church*
‘of *England*.

a So Tertul.
of the Mar-
cionite
Churches :
Habent eccle-
sias, sed suas,
tam præposteras
quàm adul-
teras: Quorum
si censum re-
quiras, faci-
lius Apostaticū
invenias quàm
Apostolicum:
Marcionem, sci-
licet conditore,
vel aliquo de
Marcionis ex-
amine; faciunt
favos & vespæ,
faciunt eccle-
sias & Marci-
onite. Li. 4. c. 5.
adv. Marcion.

‘All this I have ordered and done by a power of Christian liberty,
‘with my *Church* or *Body*, without any check or controll from any a-
‘bove us; in a way (indeed) new and strange to the world, but
‘more pure, free and perfect, than ever was used, or known in this
‘of *England*, or any other pretended *Reformed Church*; which were
‘all grossly deformed: yea, we are gone beyond any of those famous
‘*Primitive Churches*, which were by some called *pure*; but I find
‘them leavened with the *mysterie* of *iniquity*, universally governed
‘by *Bishops* our bitter *enemies*, and Presbyters our not very fast
‘friends. The Lands of Bishops are now happily sold, and some of us
‘have bought a good part of them: the Livings, Tithes and Places
‘of Presbyters we now gape for, and crowd into; yet are we neither
‘guilty of *sacrilege* nor *schisme*; (the two *Prelatick scare-crows*, or
‘*Episcopall bug-beares* ,) because nothing could be sacred which
‘was never consecrated or devoted to the *true God* in a right way;

‘as nothing could be, which was given to maintain *Episcopacy* with, and *Presbytery*; a meer Idol, which we, and so God (no doubt) perfectly abhors, however it got footing so early in all Churches, and immediately perked up in the place of the Apostles.

This seems to be the summarie sense of that pious *Apology*, lately offered in behalf of all through-pac’d *Separates*, and perfect *Apostates* from the order and constitution of the *Church of England*: where either these men extremely dissemble; or they first learned *Christ*, and became Christians, at least in profession, many yeares, being baptized and instructed, confirmed and communicated, in this Church: from which being now totally divided, they thus (most ingeniously) seek to wipe off the shame, ingratitude, levity, sin & suspicion of *Schism*, by their owning no true Church at all in *England*, and declaring plenary *Separation*, or *Independency*; fancying, that he is lesse blameable who quite burns up his neighbours coat, than he that onely fingereth it; and he that flayeth off ones skin, is lesse insolent and injurious than he that onely scratcheth it; as if every *Schisme* were not a partial Separation, and every Separation a plenary *Schisme*.

How justifiable the ground of such a plea is, I leave to wiser men, to their own more coole and impartiall spirits, and to the great judge of all hearts; whose Word hath much deceived his Church in all ages, if his prohibition be not against *Separation*, *Apostasy*, and total forsaking of the Churches communion, both in Discipline and Doctrine, in Polity and Verity, as well as against *Schisme*. The difference is not much between S. Pauls censure of *Schisme* and division as a carnall, and a work of the flesh, Gal. 5.20. and that of S. Jude, against such as separate, as being sensuall, and not having the Spirit; especially where such communion is offered and required by a Church, Christian, and Reformed, as is no way against the Word of God, the Apostles example, and the Primitive Catholick practise of all Churches: such I believe (and hope to prove) that of the *Church of England* was and is, as to those main essentials of Religion which constitute a true Church both in the being and well-being.

But I needed not (and therefore I crave your pardon, worthy Gentlemen) have spent so much breath to blow up and break the late thin bladders or light bubbles, these new *Corpusculas* of separate Churches, compared to the Catholick eminency, unity and solidity of the *Church of England*, and others of like size. An easie foot will serve to beat down such new-sprung Mushromes, of late perked up in this English soyle (through the licentiousnesse of times, and luxuriancy of mens humours) since it hath been watered with Humane and Christian blood: whose ambition seems to be, not onely to divide and share, but wholly to possess and engross this good land; or else to leave desolate that field out of which they are sprung, which bare far better fruits than now it doth, long before their name was heard of, under the new titles or style of *bodied* and *congregated*, *associated* or *interdependent* and *new-fangled* Churches:

Who have now the confidence to cry down the *Church of England*

Judicabit Dominus eos qui schismata operantur, non habentes dilectionem, suamque utilitatem potius considerantes quam unitatem ecclesie. Iren. l. 4. c. 62.
a 1 Cor. 3. 3.
b Jude 19.

Psal. 133. 1.

in its late visible polity, harmony, order and unity, as a meer name and notion, an insignificant Idea, and empty imagination, as if it were neither (*bonum* nor *jucundum*) good nor pleasant for Brethren in Christ to dwell together in unity, or for men in one nation to be Christians in one Church; as if bonds of civil polity reached farther than Ecclesiastick. Some are so vain and vulgar, as to boast, that all Church-fellowship in *England* is no better then *stolen milk*, when once they have taken off the *cream* of some *Saintly professors*, which they think worthy to make up and coagulate into their new and small-bodied Churches; which are carried on by some with so high an hand and brow; that a young master of that sect hath been heard to say, not more magisterially than uncharitably, he would sooner renounce his Baptism, than own the Church of *England* to be a true Church.

And this, notwithstanding that it is evident, these new Rabbies have added nothing *new* and *true* to the *Doctrine* of the Church of *England*; nor yet to the *divine Worship*, and holy Ministrations or Duties used and professed in it, with as much solemnity, judgement and sincerity, I believe, as they can pretend to, without blushing, on mans part; and with infinite more spirituall blessings and proficiency, in all graces, so far as yet appeares, on Gods part. Nor have they ever shewn any cause why it should be denyed the name, honour, privilege and comfort of a *true Church of Christ*, both in its principall parts, and in the whole visible community or polity; afflicted (indeed) at present, but sometime famous and flourishing, as in favour both with God and good men: nor did it ever recede from its love, or apostatize, by any publick act or vote, from such a profession of *Christian and Reformed Religion*, as gives her a good Title to be, and to be called a *true Church of Christ*, in spite of men and Devils.

If any still list to quarrell at the name of a *Nationall Church*, the same schismaticall sophisters may as well slight all those proportions and expressions used in all the grand Combinations and visible Constitutions of such ancient Churches, throughout all descents of *Christian Religion*; which never doubted to cast themselves into, and continue in such Ecclesiasticall forms, and parallel distributions, as they found laid out by the blessed Apostles, and the Spirit of Christ; which (without doubt) most eminently guided those *Primitive Churches*.

When these new projectors have answered the *Scripture style*, and the Apostolick patterns and pens followed by all antiquity, which call and account all those Christians conjoynd in one Churches communion (in point of Ecclesiasticall polity, subordination, chief power and jurisdiction) who (yet) were dispersed in many places, and so distinguished (no doubt) into many congregations; as to the duties of ordinary worship throughout their Cities & respective Provinces, which, I am sure were many of them far larger than any one Diocese or Province in *England*, yea, and (possibly) not much lesse than all *England*; as *Ephesus*, *Crete*, *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, whose province was all *Syria* (as Ignatius tells us) so *Corinth*, *Philippi*, *Laodicea*, *Rome*, &c. with their Suburbs,

Suburbs, Territories and Provinces, which extended as far as their *proconsular jurisdiction* reached; in one of which, that learned and pious, but *fancifull interpreter*, Mr. *Brightman*, doubted not to find a prophetick Type, representing the *Nationall Church of England*, with much more aptitude than his other Satyrick correspondencies were applied:

The *Urbe-
rian* Region
in which the
Pæficus urbis
did exercise
his jurisdic-
tion, extended
to 100. miles
about the ci-
ty, in which
there were 69
Bishops under
the Bishop of
Rome. *Vid.*
Prim. of Arm.
th: orig. of
Metropoli-
tans.

When the *wit* and *artifices* of Independent brethren (if they allow me that relation) have *shrunk* those great and *famous Churches* (so distinguished and nominated by the Scripture line and record) into little handfulls, such as one mans *lungs* can reach, at one time, in one place; when the *Presbyterian* brethren (who have cast off, yea cast out their *Fathers the Bishops*) can manifest that the severall Congregations of Christians in those Parishes, Classes, or Associations which they fancy, had as many *Bishops* properly so called, and fully impowered, as there were *Presbyters* or *Preachers*; when by their joyned skill and force they can evince out of any Ecclesiasticall Records, or Scripturall, that there was not some one *eminent* person (as the *Apostle*, *Angel*, *Bishop* and *President*, or chief Governour among them, over all those people and *Presbyters*) who lived within such large Scripture-combinations as Churches, (such as was *Timothy* in *Ephesus*, *Titus* in *Crete*, *S. James* the Just in *Jerusalem*) either succeeding the *Apostles* after death, or supplying their places during their absence from particular Churches, who in their severall lots, portions, or *Episcopal* charges and divisions, had (while they lived) the chief inspection, rule, authority and jurisdiction:

Acts 21. 19.

Act. 1. 16.

When (I say) these grand *difficulties* are cleared and removed, as *scales* from our eyes who still honour the Church of *England*; then we shall be willing and able to turn the other lessening end of the *optick* glasse, and to look upon the great and goodly *Church of England* as fit to be *shrunk* into *decimo sexto* volumes, or to be divided into small *pamphleting* Congregations, and bound up in Calves leather: which heretofore, by an *happy deception of sight*, appeared to us at home, and to all the Christian world abroad, as a *Church in folio*; as a fair Book of royall paper written with the finger of God and *Apostolick* characters, well bound up and nobly adorned; as an *holy Nation*, a *royal Priesthood*, publickly owning it self to be *Gods people*, taught by the Word of God, sprinkled with the blood of the Son of God, that *immaculate Lamb* slain for us, and partaker of that *holy Pascheover*, which gives us of *Christs flesh* to eat, & his *blood* to drink. All which Christian profession, priviledges, & practise of *this Nation*, are (I conceive) sufficient without vanity or falsity to denominate and distinguish it, with the glorious *Title* of the *Church of England*; which was the thing I had to prove against the peevish *Schismatics*, envious *Scepticks*, and rude *Separatists* of these times.

1 Pet. 2. 9.

CHAP. III.

The present afflictions of the Church of England no argument against Her Nationall and well-Reformed Constitution.

a Jer. 1. 14.
Ab aqualone
exarDESCENT
mala super
omnes habita-
tores terra:
Septentrionalis
regio; officina
hominum, Gen-
tibus Australi-
bus infesta; un-
de in proverbio
malum ab A-
quilone. Hiero.
b Isa. 49. 23.



Or may the Church of *Englands* present afflictions eclipse or diminish its true glory in this point, any more than *Jobs misery* did lessen his *innocency*; nor may they abate *your value*, love and honour to Her, who are her loyal children, because she needs your *pity*. 'Tis true, it hath sadly suffered the late dreadful tempest which came from the ^a *North* (which hath ever been, as the magazine of men, so the *fatall scourge* of the Southern parts of the world: hoping to mend their condition by changing their climate, they never wanted occasions to quarrel and invade. Thence the *Assyrians* invaded *Syria*, *Palestina* and *Egypt*; the *Goths* and *Vandals* swarmed into *Italy* and *Africk*; the *Gauls* into *Greece*; the *Normans* into *France*; the *Picts*, *Saxons* and *Danes* into *England*; the barbarous *Scythians* and *Tartars* into *Asia*.)

This *Hyperborean impression* hath (indeed) beyond any Civil War that ever was in this nation, grievously peeled, barked, shattered and defaced the *Church of England*, as to its pristine strength, peace, unity, order, beauty, riches, sanctity and glory, (when ^b *Kings were its nursing Fathers*, and *Queens its nursing Mothers*;) yet is its condition such, as makes it not so much the object of your *despiciency* or despair, as of *your*, & all good mens compassion, prayers, and real endeavours for Her relief. Her calamitous state is not like that of the object of *David's* pity, the sick servant of the *Amalekite*, from innate distempers; but as his, whom the good Samaritan found stripped, wounded, and half dead, an object capable to stir up the bowels of any good *Christian*; while her enemies, who have sought to cast her down to the ground, who sometime roar in her *Sanctuaries*, and hope to set up their banners for ensigns of an absolute victory, do contemn her as a dead carcassee, and have long ago cast her off as an *unclean thing*, fit to be abhorred of God and man.

Yet this is the Church (most worthy Gentlemen) which hath been, and is the *mother of us all*. To this, you and your forefathers, for many ages, have owed (under God) your *Baptisme*, your *Christian institution*, your *holy communion* with Christ and his *Catholick Church*; to this you owe your vertues, your graces, your faith, your charity, your hopes, your evidences and preparations for Heaven, your Christian priviledges, characters and seals, by which you are distinguished from *Heathens* and *Aliens*, as much as their naturall reason, morality and humanity distinguisheth them from *Beasts*.

This is the *Church*, this the *Mother*, which some children of *Belial* would teach you, by most preposterous wayes of *piety* and rude *reformation*, to divide, to debase, to despise, to destroy: this (now) craves your *compassion*: Nor do I doubt, but you are infinitely sensible how much it hath deserved (as it extremely wants) your filial gratitude,

re-

1 Sam. 30. 13.

Luke 10. 33.

Psal. 74. 4.

Gal. 4. 26.

relief, comfort and countenance, as testimonies of your love and duty, better becoming you than any thing you can do under heaven, most worthy of your most generous piety.

Nor may your Christian *charity*, holy *courage* and *ingenuity* be discouraged, because you every where find so many of your and mine *unhappy countrey-men* rejoycing to see the *Church of England* brought to so broken and infirm, so *poor* and *despicable*, so mean and miserable a condition, as she now appears and deplores her self in. I know there are on every side of her *busie mockers*, who *gnash* upon her with their *teeth* (*διδάσκαλοι*, and *ἐπιχαιρέηται*) evil-speakers, false accusers, bold *calumniators*, delighters in her destruction. These *have helped forward* her *affliction*, when the hand of God was against her, as *Edom* did against *Judah* in the day of *Sions calamity*; these cry, *down with her, down with her even to the ground*; now she is *fallen* let her rise up no more; *raze the very foundations of her, let not one stone be left upon another*; no Bishops, no Presbyters, no Catholick Succession, no right Ordination, no true Ministers, no Baptisme, no Confirmation, no Consecration, no Liturgie, no Polity, no Church; let her destruction be like that of *Sodom*, and her desolation like that of *Gomorrab*; that there may be room enough for *Ijim* and *Ohjim*, for *Owles* and *Dragons*, for rough and deformed Satyrs to dwell in the ruins of her *palaces* and *Sanctuaries*, her *Pulpits* and *Temples*. Psal. 35. 16.
Zach. 1. 15.
Psal. 137. 7.
Isa. 34. 4.

There are (I know) too many such *proud scorners*, who laugh and triumph at what your and all sober minds deplore, both at home and abroad, with infinite grief and astonishment: through whose pious hearts a *very sword daily pierceth*, when they behold, how the *Church of England* is *fallen* from being the *beauty of the Western world*, and chief among all, both Christian and Reformed Churches, to be like *Babylon*, full of licentiousnesse, divisions, confusions, and many abominations, both as to mens *practises* and *opinions*; some of which are so petulant, so fanatick, so putid, so impudent, so blasphemous, so inordinate, so unbeseeming the gravity of men, or sanctity of Christians, that the ancient *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks* (of all ages, sorts and fizes) would be ashamed, if they could revive, to see themselves so outvied in ignorance, despight, malice, monstrosity, impiety, impudence. The *Gnosticks*, *Valentinians*, *Cataphrygians*, *Marcionites*, *Montanists*, *Manichees*, *Novatians*, *Arians*, *Aerians*, *Circumcelians*, were tender-forheaded, and simple-spirited people compared to those *high-crested* and *Seraphick Sophisters*, who study to shake and subvert, to defile and destroy all that was sacred or settled in the *Church of England*.

At whose sad aspect proud and *mercilesse men*, who (as one said sharply of them) *have guts, but no bowels*, mingle their scornfull smiles with your, mine, and other mens *unfeigned tears*: they triumph in her *rubbish*, and dance in her *dust*; they count her *ashes* their *beauty*, her *waters* of *Meribah* and *Marah* (*strife* and *bitternesse*) to be their wine and refreshing; they cry up their rendings of her to be rare *Reformations*, their rags and patches to be new *Robes* for *Christs Spouse*, which

which they pretend to have been dead and stark naked till the rough touches of some later *Prophets* happily revived her, and till their cruel charities revested her; they call the dissolutions of all Ecclesiastick orders of Primitive Government, & of true *ministeriall authority, precious liberties*; what sober men count *defections* from the ancient Catholick & Apostolick pattern, they boast of as *perfections*; what plain-hearted Christians esteem as decayings of the *Reformed Religion*, and ill omens and presages of *its ruine*, these *Seraphicks* affirm to be edifyings and reparings of that structure, which since the *Apostles times*, they pretend, was alwayes decaying and dropping down to Apostasy, being overladen with the fair roof or covering of *Episcopacy*; of which burthen some blessed Reformers seek totally to have *lightened this Church*, as they have done some Cathedrals of their Leads, that they may leave this Church and the Reformed Religion, as without any roof and defence against the injuries of *foul weather*, so without any band or *coping*, to keep the walls and fides together.

What others call Extirpations, these magnifie as *rare Plantations*; in which they fell down *Cedars* and set up *Shrubs*; they root up *Vines*, and plant *Brambles*, rejecting *venerable Bishops* and orderly Presbyters (who are of the Primitive Stock and *Apostolick descent*) that they may bring in a *novel brood* of *Heteroclite Teachers, equivocall Pastors, and new-moulded Ministers*, whose late Origine (without all doubt) ariseth no higher (at best) than *Geneva* or *Frankfort*, or *Amsteldam*, or *Arneheim*, or *New England*; some are such popular pieces, so much (*terra filii*) of obscure rise, of base and mean extraction, that they have no name of men or place to render them remarkable; being like Mushromes, perking up in every molehill, and in a moment making themselves the Ministers of *Jesus Christ*.

To whose strange and novell productions in *Old England*, the late civill distractions (finding, it seemes, much prepared matter) gave not onely life and activity, but so great petulancy and insolency; that many do not onely change their former profession, and utterly abdicate their *Church-standing* and communion in *England*; but (as meer *changelings*) they prefer the saddest *Succubæ* and *Empusæ's*, the most fanatick apparitions of modern fancies in their poor and pitifull Conventicles, before the Church of *England*; as some children do the *Queen of Fairies* before their *genuine Mothers*; instead of whose sound Doctrine, sacred Order, and Catholick Councils, they betake themselves each to their private dotages and ravings, to meer nonsense and blasphemies; which some cry up, as *strong reasonings*, high raptures, extatick *illuminations*, to which all men must subscribe, though no wise man know what they mean: Such confidence some men have, that Christians in *England* have lost, not onely their Religion but their Reason; upon whom they hope so rudely and grossly to impose their most childish novelties and *frivolous follies*, that, as *Erasmus* speaks of some *monkish* corrupters or interpolators of *S. Jeroms* works, who had made it harder for him to find out what that acute and learned

Father

Father wrote, than ever it was for him to write his excellent works: so in *England*, what was formerly plain and easie, sound and wholesome, orderly and Catholick as to *true Religion*, both in Faith, Manners, Ministry and Government; the modern Novelties, Whimsies, Factions, Intricacies and Extravagancies of some men, have made not onely perplexed, confused, but contemptible and ridiculous.

Yet these are the *trash* and *husks* which some mens *nauseous* & *wanton* palates in this age do prefer and chuse, rather than that *wholesome* food and *sincere* milk of *Gods word*, with which the *Reformed Church of England* alwayes entertained her children, untill an high-minded and *stiff-necked* generation of rank appetites, like Jewes, growing sick of *quails*, and *surfeited* of *manna*, longed for the *garlick* and *onions* of *Egypt*; *legendary visions*; *fabulous revelations*; and *fanatick inspirations*.

Which *Egyptian diet* hath of late (by a just *anger* of *Heaven* upon mens ingratetull *murmurings*, and wanton longings) brought many in *England* to those high *calentures* and distempers in Religion, that like frantick people, they flye in the faces of their *Fathers*, and tear the very flesh of their *Mother*. Though civil troubles and State-furies seem much allayed, yet these *Clero-masticks* and *Church-destroyers* still maintain a most implacable war against the *Church of England*; thinking, yea professing, some of them, that they shall do *God good service*, utterly to destroy it, with all its assistants and adherents. In order to which design they have sought every where to vilifie, and set at nought, to crown with *thorns* and *crucifie*, or at best to counterfeite and disguise the merit, worth and majesty of all the sacred Solemnities and Rites, the Peace and Polity, the *Ministry* and *Ministrations* of the *Church of England*: yea, and fancying they have a *liberty* to mock them first, and after to *naile* them to the *Cross*; Good God! how have they *buffered* them! how importunely do they obtrude upon them, amidst their many *Agonies*, *gall* and *vinegar* to drink! what cruell contempts, what virulent pamphlets, what scandalous and scurrilous petitions do they frequently vent against all *Churches* and *Church-men* relating to, or depending upon the *Church of England*! some of them ripping up (by a *Neronean cruelty*) the womb that bare them; others cutting off (by a more than *Amazonian barbarity*) the *breasts* that gave them suck. Nor do they despair to pierce (at last) this *bleeding Church* to the very heart; if ever the power of the sword come into such hands, as are professed enemies to all other *Reformed Churches*, as well as this of *England*: whose languishing, but living, fate they now behold as with great pleasure, so with no small *impatience*; while they see that, notwithstanding all their sedulous and industrious *machinations* against *learning* and *Religion*, against the *Church* and *Universities* of *England*, against Ministers and their maintenance, yet there is still some life and spirit, some *liberty* and *hope* left, through the mercy of God, and the moderation of some men in power, for those Christians that

H

have

have the courage and conscience to own the *Reformed Church of England* as their *Mother*, and the *Reformed Clergy* as their *spirituall Fathers*.

Whose just *Honour* and *Interests* as I must never desert while I live, because I think them *linked* with those of *Gods Glory*, my *Redeemers Honour*, the *Catholick Churches veracity*, the *peace of my conscience*, and my *countrey's* happiness, both as to the present age and to posterity; so I have thought it my duty, in her deplorable condition, and in the despondency of many mens spirits, to apply the cordiall of this confession, mingled with her teares, and with her sighs presented to you (*my most honoured Countrey-men*;) by the help of which you may both fortify your own honest minds, and oppose that *diffusive venome*, which you cannot but daily meet in some mens restless malice, who neither know how to speak well of the *Church of England*, nor how to hold their peace. By the example of your *judicious favour* and *generous compassion*, I doubt not to excite like affections of courage and constancy, in all worthy Protestants & honest-hearted English, whose duty it is, amidst the pertinacy of all other parties and factions (who like *Burres* hang together) to hold fast that holy and *reformed profession*, which is truly Christian, ancient, and *Catholick*; thereby justifying that *mercy* and *truth*, that *grace* and *peace* of God, which was plentifully manifested and faithfully dispensed to the people of this land, by the piety and wisdom of the *Church of England*; notwithstanding that the Lord seems now to *hide his face from Her*: the want of whose *favour*, which her great and sore afflictions have seemed to cloud, is far beyond the *triumphs of her enemies*, or the coldness of her *friends*; the oppositions of many, the withdrawals of some, and the indifferencies of others, who have all contributed to her *miseries*; but none of them have yet convinced her (that ever I could see) of any *sin* or *error*, either as to ignorance or iniquity, superstition or irreligion, dangerous defect or excess.

* See Mr. R. in his *Gemitus plebis*, or *Mournful complaint* in behalf of the poor people of England, printed 1656.

If the *Church of England* had as many Mouths as she hath Wounds, as many Tongues as Maims, as many hearty Mourners as she hath cruel Destroyers; if there were as many that durst pity and relieve her, as there are that dare spoile and ruine her; these would fill, not *England* onely, but all the *Christian world* with the bitterness of her Complaints, as a learned and pious * Minister for his part hath late done.

If the *Church of England* had many such pious Orators, whose potent and pathetick eloquence were more proportionable to her calamities, than the narrowness of my heart and tenuity of my pen are like to be: certainly heaven and earth would be moved with compassion; flints would melt, and rocks be mollified with commiseration; the upper and the nether *millstones*, partiall *Presbytery*, and popular *Independency*, between whom she hath been so ground to powder, that *Papists*, and *Anabaptists*, and *Familists*, and *Quakers*, and *Seekers*, and *Ranters*, with all the *rabble* of her proud and spitefull enemies, hope

hope to fill their sacks with *her* grist; those (I say) might possibly repent (if they have not much mended their fortunes by this *Churches* ruines) of their occasioning *her* so long and sharp a warfare, so many and sad *Tragedies*, while by infinite jealousies, grievous reproches, and unjust scandals cast upon *their* and *your* Mother (this *Reformed Church of England*) they have made *her* implacable enemies, the Papists and others, to blaspheme *her* for a meer *Adulteresse* all this while; to condemn all her Children as a Bastard brood of illegitimate Christians, from the first Reformation to this day. Her most desperate deserters of late (in order to take away their own reproch, & to expiate (as they imagine) the sin and shame of their former profession) have laboured first to destroy the eldest brethren and chiefest sons in this Church; next, to cast out and exautorate the principall *Stewards* and *dispensers* of holy things: after this they have endeavoured to rob *her* both of her *dower* and *patrimony*, hoping at last to famish the whole Family, when there shall be neither *nursing fathers* nor *nursing mothers* in this Church, neither *milk* left for Babes, nor *stronger meat* for the elder ones, neither plain catechising nor profitable preaching, neither ordaining Bishops nor ordained Presbyters.

CHAP. IV.



Such as have *eares* to heare, and *charity* to lay to heart, may with *me* hear the *Church of England* thus lamenting and bemoaning *Her* self, while she sits upon the ground, covered with *ashes*, clothed with *sackcloth*, besmeared with *blood*, drowned in *teares*, and almost buried with *her* owne ruines.

The Church of England's Complaint.

O all you that pass by *me*, stand and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, if it hath been done to any Christian & Reformed Church under Heaven as it hath to me, in the day wherein the Lord hath afflicted me with his fierce anger. My Wounds, my Waits, my Ruines, my Deformities, my Desolations are not by the barbarous inundations of Goths and Vandals, not by the rude invasions of Saracens and Turks, not by the severe Inquisitions and cruel persecutions of Papists; I do not ow my miseries to the incursions of Forrainers, to a nation of a strange Language, of professed Enmity, of different Interests and Religion. They are not professed Neroes, Domitians, Diocletians and Julians, Heathen Princes and Persecutors, that have done me this despite; for then (perhaps) I and my children could have borne it, with a like heroick patience and Christian courage, as those did their Primitive Persecutions: the splendour and constancy of whose Martyrdomes contributed more than all their

Lam. I. 11.

Psal. 55. 12.

Erat ante in operibus fratrum candida ecclesia; nunc

facta est in cinere Miryrum purpurea: Floribus ejus nec rose desunt nec lilia. Certant nunc singuli ad utriusque honoris amplissimam dignitatem, ut accipiant coronas, vel de opere candidas, vel de passionis purpureas. Cyp. ep. 9.

‘ preaching, to the honour, advantage and propagation of the *Christian Religion*; when *Churches* and *Christians* being happily united in love, and onely persecuted by professed enemies, they knew in what posture of defence to cast themselves, so as to suffer and die, becoming *Christians*.

I sa. 1. 2.

‘ But I (alas) am *ambiguously* wounded by those that are of my own *house*, family and profession: Such as have been washed at my *baptism* *small fountain of living water*, such as have freely and fully tasted of my *Sacramentall* Bread and Wine, feasting at my *Table*, which is the *Lords*; these have lifted up *the heel against me*: Such as have been bred and born by me, taught and brought up in the same true *Christian Faith* and reformed Profession; by these am I hated and despised, by these am I stripped and wounded, by these am I torn and mangled, by these am I impoverished and debased below any *Church, Christian or Reformed*; by these am I scorned and abhorred, by these am I made an hissing and astonishment to all that see me, by these am I made a derision and *mocking-stock* to my enemies round about me, by these am I in danger to be quite devoured and destroyed, who envy me so much breath and life, as serves me to complain of my calamities.

I sa. 1. 2.

‘ *Hear O heavens, and give ear O earth*, be not ye also cruel or uncompassionate: since one of you cannot but behold the deformity of my *Sufferings*, the other cannot but feel the burthen of my complaints; one of you is blasted with my *Sighs*, the other is bedewed with my *Tears*. Be not ye also accessory to my injuries by concealing them, or guilty of my *Blood* by covering it; which cries aloud against my ungratefull, my unnaturall, my rebellious *children*. Those that came forth of my own *bowels*, these have risen up against me; to whom I liberally afforded *milk* when they were *babes*, and *stronger meat*, as they were able to bear it; for whom I provided the *sacred Oracles of God* in a language they best understood: I furnished them with such *forms* of *wholsome devotion*, agreeable to the mind and Word of God, as might best suit the common necessities of all, and the capacities of the *meanest*: I concealed no part of Gods sacred Counsel from them, nor detained any necessary saving *Truth* out of any principle of *unrighteous policy*: I neither denied, nor diminished, nor deformed any *Ordinance of Christ* to them: I coloured no errors with shews of truth, nor disguised any *Truth* with *fallacious sophistries*: I set forth to them, with all plainnesse and freedom, the blessed fulnesse and excellencies of my *Lord Jesus Christ*, in such a manner and measure as I received from his Word and Spirit; for I learned not those manifestations of *Divine love* from any other *Church*, *Pristine* or *Modern*, so much as the speciall dispensations and discoveries of Gods *Graces* and *Gifts* to me, in which few equalled, none seemed to exceed me; in all the world.

‘ From this great and pure *fountain* of all perfection and comfort (the sweetnesse, merit, and fulnesse of my *Saviour*) I recommended

‘ to

‘to my children every Grace, every Vertue, every holy Duty, every necessary Precept, every *precious Promise*, every imitable Example: and this was done with all the advantages of *good Learning*, of sound Knowledge, of most *potent* and *pathetick eloquence*; which at once was able to inform the weakest capacity, to satisfy any sober curiosity, and to silence the *subtilest* adversary.

‘To this purpose, that the great work of *saving their souls* might be effectually carried on, with order, power and authority, I furnished them not with *precarious praters*, bold intruders, or pitiful pieces of *Plebeian oratory* (in whom ignorance and impudence, inability and *inauthoritativeness* contend which shall be greatest); but I provided and prepared for them, with much study and industry; with many prayers and teares, with long education and diligent care, *excellent Bishops, orderly Presbyters, able and authoritative Ministers, workmen that needed not be ashamed*; of a lawful ordination and right descent, of a mediate *divine mission* after the *Apostolick line* and *Catholick succession*, after the form of an uninterrupted and authentic commission, duly and truly exemplified in the consecration of *Bishops*, and ordination of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, through all ages of the Church, agreeable to that *originall Institution*, which was from *Christ Jesus the great High Priest, the unerring Prophet, the love-raign King of his Church, the chief Preacher of Righteousnesse, and Bishop of our souls*, who instituted first his twelve *Apostles*, afterward the seventy *Disciples*, whose commission was not so large, nor their mission so solemn, as that of the twelve, whose Episcopacy and number was to be completed, and upon whom the *promised power from on high* specially came in the miraculous and ministeriall gifts of the Holy Ghost.

2 Tim. 2. 15.

Heb. 5. 10.

1 Pet. 2. 25

Luke 6. 13.

Luke 10. 1.

Act. 2. 1, &c.

‘After this pattern (which was ever followed by all Churches in all the world) I supplied those under my care with such a succession of *Bishops* and *Ministers of holy things*, as for solid learning, for powerful preaching, for devout and discreet praying, for reverend celebrating, for acute disputing, for exact writing, for wise governing, and holy living, were no where exceeded in all the *Christian world*, and hardly equalled in any age since the *Apostles times*; whose ministeriall sufficiencies and successes were sometime highly magnified, and almost deified, by many of those that now would stone them, and destroy me, by a late transport of malice; as much unexpected, as undeserved, by me; which looks more like a fascination and fury, than any thing of true Zeal and sober Reformation.

‘For no men of any weight or worth for parts and piety, for judgement and ingenuity, for conscience and integrity, have (hitherto) convinced me, or those men that were my prime servants, sons and supports, of any Heresie or Idolatry, of any Superstition or Apostasy, of any just scandal or notable defect. What some have urged for my not exercising a more severe and strict Discipline, after the manner of some ancient *Primitive Churches*, it is not imputable to any unwillingnesse in those worthy Bishops and Presbyters whom I employed,

ployed, but to the general wantonness or refractoriness of all sorts of people in that point, who were so farre from enduring a stricter discipline to be set up, that many grudged at any Ecclesiastick authority, exercised over them, though it were established by their own publick consent and lawes.

If any of my Bishops, Presbyters, or people, failed to do the duties which I required, or rather Christ commanded them; it was to be reckoned as the fruit of mens private temptations and personall infirmities, but not of my constitutions or directions; which were so pious and perspicuous, that people could not justly plead invincible ignorance, to excuse their immoralities and impieties, which indeed they owed to their own negligences or corruptions.

Yea, where the seeds of Religion were thinnest sown, and thrived least in some parts of this nation, it was not so much from the want of labourers, as from the labourers wants: the poverty of many places, and barrenness of the soyle was such, that either impropriations, or sacrilege, or both, had not left for any competent workman a competent maintenance; both my Dover and Patrimony, Glebes and Tithes, being almost wholly alienated, by hard lawes and evil customes, from my use and enjoyment; that holy Portion (which is Gods) being oft perverted to feed Hinds and Dogs and Horses, which was originally devoted to feed such Shepherds as might feed my flock in every place: Nor could, in those cases, either my prayers or teares, the fordid necessities of many poor Ministers, or the cries of poor peoples famished souls, ever yet move the civil State effectually to restore, or remit, or to make other necessary supplies for Pastors and peoples good.

Numb. 11. 30.

Deut. 4. 21.

Rev. 22. 2.

Yet, even in this distresse (which betell too many places much against my will) my care and endeavour was so to keep up the life, health, and soundness of the true Reformed Christian Religion, that people every where had what was necessary, wholesome and decent for their souls good; though possibly they had not (nor was it needfull) the same plenty, variety, dainties and superfluity, in a constant way, (which some places did so long enjoy) untill (as with the Jews) the Manna and Quails (Sunday Sermons and week-day Lectures) came out of their nostrils: while the heavenly food was rowling in their curious palates, and wanton jaws, the wrath of God brake forth upon them, and upon me (as upon Moses) for their sakes; who was indeed as jealous of their surfeitings of holy things, as of the others famishings; both being contrary to my care and desire: which were (God knows) first to preserve the Foundation of necessity and saving Truth among them; next, to adde the beauty of holiness to humility, to joyn decency to sincerity, to maintain the power of godliness, with the wholesome formes of it; that so Truth and Peace, Order and Unity, the leaves and the fruits of the tree of life might grow together, for the nutriment, muniment and ornament of piety.

Nor do I doubt to plead and affirm before Gods Tribunal, That
if

‘if those people, who seemed to fare hardliest (though the greatest
 ‘complainers against my treatment of them were such as enjoyed
 ‘most, and fared deliciously every day, wantonness being more que-
 ‘rulous than want,) if they had made so good use as they might,
 ‘and ought to have done, of that *holy light* and *rule* which was duly
 ‘held forth to them in the plain parts of *Scripture* every year read
 ‘to them, in the Sacraments duly administred among them, in the
 ‘*Articles, Creeds, Homilies, Catechise* and *Liturgie*, with which they
 ‘were, or might have been well acquainted; they might even in
 ‘these (so much *nauseated* and *despised* means, sufficient (I fear) to
 ‘damn those who despised Salvation by them) have found as plain
 ‘and easie, as sure and *compendious* a way to heaven, through Faith,
 ‘Repentance, Humility, Charity, holy Obedience to *God* and *Man*, as
 ‘they are likely now to do, after they have stirred up so great a *dust*
 ‘and *smoke* as hath put out *poore peoples eyes*, leading them into *end-*
 ‘*lesse mazes* and *confusions* under the name and noise of a better *Refor-*
 ‘*mation* and *safer Religions*.

‘In this posture of *peace* and *plenty*, of *piety* and *prosperity*, as to *Chri-*
 ‘*stian* and *Reformed Religion*, had the *God* and *Father* of my *Lord*
 ‘*Jesus Christ*, the *Founder* of his *Church*, once settled me (out of his
 ‘abundant mercy to the *people of England*) by the patience and
 ‘prayers, by the preaching and writing of *godly Bishops* and other
 ‘*Ministers*, who were not onely *Gods* painfull *Labourers*, but his
 ‘faithfull *Martyrs* and *Confessors* some of them: whose great worth
 ‘drew the favour of *pious Princes* to me, who were my *nursing fa-*
 ‘*thers*; and the love of *peaceable Parliaments*, who were my *faith-*
 ‘*full friends*: infomuch, that for one hundred years (next preceding
 ‘my miseries) I had no cause to envy any *Christian* or *Reformed*
 ‘*Church* that ever was or is in *all the world*; nor had any *sober Chri-*
 ‘*stian* just cause to complain of me, much lesse thus to mutmur,
 ‘mutiny and fight against me, for no other cause but this, That I
 ‘would not suffer them rudely to bite off those full and fair *breasts*,
 ‘which they had so long sucked, ingratefully deforming those *con-*
 ‘*duits of plenty, order* and *peace*, which they had so long enjoyed,
 ‘both in *Word* and *Sacraments*, in *Ministrations* and *Ministers*.

‘Yet, behold how I am faine, suddenly, shamefully, ingratefully,
 ‘indignly, and almost desperately; my *doctrine* not duly examined,
 ‘but rashly condemned; my *Tenets* not confuted, but blasphem-
 ‘ed by my various adversaries; my *publick service* and *solemn wor-*
 ‘*ship of God* sharply indeed corrected, even to *blood*, but no whit im-
 ‘proved or amended, yea infinitely impaired and neglected; my
 ‘*holy Sacraments* (those two great *Seals* of a *Christians Charter* and
 ‘*Gods Covenant*, those fair marks and badges of *Christian profes-*
 ‘*sion*, the *two poles* and *pillars* on which all mysterious and spirituall
 ‘comforts, temporall and eternall joyes do constantly turn) these
 ‘are (mostwhat) rarely used, in many places either totally disused, or
 ‘grossly abused, by the *execrable consecrations* of unwashed, unholy,
 ‘unordained hands.

‘Ma-

κλειαναι ἀπὸ
τῆς κλεινῆς.

‘Many of my Oratories, Temples and Churches (Houses so called, because dedicated to the service of the Lord and his Church) are by some men first profaned with all the sordidnesse of men and beasts; next, they are suffered to ruine of themselves, while they are robbed of what should repaire them; and at last (that Sacriledge may be the better husband) they are threatned to be sold, and utterly demolished.

‘The Sanctity of Christian marriages, which were wont to be solemnized by prayers, instructions, benedictions, by mutuall, solemn and sacred stipulations, according to the Word of God and Ecclesiastick practise, is sought to be reduced by some to new wayes, either very brutall, and meerly naturall, or, at best, but civil and politick. The infants of Christians (who were ever esteemed as the lambs of Christs flock) are partially, carelessly, disorderly, many of them dubiously, yea not at all baptized, neither sprinkled nor washed, nor marked with any note of Christs blood, to distinguish them from the herd of Heathens, the brats of Aliens, Jews, Pagans, Mahometans.

πεινᾶ μυστή-
ρια,

‘The sacred, dreadfull and venerable Symbols of the Lords Supper, (which I had happily purged from all rust and rubbish of Superstition) in many places have been supinely neglected for many years; in others strangely consecrated, irreverently celebrated, partially distributed, denied to many worthy and desirous Christians: as if those were not Catholick signes and seals of the truth of the Gospel, the Covenant of Grace, & those common rights or priviledges which belong to every one that professeth to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and keeps communion with his Church; but onely marks to discriminate sides and parties in Religion, to divide Christians into uncharitable factions.

1 Cor. 15. 8.

‘As for my Dead, for they are still mine, (as they sleep in Jesus, and are Gods deposita) these are, in many places, put into their grave, with no other solemnity than a silent procession, and a demure perambulation; as if all that attended were as dumb as the corps, and the dead buried the dead, without any difference expressed between

1 Cor. 6. 19.

those bodies that are charitably presumed to have been Temples of the holy Ghost, that are candidates of Heaven, and expectants of a blessed Resurrection, and the bodies of meer infidells or miscreants; be-

Jer. 22. 19.

ing now treated in many places like the carcases of beasts, or the burial of an Asse, for whom men do usually as much as this comes to, namely, the covering their corps with earth, to avoid the noysomness and offence of them, without any further hopes of them. And all this late supercilious novelty, and neglect of dead Christians, is grounded upon a strange scrupulosity of some, either silly or superstitious men, who pretend to boggle at my office, which was more for the living than the dead; not meerly humane and naturall, but Christian and spirituall: which they count as a kind of Necromancy, or strange superstition to the dead; while I onely made the dead an occasion of godly instruction and Christian hope, of comfort, warning,

and

See B. Usshers
answer to the
Jesuits pray-
ing for the
dead.

‘and lawfull *devotion* to the *living*, which how they should offend any sober Christian, I could never yet be convinced; and I am sure came farre short of those *commemorations*, yea *comprecations* for the dead, which were anciently used without offence in the Primitive Churches.

‘All other *offices* of *piety* and *charity*, for the sick and well, the young and old, the penitent or impenitent, prescribed by me, are (now) either wholly laid aside, or performed in so various and extick forms, as common people cannot easily understand them; their very novelty, obscurity and affected *variety*, makes some Ministers prayers a kind of *Latin Service* to the simple common people.

‘Lastly, my whole frame and *polity Ecclesiastical*, all my ancient *constitution*, order and communion, as a *Nationall Church* of Christ (in which *brethren* did happily *dwell together in unity*) all is by some men not onely quite forsaken and abandoned on their parts; but they seek utterly to *ruin* and destroy me, by defaming and discouraging those that most love, approve and obey me; as if there had nothing been settled in me with any *piety* or *prudence*, reason or discretion, by the wisdom of their *fore-fathers*, who were sometimes esteemed blest Reformers by most of these modern *Renegers*, *Separates* and *Apostates*. Psal. 133. 1.

‘How justly they have done me this despite, I appeal to the just and *impartiall Judge*, before whom I can thus far with truth and comfort assert my *innocency*; that as to the *foundations of Faith*, and rule of *Holineffe*, I have onely adhered to his *blessed Word*, as it hath been delivered to me by the *most credible testimony of the Catholick Church* in the books of *Canonick Scripture*, truly so called. Nor did I ever teach for *Doctrines* the *Traditions of men*, which some have blasphemed. As for the *circumstantial* and *ceremonial* parts of Religion, I used in *Them* modestly, cautiously and charitably, that *liberty* and *power*, for order and decency, which, I conceive, Gods *indulgence*, who is not the author of confusion, but of peace, allowed me, no lesse than any of those Primitive or later Churches, whose best examples I sought to follow. 1 Cor. 14. 40.
1 Cor. 14. 33.

‘If any of my *children* had discovered something in me lesse agreeable to that beauty, order and gravity, which had been desirable by them in a *Christian and Reformed Church*; if any matter of reall *uncomelineffe* had been espied in me, (as what *Church* is there upon earth so fair, but (as the *Moon*) it may have some *spots*, *wanings* and *eclipses*? what state of Christians so complete, that God may not have a *few things against them*?) yet it had been their duty, with the veile of Christian love and pity, modestly to have covered, silently concealed, and dutifully reformed, what was indeed amisse; and not (like so many *Chams*) to have exposed such a *parent*, such a *mother*, to the petulancy and derision both of her enemies abroad, and the *plebs* at home, who are as prone as ever the *Jews* were, to worship any *new Calves* they fancy to set up, and to

Rev. 2. 14.

Gen. 9. 12.

cast off *Moses and Aaron*, that *God* and those *Governours*, who had done such wonders among them.

Mat. 13. 25.

If while men slept, the enemy sowed some tares there where my Saviour had plentifully sowed good seed, was I presently to be trampled under the feet of the beasts of the people, or quite to be rooted up, burnt and consumed, because some tares appeared? if my garments were in time a little spotted and sullied, yet was my honour still unblemished, and the sanctity of my profession, as *Christian* and *Reformed*, unviolated; nor did my garments deserve thus to be rinsed in the blood of my Children: if the ceremonious lace and fringe of my coat were a little unript, or torn with time, yet there was no cause to rend it quite off, or tear my coat in pieces: if my garb and fashion seemed somewhat more grave, *Catholick* and *ancient*, than agreed with some mens singular and novellizing fancies, yet did I not deserve to be stripp'd and stigmatiz'd, to be thus exposed to shame and nakednesse; much lesse to have my Flesh thus torn, my Eyes pull'd out, my Throat cut, and my Skin to be flayed off; which are the merciful endeavours of some of my reforming, that is ruining, enemies.

If some weak or unwise servants (whom I trusted with the management of my affaires) discharged their duties less piously or prudently than I expected or exacted of them, as *Church-Governours* & *Ministers*, if the licentiousnesse of others was impatient to be governed so strictly as they should have been (most men abhorring true *Christian Discipline* even then when they most clamoured for it, intending extravagancies when they pretended severities;) yet was I not on the sudden to have been wholly deprived of all *Church-government* and order, once duly established, untill such time as my new *Discipliners* and wise *Masters* had found out some fitter way for me, than that *Catholick* fabrick, form and fashion, which all Churches ever had and enjoyed from the *Apostles times* and constitutions. Certainly the failings of *Church-Governours* ought not to have been so severely avenged upon the *Church-government* it self; nor are any mens male-administrations to be laid to the charge of those good lawes and constitutions which are settled in either Church or State. The very *Apostolick Churches* are oft blamed, yea and threatened, for their early degenerations, without any reproch to their first institution, which certainly was holy and good. It favours too much of humane passion, to pervert *divine order*, under pretence of *Reforming humane disorders*.

Epist. to Cor.
Galar. Rev. 2.
& 3. ch.

Which in me were never so predominant, as to remove me from that posture of *Christian piety*, honour, order and integrity, wherein I stood firm and conspicuous in all the world, as a *Christian* and well-Reformed Church: hated indeed, and many times opposed by my forraign adversaries of the *Papall interest* and persuasion; but they despaired ever to prevail against me, unlesse they first divided my children within me, and armed my own bowels by homebred and strange animosities against me. These by infinite artifices

and

and undiscerned *stratagems*, have by them been heightened of late to such *factious petulancies* and furies, as to adde *scorns* to the others *thornes*, contempt to the others *crosses*, gall to my *vinegar*, *scurrility* to my *agonies*.

As if I could not be miserable enough, to satisfie the malice of my *enemies abroad*, unlesse I were made a *scorn to my children*, and a *shame to my friends* both at home and abroad; leaving me few that dare *pity* me, fewer that can *plead* for me, and fewest that are able and willing to *relieve* me. My spitefull *persecutors* are so cruell, that they are impatient to see any *sympathize* with me, threatening those my *children*, that dare (yet) own me for a *true Church*, or their *Mother*, the very *name* of which they seek to deprive me of, hoping to make me quite forgotten, who was sometime so renowned among the most celebrated *Churches* of the world. Alas, among some Furies it is not safe for sober Christians to speake one good word of me, or for me, they cannot endure any should pray for me, no nor weep for me: *Teares* are offensive, and Charity it self is scandalous to my implacable enemies, who labour to be my cruell and totall *oppressors*.

To this dreadfull height hath the Lord been pleased to *afflict* me, with my *children*, in the day of his *fierce wrath*, in which He hath given me *ashes* for bread, and mingled my drink with weeping; filling me with *blacknesse* instead of beauty, with war for peace, with *faction* for union, with *confusion* for order, with impudent *patricides* and ungratefull *matricides*, instead of modest, thankfull and tender-hearted children.

Behold He hath smitten me into the place of *Dragons*, and given me a cup of deadly wine to drink: But it is the Lord, let him do as seemeth good in his sight. If my prayers and sighs and teares cannot, yet (possibly) the exorbitant and implacable malice of my enemies (who in the end will not appear Gods friends) may provoke him to remember his *tender mercies*, which have been ever of old, and to repent him, as a Father, of the evil he hath suffered to be brought upon me, by those that delight not in His justice, but in their own *sa-criligious advantages*. It may be he will return to be gracious as in former times, and not shut up his loving kindnesse wholly from me, since his (oft-repeated) mercy endureth for ever: yea, it is because his *compassions fail not*, that I am not utterly consumed. Though thou kill me, yet will I trust in thee, O Lord; who hast wounded me very sore: yet heal me, O my father, and I shall be healed, save me, and I shall be saved: for thou art my praise. O be not thou a terror to me, who art my hope in the day of evil.

Psal. 44. 19.

Micah 7. 8.

Psal. 136.

Job 13. 15.

Jer. 17. 14, 17.

CHAP. V.

The cruel and unjust enmity of some against the Church of England.



Thus may the Church of England be heard, in every Closet and in every Congregation, where devout souls either retire or meet, sighing out its Sorrows, and deploring its great Miseries, sufficient to move the compassions of all those who have any filiall and gratefull respect to Her; upon whose welfare, as to the unity, peace and prosperity of the true Christian and Reformed Religion, all sober English-men may easily foresee, that their own and their posterity's happiness, spirituall, temporall and eternall (under God) doth chiefly depend.

a 6018 xmesir-
Dns.

Suet. in vita
Tib. Neronis.
Erat ei inoble-
flamentis ser-
pens Draco,
quem quum
consumptum à
formicis inve-
nisset, monitus
est ut vim mul-
titudinis cave-
ret.

Primitus dispu-
tandi scabies
Ecclesie.

Mat. 15. 14.

It is the infinite grief of all good Patriots and true Protestants, to see this sometime so famous and flourishing Church of England in danger to be eaten up, not by a Sea-monster, like Andromeda, or by that over-grown Leviathan of Rome, which takes his pastime in great waters, and rules over many Nations, People and Languages; but by small vermine, by a company (for the most part) of creeping and corroding Sectaries, home-bred and home-fed: like that tame Lizard or Dragon (as Suetonius calls it) which Tiberius Nero kept at Caprea, which was eaten up with ants or pismires, to the Emperour's great grief and astonishment, as an unhappy presage of his own fate by the fury of the multitude; or like the Lions in Mesopotamia, who are destroyed by gnats; their importunity being such in those paludious places, that the Lions by rubbing their eyes, grow blind, and so are drowned, as Ammianus Marcellinus reports in his History of Julian's wars.

If nothing else, yet (as Sir Henry Wotton glories in his sentence) the very itching & scratching of Christians eyes, the scrupulous doubtings, the vexatious disputings and endlesse janglings about Religion in England, both as Christian and as Reformed, already hath, and daily will, bring down such a Rheume and blood-shottenesse into mens eyes, that (unlesse some sovereign eye-salve be timely applied) the most people will in a few years be onely fit to play at blind-man-buff in Religion, taking what heresie or fancy comes next to hand, and changing it the next day; rather groping at all adventure in the dark, than clearly discerning and conscientiously chusing the weighty matters of Religion, which are hardly discovered when the blind lead the blind; and as hardly either embraced, when once practising is turned into prating, and the power of godlinesse into pragmatick pomp or popular contempt.

Such is the sad and shamefull fate of the Church of England now like to be, which heretofore never wanted (nor yet doth) such champions as durst undertake her defence against any who bring arguments, not arms; strong reasons, and not long swords; Scripture-demonstrations,

ons, and not Scepticall declamations; pious Antiquity, and not partial Novelty. But now It hath not the honour to be opposed or overcome by any such *Antagonists*, whose learning, wit and eloquence (speciously managed) would lessen the disgrace; but She is in danger to be over-born by such petty parties, such obscure animals, such mechanick pieces, and (for the most part) such illiterate wretches, that it is not onely a grief, but a shame, to see so comely a *Matron* crowded, and as it were stifled to death, by a company of *Scolds* and *Shrews*, a generation of men and women extremely unbred, of passionate, rude, spitefull, and *plebeian spirits*; many of them the very *abjects of man-kind, viler then the earth*, as *Job* speaks, whose manners Job 30.8. are much baser then their fortunes (which embase no good man) who owe most of their *stieckling activities* to their worldly necessities, and (conscious to their want of reall worth and abilities) they seek to revenge their grosse defects, either by their *sacrilegious* flatteries of others, or by a rusticall fiercenesse of their own against the Church of *England*: as if *faules*, and *fannes*, and *shovels*, and *spades*, were the fittest instruments to thrash and purge such a Church, or to discusse and ventilate the *weighty matters of Religion*, as to a sober Christian Reformation. O happy *England*, who art (of late) blest'd with so cheap, so easie, so inspired, so rare *Reformers*; who get more skill in one dayes *confidence*, in one nights *dreaming*, or one hours *quaking*, than modest *scholars*, either *Divines* or other *Gentlemen*, can obtain in twice seven years study! O how fruitfull is Faction, how spreading is Schisme, when they are fitted with soile and season!

These new-bred Creepers, which are now so numerous and noxious in *England*, are (generally) but the *spawn* or *fly-blowings* of those *elder Sects and Factions*, which a long time have been *buzzing* and *breeding* in the bosome of the *Church of England*, under the name of *Disciplinarians*: whose first *Authors* long ago made some *Essayes* for their desired *Innovations*, by modest, indeed, yet very popular wayes of remonstrances and *supplications*, well knowing that it is ever welcome to the vulgar, to see any fault found with their betters, or any project of subjecting their superiours under any more *Plebeian* rigours and severities. The next and worse abettors (*pejor atas*) tried how far they might by scurrilous pamphlets, railing & reviling, like *Rabshakeh*, unravel the cords of all government, both the *majesty* of the Civil, and the *authority* of the Ecclesiastick. After such biting Petitions and Satyrick *Pasquils*, (worthy of such Martenists) came open menacings of *Princes* and *Parlaments*, Priests and People too, as Mr. *R. Hooker* observes in his Preface to his *Ecclesiastical polity*. At last, words came to be turned into swords: many both at home and abroad having evil will at the *Sion of England*, making their advantages of our unhappy differences in civil affairs, and taking fire from those flames, have sought by the licentiousnesse, riot and rudenesse of infinite Sects and Factions, as by so many trains and *barrels of gunpowder*, utterly to blow up the whole frame and constitution of the *Church of England*.

Which

Ma. r. 5.

Which unchristian practises and cruell designs, that they might the better justifie or palliate to their credulous followers, they every where, as boldly as falsly, affirm, that both in the matter constituted, and the form constituting a true Church in ordinances, duties, privileges, members, ministrations, Ministry, communion, and all comforts necessary for Christians, there were few things in the Church of England tolerable, most were blameable, and many most abominable to their more sanctified senses: yea some men clamour that there was nothing sound or constitutive of a Church of Christ, but the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint; that not onely Schisme is commendable, but absolute Separation is as necessary from the Church of England, as the going of Gods people out of Babylon.

These are the poysons with which some Serpents have sought to infect the minds of common people, and to envenom even the better sort with their biting and bitter invectives, against the purity and peace of the Church of England.

O venerable censors! O severe Aristarchusses, of a more than Cætonian gravity! to whose ploughs, and looms, and distaffs, and clubs, and hammers, tis meet (as to so many sacred scepters) this later English and Christian world should no lesse submit their souls than the Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians, Romans and Scythians, did to the nets and fish-hooks of the Apostles; who were authorized with miraculous gifts, and assisted by the speciall power of the holy Spirit of Christ, to plant, settle, and reform and purge Christian Churches.

To whose holy Doctrine and Divine Institutions, delivered in the Old and New Testament, and followed by all the Primitive Catholick Churches, notwithstanding that the Church of England did in its first Reformation diligently and exactly conform it self; if we may believe the integrity of those Reformers who had the courage and constancy to be Martyrs, whose learning, worth & piety hath been confirm'd by the testimony of so many wise & religious Princes, by the approbation & sanction of so many honourable and unanimous Houses of Parliament, by the suffrages of so many learned and reverend Convocations, by the applauses of so many sister-reformed Churches, if we may believe the preaching, living and dying of so many hundred excellent Bishops and Presbyters, or the prayers, praises and proficiencies of so many thousands of other good Christians; or (lastly) if we may believe the wonderful blessings and speciall graces of a merciful God, attesting to the verity, sanctity and integrity of this Church-Reformation and Christian Constitution for many happy years:

Yet against all these, some peevish Monusses, some spitefull Caco-zelots, some evil-ey'd Zoilusses, some insolent and causelesse Enemies of the Church of England have not so much modesty as to conceale their malice, or to smother their insolent folly, and intolerable arrogance, which dares to put the ignorance, giddinesse, emptinesse, vulgarity, rashnesse, precipitancy and sinisterneesse of their silly censures, into the balance of Religion, contrary to the renowned learning,

ning, piety, gravity, grace and majesty of all those who have had so great favour, love, respect and honour for the Church of England.

Whom her spitefull and envious adversaries now presume to follow with nothing but Contumelies and *Anathema's*, with pillagings and spoylings, with railings and revilings, with waste and ruine, to the excessive joy of Her *Papall enemies*, whose deeply-designed policies have a long time desired and hoped to see that wofull day befall the Church of England, in which her *Bishops* might beg, her *Presbyters* be starved, her *Ministry* contemned, her *Liturgie* ejected, her *Unity* dissolved and broken, her Ancient and Primitive Government abolished, her undoubted ordination and succession of Ministers interrupted, her whole Christian Frame and Nationall Constitution (which was (for the main) truly *Catholick*, *Primitive* and *Apostolick*) destroyed, dissipated, desolated.

What *invincible Armadoes* could not atchieve, what *monstrous Powder-plots* could not accomplish, what wily *Jesuits* and other subtle Sophisters despaired to attain (having been oft defeated and repelled by the learned care and vigilant puissance of wise *Princes*, sober *Parlaments*, reverend *Bishops*, and other able *Ministers* of the Church of England) that the weaknesse, wantonnesse and wickednesse of some of our own perry *Sectaries*, *Schismatick Agitators*, & *super-reforming Reformers*, is likely to bring to passe; whom the most admired and devout Lord *Primate of Armagh* (a great Prophet of God, and Pillar of the Reformed Religion) sometime told me, he esteemed no other than Factors for *Poperj*, and Engines for *Roman* designs, by divisions and domestick confusions of Religion, to bring in Popish Superstition and Tyranny. Indeed a prudent Conjecturer may in this case easily make a true Prophet: For the *Roman Eagle* (a watchfull, powerfull and voracious bird) can never fail (at last) to seize on these parts of *Christendome* for her prey, where she shall see Ignorance prevail against Knowledge, Barbarity against Learning, Division against Unity, Confusion against Order, People against their Priests, Novelty against Antiquity, Anarchy against Catholick Authority, and infinite deformities ushered in, under the title of speciall *Reformations*. That cunning *Conclave* (which overlooks the Christian world as the greatest constellation of policy in the West) knows full well, that such *feaverish distempers* in any Church or Christian State, as now afflict the Church of England, will not faile (if they long continue) to bring it to such an *hellick consumption* as will quite destroy its former healthfull constitution, and prepare it for those *Italian Empiricks*, who will come then to be in request with common people, when they find no good to be got by the best-reputed Physicians, the most specious Reformers: when these are at their wits ends, so differing in their judgements and practise, that they know not what to do, by reason of the madnesse, impatiency and petulancy of people; those foraign Mountebanks will alwayes promise men help and cure at an easie rate; for they require no more
of

of the most desperate patients, than to credit their receipts, to be confident of, and reconciled to the skill and artifice of the *Church of Rome* their *Mother*, and the *Pope* their *Father*.

C H A P. VI.

The causeless malice and ingratitude of the *Church of England's* enemies.



Cannot believe, that any of *you* (who are persons of Learning, Honour, and Integrity, lovers of your Country and the Reformed Religion) can be wholly strangers to the sad and dangerous condition of the *Church of England*. Nor can you (if rightly set forth to you) be unaffected with it; (unlesse your designs and fortunes are to be advanced by the rents and ruines of this *Church of England*.)

In which (as the Lord liveth, before whom we all stand) distempers are risen, not onely to *Divisions*, but *Distractions*; not onely to *Injuries*, but *Insolencies*; not onely to *Obloquies*, but *Oppressions*; not onely to *Schismes*, but *Abscissions*; not onely to *Factions*, but *Confusions*; not onely to *Lapses*, but *Apostacies*; not onely to rude *Deformities*, but they tend to absolute *Nullities*, as to any *Christian Harmony*, *Fraternity*, *Order*, *Beauty*, *Unity*, *Strength*, *Safety*, and publick setting of that Reformed Religion which was once *professed in the Church of England*: And this by reason of the *Envies*, *Despites*, *Rudenesses*, *Animosities*, *Seditions*, *Strifes*, *Separations*, *Raylings*, *Reproches*, *Contumelies*, *Blasphemies*, and prophane *Novelties*, every where pregnant and predominant among *vulgar spirits*, and odiously cast upon all things that *you* and your *forefathers* esteemed as religious and sacred in this *Church of England*.

Ezek. 47. 4.

The torrent of rebukes and troubles (like *Ezekiels waters*) is now risen, not onely to the ankles and knees, but to the loyns and neck; growing too rapid and deep for the *common people* to wade over, or venture into: nor are they safe for any to engage upon, but those who (as *S. Christopher* is represented in the *Legendary Emblem*) are heightened by their own integrity, and supported by Gods heroick Spirit: for it is a *black* and *dangerous*, a *red* and *dead* Sea, upon which *he* adventures, who will now seriously assert the *Church of England*; whose troubled state is more stormy than those *waters* were on which *S. Peter* ventured to walk, or wherein our blessed *Saviour* slept, with whose *Disciples* we may well cry out, *Master, save us, we perish*.

Mat. 8. 25.

What tongue, what pen can sufficiently set forth the rudenesses, outrages, barbarities, despites, diminutions and indignities, which some have offered in their speeches and writings, in their pamphlets and petitions, in their restless agitations and implacable malice, against all that was established in the *Church of England*, contrary to that *duty of Charity* they owed, and that *profession* of *Communion* they sometimes professed; being possessed (now) with so fierce a spirit,

spirit, that they have broken all cords and bands of Humanity, Civility, Charity and Piety, both private and publick?

I shall not need to mind you or any of them of their many oaths and subscriptions, of those *Protestations, Vowes and Covenants* which many of these (now deserters and destroyers of the Church of England) so easily and eagerly swallowed: by which last three-fold cord, most of them (I believe) tied themselves to maintain the Protestant Religion, as it was established in the Church of England.

If any of them were so wise and cautious as to avoid such *politick gins* (which how far they intended well to Church or State God only knows; this to be sure all sober Christians see, that they have little advanced the state of the Reformed Religion in England:) yet still they must know, that themselves, and all that are good Christians, and honest English, are bound by far higher and nobler bonds of their baptismall Vow and Covenant to their God and Saviour; from whence do necessarily flow those of Christian gratitude, duty, love and charity, obliging every good Christian to pray for and preserve the welfare of this Church, and that Reformed Religion which was once happily established in it; in which the glory of our God, the honour of our Saviour, the good of our Countrey, and the salvation of many thousand souls, are highly concerned.

Against all which, for any man, upon small or no account, rashly, proudly, spitefully, out of envy, covetousnesse, ambition, or any other depraved lust and passion, to offend (especially where so great light of Divine Truth and Grace, such a presence and pregnancy of Gods Spirit clearly shines, as doth in the Church of England, to the very dazzling of the eyes of these Adversaries) must needs be such a complicated and resolved wickedness, a sin of so enormous and transcendent a nature, that Irenaeus counts it a mangling or killing of Christ again: and in earnest, it seems scarce pardonable, because 'tis scarce a repentable sin, or repairable malice; therefore hardly to be repented of, because few can plead (with S. Paul) they do it ignorantly, and so hope to obtain mercy, being wilfull persecutors and vastators of such an excellent and illustrious Church as this of England was, before these spoilers thus came upon it to make havock of it.

suam unitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem ecclesiae— propter modicas causas magnum & gloriosum Christi corpus conscindunt, & dividunt, & quantum in ipsis est interficiunt. Iren. l. 4. c. 62. c. 1 Tim. 1. 13.

In which Church, if those holy Means and Divine Graces which accompany salvation were not professed and enjoyed, for my part, I despair any where to find the way of Truth and Peace, of holinesse and happinesse. I know nothing truly excellent and necessary in any Church, ancient or later, which this Church of England did not enjoy; yea I find, many things which seem lesse convenient or more superfluous in others, we were happily freed from. Nor can I yet discover any material defect in the Church of England, as to Christians outward polity, inward tranquillity, and eternal felicity. Nothing either pious or peacefull, morall or mysterious, rituall or spirituall, orderly or comely, that may contribute to the good of mens souls,

K

but

a ubi ecclesia,
ibi & Spiritus;
& ubi Spiritus Dei,
illuc ecclesia,
& omnis gratia. Iren. l. 3. c. 40.

b J u l i c a b i t
eos (Deus) qui
schismata operantur,
qui sunt immanes;

but was plentifully to be enjoyed in the *Church of England*; whose rare accomplishments and prosperity (both inward and outward) were (I believe) the greatest *eye-sore* and grievance in the world, both to evil men and devils; when they saw that *Truth and Holinesse*, those Graces and Vertues, those spirituall gifts and comforts, which were here entertained with excellent learning, noble encouragements, ingenuous honours, peaceable serenity, and munificent plenty: in all which the *Reformed Church of England* so flourished many years by Gods and mans indulgence, that nothing (in truth) was wanting to the *perpetuity* of its *prosperity*, but moderation, humility and charity: these would (on all sides) have kept out *luxury* and *lazinesse*, *pride* and *envy*; the usuall *moths* and worms which breed in all things that are full and fair, opulent and prosperous.

Which humane defects (justly blameable on mans part, and punishable on Gods) may no way be imputed to the *Church of England*, (which afforded so great advantages of wel-doing & wel-being to all good Christians) but to us poor mortalls, who were prone to abuse so great Indulgences of God and man: so uncharitable, unthankfull and unreasonable are those malecontents, who blame the *fulnesse of the breast*, or the sweetness of that milk & honey, of which they have eat and drank too much; who either from other mens failings and infirmities, or from their own corrupt fancies and conceits, do take occasion to blast and blaspheme all that was Reformed, sacred and fetled, as to Religion, in the *Church of England*; so filling all places with their dust and clamours against this *Church*, that the *levity* and easinesse of many people have quite forsaken it, running, like those that are scared with Earthquakes, out of their houses, cities and temples, to heaths, woods and wildernesses. Some out of a *sequacious easinesse* and vulgar basenesse (studying to comply with their leaders interests and their own advantages) affect to appear to the world, not onely neglective and indifferent, but scornors and high opposers of all that ever the *Church of England* pretended to, as to the *Truth, Reformation, Wisdome, Spirit, Power*, or *Grace* of Religion; neither caring what they condemn, nor much minding upon what grounds they do it.

Others taking advantage of the levity, loosenesse, covetousnesse, sacriledge, arrogancy, injuriousnesse and madnesse of some that heretofore professed speciall purity and strictnesse in Religion, do resolve (as those Heathens of old, who excused their own *thefts* and *wantonnesse*, by the *lubricities* and pranks of their Gods) fully to gratifie their own *licentious* & native *inclinations*, how inordinate soever, utterly casting off and abhorring all outward form and profession, as well as all inward power and perswasion of godlinesse; counting all Religious duties to be no better than *consecrated rattles*, which *Politicians* put into the hands of the common people, to please and compose their *childish frowardnesse*. The ground and rise of all which is, from those many *scandals* which loose and unfetled tempers take from those endlesse *strifes* and *janglings*; the continued

nued disorders and deformities, the poverty and contempt, the maimes and wounds, the cruelty and uncharitableness, with which some *high-flown Reformers* have of late treated the *Church of England*, and those that have most constantly adhered to it.

What man or woman, capable of such profound, serious and grave thoughts as become Christian Religion, whose lusts or interests have not quite *decocted* all *Humanity* as well as *Piety*, can behold, without seven dayes silence and astonishment (like *Job's* friends) the *rufull* and dismall spectacle of the *Church of England*? which is like *Job* or *Lazarus*, living indeed, but almost buried in its Sores and Sorrowes; not onely lying, but even dying on its *dunghill*; like the sometime lovely and beautifull *Daughter of Zion*, now grovelling in the dust, deserving another tender-hearted *Jeremy*, who might write the book of *England's Lamentations* with his *Teares*, since the History of her Fall and Ruine is written in *blood*: Her own brood (like the *young Pelicans*) feeding upon her without any pity or remorse, growing daily fiercer after they have once tasted of her flesh, and more resolute (as *Abalom*) by the *rapes* they have rudely made upon a *Matrone*, lately so comely, chaste and honourable, whom *Her* destroyers dare now to count and call the *filth* and *off-scouring of all Churches*; crying down Her holy *habitations* and conventions, as *cages* and flocks of *unclean birds*; Her holy *Ministrations*, as impious and odious; Her holy *Bishops* and *Ministers*, as Antichristian usurpers and impostors; Her whole Constitution, as Babylonish and abominable, worthy of nothing but their curses and comminations.

Job 2. 13.

Lam. 1.

Jer. 9. 1.

C H A P. VII.

Of the excellent constitution of the *Ch. of Engl.* and her undefeined calamities.

* Jer. 2. 11.



Ath * any Nation changed Her Gods, though they are no Gods? saith the Prophet, expostulating with the inconstant and Apostatizing Jews, who had despised the Word, forsaken the Law, and broken the everlasting covenant of God, made with their forefathers. What people (that owns a God, or a Saviour, or a Soul immortall, or any Divine Veneration,

under the name of their Religion) was ever patient to heare their, and their fore-fathers God blasphemed? or to see that Religion (wherein, to the best of their understanding, they agreed and professed publicly to serve and worship their God) vulgarly baffled and contemned? Was ever any part of mankind so stupidly barbarous, as to behold, without just grief and resentment, their Oracles and Scriptures vilified and abused? their solemn Prayers and Liturgies torn and burnt? their Temples profaned and ruined? their holy Services scorned and abhorred? their Priests and Ministers of holy Mysteries impoverished and contemned?

In matters of Religion, the light of nature hath taught every Nation to be commendably zealous and piously pertinacious, esteeming this their highest honour, to be very tender of any diminution, dishonour, or indignity offered to their Religion; which reflects upon the majesty of their God, whom every Nation may in charity be presumed to serve in such a way, as they think to be most acceptable to their God; every man being convinced, that he ought to pay the highest respects to that Deity which he adores: from which to be easily moved, by vulgar clamours and inconstancy (without grand and weighty demonstrations, convincing a man of his own error, and his Countreys mistake) or, contrary to the dictates of conscience, for any man shamefully to flatter, or silently to comply with any such designs as appear first reproching their Religion, next robbing their God, and at last destructive to all publick Piety, is certainly a temper so base, so brutish, so ignoble, so servile, so sordid, so devilish, that it is worse than professed or avowed Atheisme: for he sins lesse that owns no God, than he that mocks him, or so treats him, as the world may see he neither loves nor fears Him.

And can it I beseech you (O noble Christians, and worthy Gentlemen) become the piety, wisdom and honour of this so ancient and renowned Nation of England, to behold with coldnesse and indifference (like Gallio) the scamlings and prostitutions, the levellings and abasings, the scorns and calumnies so petulantly and prodigally cast, by mechanick and plebeian spirits (for the most part) or by mercenary insolency, upon that Christian and Reformed Religion, which hath so long flourished among you and your fore-fathers, and which was first settled among you, not slightly nor superficially; not by the prepos-

rons

*Ad injuriam
Deorum spectat
verum sacrarum
irreverentia.
Ibid. è Var-
rone.*

*Deos peregrinos
non colunt. Lex
12. Tab.*

*a Non tam A-
theus est qui
Deos non agno-
scit, quam qui
agnitos contem-
nit. Sen.*

rous policies, passions and interests of our *Princes*; not by the pusillanimity or partiality of over-awed Parliaments; nor yet by the superstitious easinesse or tumultuary headinesse of the common people; but upon learned, publick and serious examination of every thing that was settled and owned as any point or part of our *Religion*? There was godly, grave, mature and impartial counsel of most learned Divines used; there was the full and free Parliamentary consent of all *estates* and *degrees* in this *nation*; there was a strict and due regard had to the *Word of God*, and the mind of Christ, as to *doctrine* and *duties*, to the faith and *fundamentals of Religion*, without any regard to any such antique *customs* or *traditions*, as seemed contrary to that rule.

As for the *rituals* and *prudentials*, the circumstantiating and *decorating of Religion*, great regard was had in them to the usages of *pure and Primitive Antiquity*, so as became modest, wise, and humble Christians; who (seeing nothing in the ancient Churches Rites and Ceremonies contrary to *Gods Word*, or beyond the liberty allowed them and all Churches in point of *order* and *decency*) did discreetly and ingenuously study such compliance with them, as shewed the least desire of novellizing, or needles varying from, and the greatest care of conforming to sober and *venerable Antiquity*.

Against all which sacred suffrages and ecclesiasticall attestations for the true Christian and Reformed *Religion* once settled in the *Church of England*, now at last to oppose either popular *giddinesse* and desire of novelties, or any secular policies and worldly designes, or any brutish power, that is neither rationall nor religious, but meerly arbitrary and imperious, altering and abolishing, as the populary listeth, matters of *Religion* (which are the highest concernments of any nation, and so require the most publick counsels, impartial debates, and serious consent of all *estates*;) by such pitiful principles, and the like unconscientious biasses, for a Nation to be swayed in, or swerved from the great and weighty *matters of Religion*, once well established, is (certainly) a perfect indication of present baseness, also an infallible presage of future unhappinesse.

Which I beseech God to divert from this Nation of *England*, by your prayers and teares, by your counsel and courage, by your moderation and discretion; who are too knowing to be ignorant, and too ingenuous to be unsensible of your duty to God and your own souls, of your respect and deserved gratitude to your Countrey, and to this *Church of England*; which was heretofore loved by its children, applauded by its friends, revered by its neighbours, dreaded and envied by its enemies: and this not onely for that long peace and prosperity it enjoyed (which alone are no signs of Gods approbation) but chiefly (as * *Irenaeus* observes) for those rare spirituall gifts, ministeriall, devotionall and practicall, which were evidently to be seen in *Her*; those pious *proficiencies*, those spirituall influences, which preachers & people found in their own hearts; those gracious *examples* and frequent good works which they set forth to others;

* *Spiritus Sanctus, Artha in corruptela, & confirmatio fidei nostra, & scala ascensionis ad Deum: ubi enim Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesiæ, &c.*
Iren. l. 3. c. 40.

others; those heavenly *experiences* they enjoyed in themselves; those charitable *simplicities* they exercised to each other; their numerous *conventions*, their fervent *devotions*, their reverent *attentions*, their unanimous *communions*, their cheerfull *Amens*; those blessed hopes and unspeakable comforts which thousands enjoyed, both living and dying, in the obedience to, and *communion* with the *Church of England*.

1 Cor. 9. 2.
2 Cor. 3. 2.

All these holy fruits and blessed effects, as most certain seals and letters testimoniall, were (I conceive) most pregnant *evidences* and valid demonstrations of *true Religion*, and of a *true Church*, so happily settled by the joynt consent and publick piety of this Nation, that it was not in reason or conscience, in modesty or ingenuity, to be suddenly changed, much lesse rashly deserted, and rudely abandoned, chiefly upon the giddinesse of common people, or by the *boysterousnesse* of common souldiers; whose buff-coats and armour cannot be thought by any wise and worthy Souldiers, to be like *Aarons* breast-plate, the place from which Priests and people are to expect the constant *oracles of Urim and Thummim*, Light and Reformation. •

Exod. 28. 30.

Ma'. 2. 7.

Such of that profession as are truly *Militant Christians*, that is, humbly wise, and justly valiant (as I hope many Souldiers may be) will think it enough for them, modestly to learn, and generously to defend, as *Constantine the Great* said to the *Nicene Bishops*, not imperiously to dictate, or boldly to innovate *matters of Religion* in such a Church and Nation as *England*, which was, I am sure, and I think still is, furnished with many able *Divines*, many Evangelicall Priests and Ministers of the Lord, whose *lips preserve saving knowledge*, who have (many a one of them) more learning and well-studied Divinity in them, than a whole *Regiment*, nay, than an whole *Army* of ordinary Souldiers; whose *weapons* are not proper for a *spirituall warfare*, nor apt (as *Dauids* hands) either to build or repair a Church, otherwaies than as *Labourers*, who may possibly assist the true Ministers, who are, and ought to be, the *Master-builders* of *Gods* house; whose skill is, not to destroy mens bodies, but to save their souls; not to kill, but to make alive.

It must ever be affirmed to *Gods glory* (because without any *vanity* or *flattery*) that the *Church of England* (for this last *golden century*) came not behind the very *best Reformed Churches*, nor any other that profess Christianity in any part of the world: which is not my particular testimony (who may seem partiall, because I unfeignedly professe my self a *son* and *servant* of it;) but it is and hath been the *joynt suffrage* of all *eminent Divines* in all forraign Reformed Churches, who have written and spoken of the *Church of England*, ever since its *settled Reformation*, not with *commendation* onely, but *admiration*; especially those who, coveting to partake of the gifts and labours of *English Divines*, have taken the pains to learn our hard and untoward *language*.

Yea, I may farther with truth and modesty affirm, that (saving the extraordinary gifts of *Tongues*, *Miracles* and *Martyrdomes*) the *Church*

Church of England, since its settled *Reformation* under *Queen Elizabeth* of blessed memory, came not much short of the *Primitive Churches* in the first and second *Centuries*.

Which had (at least some of them, as I shall after shew) rather more than fewer ceremonies, partly *Judaick*, partly *Christian*; yea, far greater errors and abuses were found among some of them, than were generally among any professors in communion with the *Church of England*: witnesse those touching the *Resurrection* of the body, and in the celebrating of the *Lords Supper*, among the *Corinthians*. The first some denied; the other many received covetously, uncharitably, drunkenly, disorderly, undecently in the *Church of Corinth*. Besides the scandalous fact of the incestuous person, with which they were not so offended as became Christians; they were also full of factions and carnall divisions; going to law one with another before *Infidels*; undervaluing the blessed *Apostle S. Paul*, and other faithfull labourers; preferring false *Apostles* and deceitfull workers, with no lesse folly than ingratitude; challenging in many things disorderly and uncomely liberties, which amounted to clokes of malice, and a licentiousnesse tending to confusion.

1 Cor. 15:

1 Cor. 11.

1 Cor. 5.

a 1 Cor. 1. 11.

3. 3.

b 1 Cor. 6. 1.

c 1 Cor. 10. 11.

12. ch.

These and other corruptions were among Christians of an *Apostolicall Church*, newly planted, carefully watred, and excellently constituted. Nor are there lesse remarkable faults found by the Spirit of God in six of the seven *Asian Churches*, mentioned in the second and third Chapters of the *Revelation*, while yet they were under *Apostolicall inspection*. For the Devil, who is a great rambler, but no loyterer, began betimes to sow his tares in Gods field, by false *Apostles*, unruly walkers, deceitfull workers, meer bucksters of Religion, schismatick Spirits, proud Impostors, sensuall Separatists, wanton Fexabells, curious and cowardly Gnosticks, with all the evil brood of *Nicolaitans*, *Simonians*, *Cerinthians*, and other crafty Hypocrites, broachers of lies, patrons of lewdnesse, extremely earthly and sensuall; yet vaunters (in proud swelling words) of spirituall and heavenly gifts; but more covetous of filthy lucre, and sedulous to serve their own bellies, than zealous to serve the Lord, or to save souls.

Jude 18, 19.

Rev. 2. 20.

2 Pet. 2. 19.

Tit. 1. 10, 11.

In all which instances of diseases, growing even upon any of those *Primitive Churches*, however Christians are commanded to repent and do their first works, to keep themselves pure from contagion, private or epidemick; yet are they no where put upon the pernicious methods of reproching, rending and separating from the very frame and constitution of their respective Churches, as they were holy Polities, Constitutions or Communions, settled by the *Apostles*, in decent subordinations and convenient limits of Ecclesiasticall order, government, authority and jurisdiction; without which all humane societies, civil or sacred, run to meer Chaoßes and heaps of confusion. Which as the God of order and peace perfectly abhors, so he no where by any Divine precept, or approved example, recommends any such practises to Christians (under the name, notion, or intention of reforming abuses crept into any Churches) presently to rend, revile, contemne,

1 Cor. 14. 33.

temne;

tern, divide, destroy and make desolate the whole order, polity, frame and constitution of them, which is very Christian and very commendable.

Gen. 18. 32.

Jer. 5. 4.

If the grand example of Divine Mercy was ready to spare *Sodom* upon *Abrahams* charitable intercession, in case *ten righteous persons* had been found in that city; and *Ferusalem*, in case one man could have been found there, who executed judgement and sought the truth; how little are those men imitators of Gods clemency, or *Abrahams* pity, who have studied, and still endeavour by all acts of power and policy, utterly to destroy such a Church as *England* was, in which many thousands of good Christians may undoubtedly be found, who are constant adherers to the Faith, gratefull lovers of the Piety, and most pathetick deplorers of the miseries of the Church of *England*:

Whose excellent Christian state and Reformed constitution deserved much better treatment from those (at least) who were her children, carefully bred, born, and brought up by her; however (now) they appear, many of them, *better fed than taught*, more puffed up with the surfeits of undigested Knowledge, than increased in humble, sound, saving and practicall Understanding.

Page 16.

Whence (then) the present lapses, depreffions, diminutions and feared desolations, are come upon and befall this Church of *England*, (which threaten you, O worthy Gentlemen, and your posterity, no lesse than they afflict the despised, divided and dejected Clergy) is a disquisition most worthy of your serious inquiry; that discerning the causes, which cannot be good, with the consequences, which must needs be bad, you may endeavour, with all Christian prudence and good conscience, to advance those counsels and remedies which become wise men, good Christians and true-hearted English: (which Christian counsels and pious endeavours, in order to the settling of Religion in this Nation, his Highness professed in his Speech at the dissolving of the last Parliamentary convention, to have expected from them.)

Nothing becomes any men or Nation worse, than to own no settled Religion, as the publick rule, measure and standard of peoples piety, except onely this (which is one of the basest pieces of policy that ever came out of the Devils skull) to profess Religion, yea the Christian and Reformed, with such a loosenesse and latitude, as may expose it, with its prime Teachers and Professors, to vulgar indifferencies and insolencies; yea to be profaned, blasphemed, baffled, beggered, scorned, contemned, according to the dictates, lusts, disorders and levities of popular humours and the vilest of men. The first is the temper of *sots and beasts*, who own no God: the second of *Machiavillians* and *Hypocrites*, who fear no God. It was a good rule of the Roman policy and Heathenish piety, *Either pretend not to the Gods, or treat them as becometh Gods*.

*Dis aut non ben-
benior, aut rite
colantur.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.



He outside or visible effects of the *Church of Englands* troubles and distempers are as manifest as *Miriams, Uzziabs* and *Gebazies* leprosies on their fore-heads, both in respect of secular contestations, and Ecclesiasticall contradictions: in both which this *Church* and *Nation* have been at once so involved, that our miseries are not onely the more complicated, cumulated and encreased; but they are the lesse curable, because less compliable with any impartiall way of publique Christian counsels; mens hearts being so many wayes extremely divided and differently biassed, not onely upon civil, but even Religious differences, in which the meanest and shortest-spirited men do ever affect to appeare most *cruelly zealous*; and most *uncharitably pertinacious*.

The Rivalry and competition for *Sovereign power* between *Princes* or *Peers*, which in former ages for many years, and in various vicissitudes of civil wars, afflicted this *English nation*; were (yet) so far tolerable, as men still preserved the unity of their perswasions and affections touching *Religion*, amidst those deadly feuds and different adherencies in respect of civil affairs, with which they were distracted: which politick contests were capable of an end, either by the *extinction* of one party, or the *uniting* of both; as it came to passe in *Henry the seventh's* dayes, who laid the foundation for uniting the Families of *York* and *Lancaster*, also the Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*.

But (alas) our late distractions, like *fire from Hell*, have seized not onely our Barns and Stables, our Dwellings and Mansions, but our *Temples* and *Churches*, our Hearts and Souls.

Religion, The Christian Religion, the Reformed Religion, this staffe of *nationall beauty* and sociall *bonds* is broken in sunder. *Religion* (both as Christian and Reformed) this is torn and mangled; this is deformed and unchristened. *Religion*, whose obligations are most strict and sacred, whose breaches are most wide and incurable, this is wounded, this is ulcerated, this is gangren'd. *Religion*, whose balsam is most sovereign to close and reconcile a sinner with an offended God, which professeth to worship God and Man united in one blessed Redeemer and Mediator *Jesus Christ*, this is faine out with it self, and wofully divided. *Religion*, whose aim is to unite first God and man in one band of *eternal love*, next, all Christian professors in charitable compliance one with another, as members of the same body, and belonging to one head; this, this is the poniard, this the sword, this the spear, by which we are (in *England*) armed and animated one against another. Not onely our heads in policies, and our hands in power; but our hearts in piety are divided. Most men in

A further scrutiny and discovery of the *Church of Englands* miseries and enemies.

Zach. 11. 10.

2 Cor. 5. 10.

1 Cor. 12. 18.

L

England

Rev. 15. 6.

James 3. 14.

England fancy they cannot be truly godly, or justly hope to be saved, unlesse they *damn* and *destroy* each other, not onely upon civil, but *religious accounts*. The *silver cord* of *religious love* is ravelled and broken; the *golden girdle* and *perfect rule* of *Evangelicall charity* is not onely much worn and warped, but quite pulled and *snapp'd in sunder*: we war and fight, kill and slay, we bite and devour, we persecute and oppresse each other, not onely upon humane, secular and momentary, but upon divine, spiritual and eternall pretensions.

1 Tim. 4. 2.

So that to find out either our *distempers* or our *cures* in *England*, we must search deeper than the skin and superficies of things: the poyson is profoundly imbibed, the malignity deeply diffused, rising in its source from, and reaching in its effects to the very hearts of men: the venome and spite is hidden in the most retired cels and inaccessible recesses of mens souls: the malice and mischief are fled for their refuge or *asylum* to Gods *Sanctuary*, to the very spirits and consciences of Christians; which should be the receptacles of most sacred influences; the very *Holy of Holyes*, the Heaven of Heavens in the *reasonable soul*, in which the *Oracles of God*, the special preface and manifestations of his *Spirit*, are most lively to be heard, seen, felt and enjoyed: These are either grossly darkened and defiled, or garnished with false lights, or swept with the *Devils broom*, lies wrapped up in *hypocrisie*, and strong delusions gilded over with godly pretensions.

Here I find the greatest enemies and destroyers of the *Church of England* are very far from confessing or repenting of any folly, pride, levity, ignorance, lukewarmnesse, lazinesse, deadnesse, hypocrisie, malice, presumption, rebellion, covetousnesse, ambition, facriledge, profanenesse, coldnesse, Atheism, Apostasie, uncharitablenesse, disorderly walking, disobedience, or unthankfulnesse to God or man; all which (possibly) may be in their own hearts and hands, and so must needs have as great an ingredieny in our publick calamities, as any mens sins in the nation.

1 John 3. 12.

They rather imploy all their wits and skill, their artifices and oratory, to *anatomize* the *Church of England*, to dissect every part of its *constitution*; to observe; not onely the *practick pulse* and outward *breathings* of its *Ministers* and *Professors*, but the very inward fibres and *temper* of its heart, as to all its *holy mysteries*, *religious ministrations* and *ecclesiastick constitutions*.

Upon the pretended inspection of which, as the vitals & noble parts of Religion, they daily proclaim to the *credulous vulgar*, & other amazed *spectators* (as the *astonished Augurs* & *Soothsayers* were wont of old) that in these they discern all the *portentous omens* of our afflictions, all the *prodigious causes* and effects of our publick troubles and miseries: in these they evidently see tokens of an *angry God*, of a *provoked justice*, of an *armed power from Heaven*, which hath begun not to chastise as a Father, but to consume as an Enemy; not to reform as a Friend, but to destroy and desolate as an Avenger, this lukewarm, this *Laodicean Church of Engl.* with all the *Antichristian pomp*, pride and

and tyranny, the superstition and abomination of its whole frame and constitution.

In this point or centre of the *Church of England's ill-reformed*, nay utterly deformed and desperate state, it is, that these severe *Censors* fix'd the foot of their *compasses*, fetching in all *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, all *Preachers* and *Professors*, all *Duties* and *Devotions*, all *Ministrations* and *Ministers*, all *Liturgies* and *Ceremonies*, within the wide circle and black line of their *ensorious severity*, condemning all but themselves and their own way or parties; who are called and counted by some of them (in a most *Pharisaick* pride and uncharitableness) the *only Saints*, the *called, Elect*, and *precious of God*.

All such as are dissenters from them they have set already at *Christ's left hand*, fancying it a great part of piety, magisterially to judge, and authoritatively to condemn all the members of the *Church of England*, both severally and joyntly (though never so holy, learned, wise and good) more upon popular prejudices and sinister presumptions, than upon any just triall and serious *examination*; which (alas) few of these *ensorious Adversaries* and supercilious Destroyers of the *Church of England* are able to reach in any proportion, either for parts or prudence, learning or experience, Reason or Religion; being (for the most part) like *Mushromes*, of crude, indigested and dangerous composition, who (yet) think themselves capable to compare with the *highest Cedars of Lebanon*, and fancy they are able to over-top the fairest and fruitfulest trees that ever grew upon the *mountains of God* in this *Church and Nation*.

Alas, they puff at all that ever was accounted pious or prudent, learned or religious, gracious or godly, comely or comfortable, holy or happy, in the *Church of England*; looking upon it with scorn and triumph, as *David* did upon *Goliath*, when he was dejected, groveling and dead: an object fit for these *worthies* to set their feet upon, and by the sharp sword of their *zeal* utterly to destroy, that neither head nor taile, root nor branch of the *Church of England* may remain.

CHAP. IX.

A generall
Vindication
of the Church
of England's
former excel-
lent Constitu-
tion, although
it be now af-
flicted.

* Jude 9.



Ut here, (as *Michael the Archangel* did) so must I crave leave to contend with these men about this* *body of Moses*, this carcase (almost) this *Skeleton* (as they esteem it) of the *Church of England*; which heretofore was thought to have conversed with God in the holy *mountain of vision*; whose face was heretofore, not onely well-favoured, but it so shined, that these feeble spectators, the now blind, blear-ey'd, or blood-shorten despisers and destroyers of it, were not then able to behold its glory without envy and regret.

Though the Lord may seem to have slain Her with Her children, yet I cannot but believe and profess, that the *salvation of God* hath been both manifested to, and received by *thousands*, in the former order, way and dispensations of the *Church of England*, that no Christians need, few ever enjoyed more means of grace and glory, than were piously and prudently dispensed in the *Church of England*. While I live I must deny, what is clamorously and unjustly calumniated, fiercely, but falsely, alledged, to justify some mens *advantageous Schismes*, *profitable Separations*, and *gainfull Innovations*, that our publick afflictions and miseries have sprung, as to their inward and meritorious cause, from the evil and unsound *constitution of the Church of England*, as it was once publicly reformed and established in this Nation.

This Calumny I can no more grant, than, that holy *Job's* sores grew from some *unwholsome* aire or diet he used, or from the unhealthful temper of his *body*; or that Satans malice was to be justified by *Job's* want of any right to claim, or eloquence to assert his *Innocency*, as to his practice before man; and his *Integrity*, as to his purpose and sincerity before God, amidst his bitter losses and calamities: which were so passionately aggravated by the *unjust censures* and misinterpretations of his *mistaken friends*, because they did not wisely consider the *paradoxes of Gods providences*, and *depths of divine judgements*, which many times inflict upon whole Churches, as well as upon private Christians, by the malice of men and Devils, many sharp and sore afflictions; not alwayes for *penary chastisements*, but oft for triall of graces, exercise of patience, and exemplary improvements in all Christian virtues, which usually grow blunt, dull, and rusty, through long plenty, peace and prosperity, and so need sometimes the *mercifull files* and furnaces of Gods inflictions, mans persecutions, and Devils temptations; which are rather purgative than consumptive to good Christians, and oft preparative for greater splendors, both of inward mercy, and even outward prosperity: of which the *Church of England* hath not yet any cause to despair, because it hath a good cause and a good God.

Rom. 11. 33.

Flagellat nos
Deus, & erudit nos. Dolor
medicinalis
est, non pœnalis. Aug. de
pec. mer. & remiss. c. 34.
Disciplina
Patris, non lra
iudicis; amor
corrigentis, non
furor conterentis. Greg. m.

It

It is not more necessary than comely, for the *Body and Members of Christ* to be conform to *Christ their Head* in bearing his crosse, and partaking of his agonies; upon whom the *houre of temptation* (foretold) Riv. 3. 10. is still to come, as it did upon the *Primitive Churches and Christians* (with some *lucid intervalls*) for three hundred years. There may be as good an *omen* or *prognostick* in the scorns and contumelies cast upon any *Church of Christ* by its persecutors, as there was in the dirt of the streets cast upon *Vespasian* by the command of *Cajus Caesar*, as a punishment for his not keeping the streets cleaner (of which he was then chief Scavenger or Surveyor;) it was (as *Suetonius* tells us in the life of *Vespasian*) thought by the wise men to portend, that he should one day receive into his *bosome* and protection, both the oppressed city of *Rome* and the wasted Empire: which accordingly came to pass.

Cai. Caesar succensens ei ob curam verrendi viis non adhibitam, luto iussit oppleri, congesto per milites in prætexta sinum.

Non defuerunt qui interpretarentur, proculcatam quindog, Rempublicam in gremium ejus tanquam in tutelam deveneram. Suet. vit. Fl. Vesp.

Affliction is part of Gods good husbandry, and is for the Churches mendment no less, than compost or manure is for the Earths.

Hence the *Christian Oracles* bid us to rejoice with exceeding great joy, when we fall into divers temptations of triall, when we suffer for righteousness sake: the spirit of Glory (as Gods presence to *Moses*) is oftner seen in the bush or shrub (which burns, but consumes not) than in the *Oke* or *Cedar*; in the low and mean estate of his Church, as well as in the more pompous and flourishing. *S. Stephen* had a clearer vision of Christ in *Heaven*, when the cloud of stones was showing about his eares, than ever he enjoyed in his more peaceable profession. The *Lily* is not less fair, nor the *Rose* less fragrant, when they grow among the thorns. Affliction, like Gods physick, hath that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasantness. Particular parts of any Church may have causticks and corrosives applied to them, when God, as a wise and wary Physician, intends both their cure, and the preservation of the whole, which may be still sound and entire as to the vitall, more noble and principall parts.

Jam. 1. 2.

Math. 5. 12.

Exod. 3. 2.

Acts 7. 55.

Canr. 2. 2.

I well know, that it is not meet for the Church of England, or the most deserving Member of it, to dispute with Divine Justice; nor is it either safe or wise, to contest with his Omniscent and Almighty power: but rather to lay our hands upon our hearts, to put our mouths in the dust, and to abhor our very righteousness, than to quarrel with Gods judgements, which are alwayes just, though they are deep and dark, past our finding out.

I think it an high presumption in the *sawcy Criticks* of these times, who pretend to read the hand-writing upon the wall, and to have such skill in sacred Palmestry, as to know the mind of God by the operation of his hands; conceiting (both vainly and wickedly) That God is such an one as themselves, delighted with the spoiles and deformities, the plunder and confusion of Churches: they boldly interpret the meaning of all the troubles in England, to be no other than this, Gods anger

Psal. 50. 22.

ger against *Bishops* and *Ceremonies*, against *Steeple-houses* and *Common Prayer*, against *Ordination* and *Ministry*, against the whole *Polity* and *Constitution* of the *Church of England*; which they believe were so offensive and nauseous to God, that he was forced to *spue them out of his mouth*; justifying by this great argument of *Gods providence* (as their chief shield and defence) all their *Schisms* and *Separations*, their *Rapines* and *Sacriledges*, their *Reproches* and *Blasphemies*, their *Insolencies* and *Injuries*, committed and intended both against *this Church* in generall, and against many most worthy and eminent *Church-men* in it.

Job 4. 18.

Isa. 5.

I do not, I dare not vindicate the *Church of England* before the most holy God (whose pure eyes behold folly in his *Saints*, and darkness in his *Angels*) as to the people in it, either *Preachers* or *Professors*, the *Governours* or governed; the *Shepherds* or the *Flock*. This is sure, that, where God had planted this *Church*, as a pleasant *Vine* on a fruitfull hill, where he had watered it with his Word, as with the dew of Heaven, fenced it by his speciall power and providence, as with a wall, expecting it should bring forth good grapes, and good store; there his contrary dealing with this his *Vineyard*, taking away the hedge, breaking down the wall thereof, suffering it to be eaten up and trodden down, to lie thus far wast, without its just pruning, weeding and digging, to be overgrown with briars and thornes, commanding the clouds that they rain little or nothing upon it, &c. These sad dispensations and desolating experiments sufficiently proclaim Gods *controversie* with the Land, and complaint against this *Church*, that when he looked his *vineyard* should bring forth good grapes, behold it brought forth wild grapes in so great a proportion, that there was no remedy, but God must be avenged on so unfruitfull, so ungratefull a Nation, which was second to none in temporall and spirituall mercies, which are now become the aggravations of its sins and miseries; it being condemned to punish it self by its own hands, not for that it wanted the means of true Religion, (for what could the Lord have done more for his vineyard?) but for not using them, yea, for wantonly abusing those liberall advantages it enjoyed, equall to, if not beyond any *Church* or Nation under heaven. Thus before the Bar and *Tribunall of Divine Justice*, it is meet that we all, as men and Christians, confess our personall prevarications, and cry out bitterly, *Woe unto us, for we have sinned against the Lord.*

Lam. 5.

Yet as to mans judgement, looking upon the *Church of England* not in the concrete or subject matter, as consisting of many *Preachers* and *Professors*, in many things possibly much depraved and deformed, but considering it in the abstract, in the reformed form and state of it, in its former pious and prudent Constitution, I must profess to You (my honoured countrey-men) and to all the World, that in the greatest maturity of my judgement, and integrity of my conscience, as most redeemed now from juvenile fervours, popular fallacies, vulgar partialities and secular flatteries; yea, apart from the sense of my private obligations to the *Church of England* (which are

are great and many, I owing to it my *Baptisme* and Education as a *Christian*, my office and *ordination as a Minister*) all these laid aside, and looking onely upon the consideration of its Religion, as grounded upon Scriptures in the main, and guided by the prudence of Primitive Antiquity, I must profess, that I cannot understand how the *Church of England* hath deserved to fall under those great reproches, oppressions and miseries, which the weakness, wantonness and wickedness of some men hath sought to heap upon *Her*; whose causeless malice and excessive passions against the *Church of England* are (I think) by a fatall blindness, and most heavy judgement of God upon some men, made the *forest punishers* of their own and other mens sins; their former unprofitableness, ingratitude, despite, disorderliness, and undutifulness against so *venerable a Matron*, so good a *Mother* as the *Church of England* was; at least it desired and offered it self to be so, even to *Her* most *ungracious* and unthrifty children, whom neither *eping* nor *weeping*, prosperity or adversity, she could ever move or affect with such conformities to *Her*, or compassions for *Her*, as she deserved of them.

Mat. II. 17.

I do here declare to the present age, and to all posterity, (if any thing of my writing be worthy to *survive me*) that since I was capable to move in so serious a search and weighty a *disquisition* as that of Religion is, as my greatest design hath been, and still is, through Gods grace, to find out, and to persevere in such a profession of the *Christian Religion*, as hath most of Truth and Order, of Power and Peace, of Sanctity and Solemnity, of Divine Verity and Catholick Antiquity, of true Charity and Martyr-like Constancy in it; being farthest from Ignorance, Errour, Superstition, Partiality, Vulgarity, Faction, Confusion, Injustice, Immorality, Hypocrisie, Sacriledge, Cruelty, Inconstancy; so I cannot (apart from all prejudices and prepossessions) find in any other *Church* or *Church-way*, ancient or modern, either more of the good I desire, or less of the evil I endeavour to avoid, than I have, a long time, discerned, and daily do more and more, since the contentions and winnowings of these times have put it and me upon a *stricter scrutiny* in the *frame and form*, the *constitution* and *settled dispensations* of the *Church of England*.

No where diviner Mysteries, or abler Ministers; no where sounder *Doctrinalls*, holier *Morals*, warmer *Devotionals*, apter *Rituals*, comelier *Ceremonials*: all which (together) by a meet and happy concurrence of piety and prudence, brought forth such *Spirituals* and *Graces* (both in their habits, exercises and comforts) as are the quintessence and life, the soul and seal of true Religion; those more immediate and special influxes of Gods holy Spirit upon the soul; those joynt operations of the blessed Trinity, for the justification, sanctification and salvation of Sinners: in all these I never found (by my reading and experience, nor do I know where to seek) for any thing beyond, or every way equall to what was graciously dispensed in the *Church of England*.

Upon which grounds (appearing to me and all the unpassionate Chri-

Christian World most certain) no man can wonder if I so much magnifie and prefer the *Church of England*, that in the communion of its *Doctrine, Worship, Ministry and Order*, I chuse to live; in the communion of its *Faith, Hope and Charity*, I desire to die. Let my soul be numbred among those *Martyrs and Confessors*, those renowned *Bishops* and orderly *Presbyters*, those holy Preachers and humble Professors, whose labours, lives and deaths, whose words, works and sufferings, helped to plant and propagate, to reform, settle and preserve, to so great a conspicuity of piety, grace and glory, the Catholick Church of Christ, in all ages and places, and particularly this part of it, which we call the *Church of England*.

I am so far from envying or admiring any *novel pretenders*, who boast of their folly, and glory in their shame, in their endeavours to destroy and devour this Church; that I rather pity their *childish fondnesses*, their plebeian petulancies, their insolent activities, their unlearned levities, their ingratfull vanities, who have demolished much, and edified nothing, either better, or any way so good, as what they have sought to pull down, as to the order, honour, tranquillity, beauty and integrality of a Christian Church.

So little am I shaken or removed from my esteem, love and honour to the *Church of England*, that I am mightily confirmed in them, by all the poor objections made against it, by the unreasonable indignities cast upon it, which are as dirt to a Diamond, but the further test and triall of its reall worth and splendor: nor do I conceive, that by those afflictions which are come upon us, God pleads against the *Church of Engl.* but rather for *Her*, against the lewd *manners* of her ungracious and ungratefull children, for whose wickednesse *He* makes so fruitfull a Mother to grow barren, so fair an House to become desolate, so flourishing a Church to decay and wither.

Joel 2.31.

Heb. 11.37.

Mat. 5.44.

Acts 14.5.

Joh. ep. 3.10.

It is no news, where the lives and manners of Christians are much depraved from the holy rule of Christ evidently set forth among them, to see famous *Churches*, like the *Moon* in the wane or eclipse, *clothed with sackcloth, and turned into blood*; to see Order subverted, Unity dissolved, Peace perverted, Beauty deformed, Holy things profaned. It is no news to read of holy Prophets, blessed Apostles, *orthodox Bishops*, and *godly Presbyters* ill treated, and *despitefully* used by Heathens, Hereticks, Schismatics. No men (but ignorant and unlettered) can wonder at *Bibles* and other holy *Books* burned; at *Church-lands* alienated, the houses demolished, and the Preachers silenced, banished, destroyed.

All Church-histories tell us, it was many times so, even among the Primitive Churches, even then when their pious and Apostolick constitution was (no doubt) at best; it was most violently and desperately so just before the Churches enjoyed the greatest prosperity, & longest tranquillity; the blackest darkness usually going immediately before the welcomest break of day: as was remarkable in the serenity of *Constantine the Great's* time, succeeding the dreadful storm of

Dio-

Diocletians persecution; which was looked upon and intended as an utter extirpation of Christian Religion.

Which distressed estate of the Primitive Churches of Christ, in all the Roman world, *Eusebius Bishop of Casaria* (who lived in those worst dayes) describes with so much *pious oratory*, and so parallel in many things to the temper of our times, that I cannot but present you (my *honoured countrey-men*) with the prospect of them, because the fury and darknesse of that tempest reached even to the then British Churches in *England*; under which many Bishops and Presbyters, Noblemen and Gentlemen perished; and among others that famous Martyr *S. Alban*, who, as *Bede* tells us in his History, l. i. rather then he would deliver or discover a pious Presbyter, whom he had hid in his house, by whom he was either converted or much confirmed in the Christian Faith, chose to offer himself in the Priests habit to the Inquisitors, and owning himself for a Christian, though yet unbaptized, he died for that profession. Hereby the world may see how much *poor mortalls* are prone to mistake in their calculations of Gods judgements upon any Church, both as to their own sins and other mens sufferings, where the greatest sufferers are commonly the least sinners, and the greatest inflictors are the least Saints.

‘ Having in the former seven Books (sayes *Eusebius*) set forth that holy succession of Bishops which followed the Apostles in all the famous Primitive Churches, in their several limits and proportions, under the various seasons and storms of times; the Churches had (now) in the *Roman Empire* so great liberty, serenity and quiet, that Bishops in many places were much honoured even by the civil Magistrates; the Temples and Oratories of Christians were every where full and frequented; new Churches were every day erected, more goodly, costly and capacious: nor could the malice of men or Devils hinder the growing prosperity of the Churches every where, while God was pleased to shine upon them with his favour. Afterward, too great liberty and ease degenerated to luxury and idleness: these betrayed Christian Bishops, Presbyters and people to mutuall emulations and contentions; these sowed to hatred and malice; these brake out to fury and faction; Christians persecuting each other with words and reproches, as with armes and weapons: murmurings and seditions of governed and governours, justling against each other, grew frequent, arising from desperate hypocrisies and dissemblings. At last, being generally less sensible of their sins, than their sides and factions, and less intent to the honour of the Church and its holy Canons, than to their private passions and ambitions, the wrath of God overtook them all.

‘ Then (saith that Historian) as *Jeremy* complains, did the Lord bring darknesse upon the beauty of the daughter of *Sion*; then did He cast down to the ground the glory of *Israel*; He remembred no more the place of his footstool in the day of his wrath; then did he profane the habitation of his honour in the dust, and made Her a reproch to all her enemies, &c. then were Churches commanded to be pull’d down to

M

‘ the

*Euseb. Hist.
Eccles. l. 8. c. 1.*

*Successiones
Episcoporum
qui Apostolos
sunt sequuti.*

*Under the
Emperour Au-
relian, anno
Christi 270,
&c.*

*Res nostra
nimia libertate
in molliorem &
segnitiem dege-
neravit.
Euseb. ib.
Tanquam armis
& telis.
Ἀρχόντων
ἀρχαῖς καὶ
ἐπὶ πύργων.*

the ground, holy Books and Bibles to be burnt; the Bishops and Pastors, some banished, others imprisoned, tortured and killed; all silenced, impoverished, disgraced, abhorred by the Emperour with his followers and flatterers; Christians were forbidden all holy meetings and duties, commanded and forced to sacrifice to popular Idols, and plebeian Gods, upon pain of death and torture; seventeen thousand Christians slain in one month; an utter extirpation of Bishops, Presbyters, Professors, Churches, and Christianity it self, designed, enjoined and publickly solemnized by a triumphant pillar erected in Spain, with this Inscription, An Imperial monument of honour merited by the Emperours* Diocletian & Galerius, for their extirpating Christian superstition, & restoring the worship of the Gods.

*Diocletiano
Ces. Aug. super-
stitione Christi-
ana ubiq; dele-
ta, & cultu De-
orum propaga-
to.

Temporū atro-
citas Scripto-
rum eloquenti-
am superabat.

Tunc avidius
Martyria glori-
osis moribus,
quā nunc
Episcopatus
pravis affecti-
bus quere-
bantur. Sulpit.
Sever. Eccl.
Hist. de Diocl.
perf.

No pen (saith Eusebius) could equal the atrocity of those times against the Church of Christ. Yet even then the gracious spirit of sincere Christians (as the Ark in the deluge) rose highest toward heaven: then godly Bishops and Presbyters were (as another Historian writes) more ambitious of Martyrdome, than now Presbyters are of being all made Bishops: then were Christians more then conquerours, and true Christianity most triumphant, when it seemed most depressed, despised, and almost destroyed; as Sulpitius Severus writes of the same times, in his short, but elegant History.

Thus Eusebius and others describe that horrid storm and black night, which was relieved by the blessed day-star of Constantine the Great appearing. In which dismall times, learned men do not quarrell at the profession and state of Religion, but at the irreligion and scandall of Christians lives: the fault and provocation was not from the Faith, Doctrine, Liturgy, Order and Government then established in the Churches of Christ, but from the degenerate, depraved and ungoverned passions of men: as they all blamed these last, whenever they appeared, so they constantly asserted the other, as was evident in the Synod of Antioch, in which (a little before Diocletians time) the heresie of Paulus Samosatenus, denying the Divinity of Christ, was condemned by all, being confuted by Malchion, a learned man, & an accurate Disputant: The* Author or Heresiarch was excommunicated, not onely from the Church of Antioch, but also from the Catholick Church, and separated from all Christian communion throughout the world, by a just and unanimous severity.

Euseb. l. 7. c. 28.

*Heresis autor
ab Antiochena,
& Ecclesia Ca-
tholica quæ sub
cælo est uni-
versa, separatus
est & excom-
municatus. lb.
Euseb.

Holy men then rightly judged, that the meritorious cause of all those sore calamities arose, not from the frame of Christian Churches, which was holy, uniform, and Apostolick as yet; but from the wantonness and wickedness of Christian professors, neglecting so great means of salvation, and abusing such Halcyon dayes as had been sometime afforded them.

Which censure I may without rashness or uncharitableness pass, as to the present distresses incumbent upon the Church of England; whose holy, wise, honourable and happy Reformation must ever be vindicated, as much as in me lies, against all such gain-sayers, as make no scruple to condemne, as all the generations of Gods children in former

mer ages, so those especially who worthily settled and valiantly maintained the Christian reformed Religion in the *Church of England*, as against all Heathenish and Hereticall profaneness, so against the more *puissant* and *superstitious* *Papists*; also against the more peevish, but then more feeble Schismaticks.

C H A P. X.



T were as *impertinent* a work for me in these times, to insist upon every particular in the frame of the *Church of England*, or to cry up every small lineament in Her, for most rare and incomparable; as it is unreasonable and spitefull in those, that deny Her to have had any one *handsome* feature in Her, or any thing grave, comely, *Christian-like*, or *Church-like* in her main constitution and complexion.

Mr. Hooker's defense of the Church of England unanswered, and unanswerable.

Mr. *Richard Hooker* (one of the ablest Pens and best Spirits that ever *England* employed or enjoyed) hath (besides many other worthy men) abundantly examined every feature and dress of the *Church of England*, asserting it by calm, clear and unanswerable demonstrations of Reason and *Scripture*, to have been very far from having any thing unchristian or uncomely, deformed or intolerable, which her (then) enemies declaimed, and now have proclaimed; whose wrathfull menaces the *meekness* and *wisdom* of that good man foresaw, and in his Epistle foretold, would be *very fierce and cruell*, if once they got power answerable to their *prejudices*, *superstitions* and *passions* against the *Church of England*; which he fully proved to differ no more from the Primitive temper and prudence, than was either lawfull, convenient, or necessary in the variation of times and occasions.

The excellent endeavours of that *rarely-learned* and *godly Divine* (so full of the spirit and wisdom of Christ) one would have thought might have been sufficient for ever to have kept up the peace, order and honour of the *Church of England*; also to have silenced the pratings and petulancies of her adversaries. But (alas) few of those *plebeian spirits* and weaker capacities (to whose error, anger and activity the *Church of England* now chiefly owes her miseries, tears and fears) were ever able to understand, or bear away the *weight*, *strength* and *profundnesse* of that most ample mans reasonings, and his eloquent writings.

Others of them, that were more able, were so cunning and partiall for the interest of their cause and faction, as (commonly) to decry for obscure, or to suspect as dangerous, because prejudiciall to their interest, or to bury in silence, as their enemy, that rare piece of Mr. *Hookers Ecclesiasticall Polity*, which many of them had seldome either the courage or the honesty to read; none of them the power ever to reply, or the hardiness so much as to endeavour a just confutation of his mighty demonstrations.

Yea, I have been credibly informed, that some of the then-dissenters from the *Church of England* had the good (or rather evil) fortune, utterly to suppress those (now defective, but by him promised and performed) books touching the vindication of the *Church of England* in its *Ordination, Jurisdiction and Government*, by the way of *Ancient, Catholick, Primitive and Apostolick Episcopacy*.

Which one word (*Episcopacy*) hath of late years cost more blood and treasure in *Scotland and England*, than all the enemies of Bishops and of this Church had in their veins, or were worth, 20. years ago: whose importune clamours of old, and endeavours of late to extirpate *Primitive, Catholick and Apostolicall Episcopacy* out of *this Church*, and to introduce by head and shoulders the *exotick novelties* and vanities of humane invention, have brought themselves and this whole *Church* to so various and divided a posture, as makes no settled or uniform *Church-government* at all; by a popular precipitancy ruining an ancient and goodly Fabrick (whose temporary decayes or defects might easily and wisely have been amended) before they had agreed of a new model, or seriously considered either their skill or their authority to erect a new one, if they could find out a better, which hitherto they have not done, nor will they, I believe, ever be able to do; as destitute in this point of any just commission, direction, power, or precedent either from God or man. I am sure the Supreme power of regulating all Ecclesiasticall affairs, was, under God, by the laws of *England* invested in the Chief Magistrate, and Governours of *this Church*, without and against whose judgements, consents and consciences, no innovations were to be carried on, nor indeed begun in this Church: whose events or successes hitherto have been only worthy of such tumultuary beginnings, the effects of them being full of dissolution & confusion to all, of injurious afflictions to many worthy men, besides penall and perpetuall divisions among the Innovators themselves; who varying in this, as in other things, from the whole ancient Churches constitution, no less than from this of *England*, are likely to differ among themselves even till Doomesday, unless they return, under some new name, and disguised notion of moderators and superintendents, to what they have rashly deserted, the true pattern in the Mount, that paternall, Primitive and *Catholick Episcopacy*, which was the centre and crown of the Churches unity, peace, order and honour, which imports no more (after all this clamour and terrour) than one grave and worthy Presbyter duly chosen in the severall Diocesess & limits, to be the chief Ecclesiastick Overseer and Governour, succeeding in the managing of that Ecclesiasticall power and authority, which, without an Apostolick President or Bishop properly so called, Presbyters alone in parity or equality never did enjoy, and so never ought to exercise in the Churches of Christ, as to *ordination and jurisdiction*, no more than Bishops regularly may without the counsel and assistance of Presbyters.

Which ancient Order, & eminent Authority of Primitive *Episcopacy*, if neither right Reason, nor the Word of God, either in the Old or

New

New Testament, did clearly set forth to us as best; if neither Apostles at first, nor the Primitive Fathers after them; if neither Church-history, nor Catholick custome, nor Primitive Antiquity, nor the approbation of the best Reformed Churches and Divines; if all these did not commend it, as they evidently do (to my best understanding:) yet the late mad and sad *extravagancies in Religion* do highly recommend it; yea, the great want of it in *England* shews the great use, necessity and excellency of it, especially if advanced to its greatest improvement of counsel, order and authority. I may adde the votes of all sober and impartial Christians, even now in *England*, who are grown to wise by their woes, as generally to wish for such *Episcopacy*, whose restitution would be more welcome to the wiser and better sort of Christians in this nation, than ever the removall of it was, or the medlies of Presbytery and Independency is like to be. Nor do I believe that the restauration of a right *Episcopacy* would be unacceptable to many of the soberest men even of those two parties, if any expedient could be found, to salve and redeem the reputations of some lay-leaders and popular *Primates* of those sides; whose credits lie much at pawn with the people, upon this very score, as having been by them rashly biaised against all *Episcopacy*: the abusing of which Apostolick order on one side, and the abolishing of it on the other side, were, I think, two of the greatest Engines the Devil used to batter the Church of Christ withall; pride and parity, insolency and Anarchy, being equally pernicious to Church-polity and Christian piety.

The overboylings of some mens passions (which the *Scotch Thistles* (being set on fire under them) chiefly occasioned) having now almost quenched themselves, by bringing infinite *fedities* and deformities upon the whole face of the *Christian Reformed Religion in this Church*, as well as elsewhere; these sad events may save me the labour of further asserting (in this place) the use and honour of Catholick *Episcopacy* in the Churches of Christ, which is already done, as by my owne, so many abler pens (as it was also done by Mr. Hooker) sufficiently proving, that the *Church of England* deserved not, upon the account of its retaining the *Catholick and Apostolick order of Episcopacy*, to have suffered these many calamities which have ensued since the Schismes and *Apostasy* of many from this Church, and from that Primitive Government: other than which was not so much as known or thought of in the *Catholick Church of Christ* for 1500 years; nor then when the *Church of England* began its wise and happy *Reformation*, which did not indeed abolish, but reform and continue (as became its wisdom) that *Ancient and Apostolick government of the Church*, which was primitively planted in these British Churches, as in all others throughout the world, long before the Bishop of *Rome* had any influence or authority among them, being highly blessed of God, and honoured of all good men; nor hath yet any cause appeared why it should be blasted, or accursed, or scared by *Smeetymnuan* terrors.

Hieraspistes
pag. 259. Answer to the 5. Cavil against the church of England.
See M. Hookers Preface to his *Eccles. Pol.* p. 19.
See Bish. Hall, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Taylor, Bochartus, &c. B. Andrews to P.M.

CHAP. XI.

The excellent
constitution
of the Church
of England, as
to its Doctri-
nalls.



For the *Doctrinalls of Christian Religion*, this *Church of England* ever had so high an approbation from the best Reformed Churches, and so harmonious a consent with the most Orthodox and Primitive Churches, that it must be extreme ignorance or impudence (on this part) to esteem the present miseries of this Church as merited by Her, wherein it was indeed most exact and compleat; as wholly consonant to the *Word of God*, so nothing dissonant from the sense and practise of the *ancient and purest Churches*.

Yea, I find that the bitterest enemies of the *Church of England*, do in This least shew their teeth or clawes (except onely in the point of Infant-Baptism;) not for want of ill will, (for nothing more pincheth them then the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, which was according to godliness; teaching all men, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live righteously, soberly and godlily in this present world:) but for want, as of just cause, so of skill and abilitie; most of them being such as have no great stock of knowledge, learning or judgement, nor very capable (on this side) to assault the *Church of England*, whose strength and shield is the invincible Word of God rightly understood.

Therefore the *cunning Adversaries and Vastators of the Church of England* drive a lesser trade, of small cavellings and bitings rather, as the *serpent, at the heel* than head; not much engaging themselves in any grand *controversies* of Divinity, which are (generally) above the reach of their capacities: whose feeble assaults the *Church of England* hath no cause to fear, against the *Doctrine* set forth in Her 39. Articles, Her Catechisme, Her Liturgy and Her Homilies; since *She* hath so many years mightily maintained this post of her Doctrine against the Learning, Power and Policy of the *Roman party*, who are *veterane Souldiers* and *mighty Troopers*, weightily armed; in comparison of whose puissance these *light-armed Schismatics* and small Skirmishers are like Pot-guns to Canons, or Pigmies to Giants; seeking to deface the Pinnacles and Ornamentalls of Religion, but not capable to shake the foundations of it, as it was happily established and duly professed in the *Church of England*.

CHAP. XII.



Or have they had either more cause for, or better successe in their disputings against the *Devotionalls* of the *Church of England* in its publick worship-
ping of God, by Confessions, Prayers, Praises, Psalmodes, and other holy Oblations of rationall and *Evangelicall Services* offered up to God by the joynt devotion of *this Church*: the subject and

The Devotionalls of the Church of Engl. asserted.

Rom. 12. 1.

holy matter of which ever was, &c is, too hard for their biting; therefore most of them contented themselves to bark at the manner of performing them; chiefly quarrelling at that prescript form or *Liturgie* used in this Church, under the title of the *Book of Common-prayer*.

Which very Title, though agreeable to the style and mind of Antiquity, as *Ignatius*, *Iustin Martyr*, and *S. Austin* use it, yet (perhaps) might in time something abate, as to our English Dialect, the reverence of common people toward it, which probably might have been raised and preserved to an higher veneration, if some Title more august, solemn and sacred, had been affixed to it; as, The *holy Liturgy*, or, The *form of Gods publick worship*, or, *Divine service*, &c. For ordinary people easily in time undervalue as trivially, even in a religious satiety, any thing which they are wonted to call and use as common, which ought to be kept up by all prudent means, to all due majesty, sanctity, solemnity, veneration, not onely in the use, but in the very name and familiar appellation.

μία θύσις
—ἕσω κοινῇ.
Ign. ep. ad.
Magnet.
κοινῇ εὐχαρί-
στον εὐχα-
ρίστον. Just. M.
Apol. 2.
Communis ora-
tio voce Dia-
coni indicitur.
Aug. ep. 119.
ad Januar.

As to the substance and matter of this *Book*, the wisdom of the *Church of Engl.* had first exactly adjusted it to the sense of *Gods word*; nothing being there expressed, as the *mind of the Church*, which was not thought agreeable to the *mind of Gods spirit* in the Scriptures: nor do I know any part of it, to which a judicious Christian might not in faith say *Amen*, taking the expressions of it in that pious and benigne sense, which the Church intended, and the words may well beare.

The matter of the English Liturgie.

Next, all the parts of it were so fitted (both as to the language, and the things contained in it) to ordinary peoples capacities, as well as all mens necessities, that none had cause to complain of it, as hard to be understood, nor any to disdain it, as too flat and easie.

Indeed, the whole compofure of the *English Liturgie* was (in my judgement) so holy, so wholesome, so handsome, so complete, so discreet, so devout, that I cannot but esteem it equal at least to (yea I am prone (with *Gilbertus* the German) much to prefer it before) any one *Liturgie* or publick form of *serving God*, used in any Church, ancient or later, in *Eastern* or *Western*, *Greek* or *Latin*, *Romish* or *Reformed*, that ever I saw.

Let any sober Christian, that is able, compare the *Liturgie of England*, with those now extant; as the *Armenian*, the *Constantinopolitan*, ascri-

ascribed to *S. Chrysostome*; the Greek *Euchology*, used at this day; that anciently ascribed to *S. James*; those used by the Syrian and Egyptick Churches, under the names of *S. Basil* or *Gregory Nazianz.* that of *S. Cyril*, of which he gives a large account in his Catechisme; the *Gregorian* or *Roman Liturgie*; the *Musarabick Liturgie of Spain*, composed by *Isidore Hispalensis*; the *Officium Ambrosianum*, by *S. Ambrose*; that of *Alcuinus* in England, which *Bede* mentions; the Dutch, French, Suevick, Danish, any of the *Lutheran* or *Calvinian Liturgies*: he will find nothing excellent in any of them, but is in this of England: many things which are less clear or necessary in them, are better expressed, or wisely omitted here.

As for the *English Liturgies* symbolizing with the *Popish Missal*, as some have odiously and falsely calumniated; it doth no more, than our *Communion* or *Lords Supper* celebrated in England, doth with the *Masse* at Rome; or our doctrine about the *Eucharist*, doth with theirs about *Transubstantiation*, or our humble veneration of our God and Saviour in that *mysterie*, doth with their strange Gesticulations and Superstitions. In all which particulars, how much the *Church of England* differed both in Doctrine and Devotion from that of Rome, no man that is intelligent and honest can either deny or dissemble. I am sure we differ as much as *English* doth from *Latin*, Truth from Error, true Antiquity from Novelty, Completeness from Defect, Sanctity from Sacrilege, the giving of the Cup to the people from the denying of it; as much as the holy use of things doth from the superstitious abuse of them; as much as Divine Faith doth from Humane Fancy, or *Scripture-plainnesse* and proportions from *Scholastick subtilties* and inventions.

That the *Church of England* retained many things pious and proper to severall occasions, which the *Roman Devotionalls* had received and retained from the ancient *Liturgies*, is no more blamable, than that we use and preserve those *Scriptures*, *Sacraments*, and other holy Services, which the *Church of Rome* doth now profess to celebrate and use. The *wisdome of the Church of England* did freely and justly assert to its use, and to *Gods* glory, whatever upon due triall it found to have the stamp of *Gods Truth* and Grace, or the Churches *Wisdome* and Charity upon it, as what it thought most fit for this Churches present benefit; finding no cause peevishly to refuse any Good, because it had been mixed with some evil: but trying all things, it held fast that which it judged good, as it is commanded; never thinking that the *usurpations of Error* ought to be made any obstructions to Truth; or that *Humane inventions* are any prejudice to *Divine institutions*. It knew, that though the *holy vessels of the Temple* had been captive at *Babylon*, and there profaned by *Belshazzar*; yet they might well be restored again, and consecrated by *Ezra* to the service of God.

Some men (possibly) as conscientious, others, as curious and captious, quarrelled perpetually at the *Liturgie of the Church of England*; some at the whole form as prescribed, others at some particular

1 Thes. 5. 21.

Dan. 5. 3.

Ezra 1. 7.

cular phrases and expressions, as less proper and emphatick. It is now an hundred years old, and able to speak for it self; justly alledging first the great joy, & devotion, the piety & thanks with which it was first received as an wholesome form of Prayer, easie to be understood by English Christians; next, the great good it at first did, & ever since hath done for many years to many poor silly souls, who otherwaies had been left in great blindness and barrenesse of devotion. Further, it pleads, that it never intended to offend any good Christian, since it studied in all things to be *consonant to Gods holy will and word*: that as its order, premeditatedness, and constancy of devotion, was never forbidden or disallowed by God, or any good men, *Jews* of old, or *Christians* of later times, but rather approved, exemplified and commanded in all their publick services, both of prayers, praises and benedictions; so late experience abundantly teacheth, how much the advantages of true Reformed Religion were generally carried on more happily by the publick and private use of that Liturgie, than hath been of late years by the rejecting of it, as many have done, and introducing in its stead nothing but their own crude and extemporary prayers; which being much unpremeditated are many times so confused, so flat, so flashy, so affected; so preposterous, so improper, so indiscreet, so incomplete, that they grow oft-times ridiculous, sometimes profane babblings and battologies, condemned by our Saviour, when those men affect in publick extemporary prayers, who have neither invention for the variety, nor judgement for the solidity, nor discretion for that gravity, fitness and decency which are necessary in all our prayers, especially when publick and social. For some to pretend speciall and immediate inspirations, and divine dictates in their prayers, is so impudent an imposturage, that they may as well obtrude all they pray and preach for new Oracles of God, and grounds of infallible verity; for such are the Dictates of Gods Spirit, not mixed with any thing of our own abilities.

Matth. 6. 7.

The verbal dislikes which some had against the words and phrases of the *Liturgie* are easily salved, if men will but consider the usual significancy of them at that time when the *pious* and *prudent* composers of it applied them to express their conceptions to common people. Words, as all things sublunary, have their varyings and alterations, even as to the benignity and property of their sense. They are pittifull feeble Christians that stumble at such straws, for want of so much candor and discretion in their devotions, as must be allowed in ordinary usage and civility to the changeableness of all *Languages*; which occasions so many new translations of the Bible, as to the emendation of some words, which time at length makes less proper, significant, or comely. It argues, the enemies of the *Liturgie* had no great fault to find with the *matter* of it, in that they so carped at the words and *manner* of it; which (considering the speech and oratory of those plainer times) was not onely good and grave, but very apt and significant, full of *holy* and *pathetick expressions*, such as were most fit, as to inform all peoples understandings, so to excite their at-

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tentions.

tentions, and quicken their united devotions.

Indeed, the *rejection of this Liturgie*, as to publick use, hath deprived multitudes of poor people of an excellent help, both to prayer and all other duties of piety, as well private as publick; without any valid grounds of Reason or Religion alledged by any, that I have seen, to justify their so doing. I believe the greatest fault (in earnest) that the more lazy, wanton and nauseating tempers of most men and women found in it was, *its length and solemnity*, which they thought tedious, as taking up too much of their time; yet sure not so much as did any way exclude the exercise of Ministers either praying or preaching gifts; of which some were jealous. But a more soft and delicate generation of Christians of later years is sprung up, which hath found out a more easie and compendious way of Devotion, which serves their turns, and must be (now) obtruded upon all others: for instead of so many *Psalms, Chapters, Commandements, Creeds, Collects, Litanies, Epistles and Gospels, constant and occasional Prayers*, which in the *Liturgie of the Church of England* were prescribed, men now make up their *orisons in smaller cocks*, and bind up their *devotions in far lesser volumes* than the Ancients used; contenting themselves (for the most part) either with long Prayers and Sermons of their own invention & composure, without reading any part of the holy Scripture, or with such as are not now so prolix & tedious, as the fashion sometime was, when weak men first affected publickly to exercise and shew their rare *faculty* that way, which (truly) after the rate of some mens performing, is so very vulgar, empty and easie; that if a wise, learned and grave man could, yet for shame he would not so far expose Prayer and Preaching to vulgar irreverence, as some men have done, by seeking to out-do the Devotionalls of the *Church of England*. So that the pride and perfunctoriness of those popular affectations being now much discovered, the graver sort even of *Antiliturgicall Preachers* and people too, either confine themselves to a more constant method and form of prayer; or they vary so little, so cunningly and so easily, that the best of their prayers in their *greatest latitude* for matter and variety, is not beyond what may be parallel'd in the *English Liturgie*, and was to be fully enjoyed by its help and constancy.

Whose cold entertainment in *Scotland*, and disorderly rejection by some in *England*, as they did at once highly justify the *Papists* for their former *Recusancy*, & gratifie their future designs by reproaching the *Church of England*, yea openly condemning here all our reformed Predecessors, for serving God so amiss, that it is not now either longer tolerable or excusable in any Reason or Religion, Conscience or Prudence: so with unpassionate Christians all this doth not lessen the sacred dignity and reall worth of the *English Liturgie*, which is, and ever will be famous at home and abroad, among sober, wise, and impartiall Christians, who know how to serve God (*ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀλήθειᾳ*) in all manner of *prayer and supplication*, disdaining no way, in which God hath testified his good pleasure, that we should or may serve

serve him, as questionlesse He hath in this of *publick* and *prescribed formes* both of *Prayer* and *Praises* and *Benedictions*; else neither of old to the *Jews*, nor after to the *Christians*, would the wisdom of God by *Moses*, *David*, and other of the *Prophets*, or *John Baptist* the great Prophet, or our *Lord Jesus* himself, have so taught the Church or Disciples, to have prayed to, or praised and blessed God after such manners, or in such set and solemn forms of words, as are evidently recorded in Scripture.

Matth. 6. 9.

Which Divine warrants, as the ancient Christians in all Churches generally owned and followed, as sufficient authority for their *set Liturgies*; according to which *Constantine the Great*, as *Eusebius* tells us in his life, *l. 4. c. 19.* prescribed to his Christian Souldiers one solemne form of Latin Service; yea our late Anti-liturgists thought set forms of prayer might do well at sea, though not at land: So the *Church of England* is not therefore to be blamed, because some mens peevishness or petulancy hath pleased themselves in disgracing as well as disusing that holy and good way, rather answering, I fear, the wantonness of their own and other peoples hearts, than any way seriously considering the sad inconveniences following the want of such *wholsome forms*, to be frequently inculcated upon common peoples *understandings*, the better to inure their memories, and to work upon their affections; whom new and unwonted petitions rather loose and confound, than so inform and affect, as *prayer* should do; few capacities among plain people going so fast as another mans tongue, where usually a fresh petition crowds out the former, before ever poor dull people have leisure to understand what it meant, or can in judgement and faith say *Amen*.

It is not worth my answering, what some alledge against the *Liturgie*, that many godly people were weary of it, that they could now go alone, and so might well cast away their wooden legs, stilts or crutches.

Yet by way of answer I may truly affirm, that this was not, nor ever will be, the happiness of all or most Christian people in this nation, or elsewhere, to go upon their own legs, without any stay or staff; which might well help the weaker, and I am sure could not hurt or hinder the stronger, who may upon the same pretensions refuse the benefit of any one Ministers most extemporary prayer, which to the hearers hath the same aspect of a crutch or staff, no less than that set form which by many is composed and proposed to the congregation.

As for the humours of *common people*, they are an ill compass to steer by in concernments of *Church* or *State*. It is no wonder to see wontedness breed weariness, and weariness wantonness, & wantonness loathing of the most holy duties, and heavenly dainties (as of *Manna* to the *Jews*) unless the hearts of men be alwaies humbly devout, and sincerely fervent: and such can (I am sure) daily follow wonted, *wholsome forms* with new fervours, and give a fresh *Amen* to known & oft-repeated petitions, as well as a fiduciary assent to such precepts

Lev. 6. 13.

and promises as they have heard or read from Gods Word a thousand times. Without which *sacred flames* of constant zeal and successive devotion upon mens hearts (as the *holy fire*, which was never to go out upon Gods altar) not onely the extemporary varieties of mens own inventions will prove *perfunctory* and *superficiall*, but even Scripture it self, and the Oracles of God, will grow to be meer *Crambe*; yea, the repeated Celebration of the most divine and *adorable mysteries* of the blessed Sacraments, which Christ instituted as constant solemn Services in his Church, will prove *nauseous burdens*, and *hypocritical loades* to the dull and indevout spirits of men: whom, if they be such in their hearts and tempers, no variety or novelty will quicken ther *nauseous* and *lax* hypocrisy; if they be not such, no constancy or wontedness will dull their sincere fervency, and holy fragrancy of their affections.

The late *ramblings*, barrenness and confusion of some mens sad and *extemporary rhapsodies*, their rude and rustickal devotions, are, especially in solemn and *Sacramentall* Celebrations, observed by many wise Christians to be such, since the *Cadet* or *younger Brother of the Directory*, (if it deserves the honour of that name, which to many seems but as a by-blow, the illegitimate issue of partiall spirits, Apostatizing from their former conformity to the *Church of England*, in that point of its Liturgy) since, I say, it crowded, or, as *Facob*, supplanted its elder brother, out of the *house of God* (though it self be now little used and less regarded, even by its first patrons and sticklers) that it makes them and me highly admire and more magnifie the wisdom of the *Church of England*, in first composing, after perfecting and prescribing that *excellent Liturgie* to common people, which contained the very *quintessence* of all that we find used by the ancient piety and charity of Churches, agreeable to Gods Word, which is the onely *pattern*, pillar and support for Christians prayers, both publick and private.

Nor did the *Church of England* ever intend (as I conceive) by Her *Liturgie*, so to stint and confine any discreet and able Minister, or private Christian, but they might further pour out their souls to God in prayers and praises, publickly and privately, so as occasion required, and good order permitted: onely it judged (as I doe, with pious Antiquity, and all the most learned Reformers, particularly Mr. *Calvin*) that it is a great and reall concernment in every true and Orthodox Church, that care be taken to settle and preserve wholesome forms and *solemn Devotionalls*, for the publick celebrating of Prayers, Praises, holy Duties, Christian Mysteries, Sacraments and Ordinations; next to the care of propounding and establishing sound *Doctrine*, or true *Confessions* and Articles of Faith. Which care of all Christians good in that behalf, first induced the Ancient and Primitive Churches, as *S. Austin* and others tell us, next to their lay-

Ignatius ad
Magnet.

Πάντες ἐπὶ
τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ
προσευχῇ ἅμα
συνέχουσιν.
μία δόσις
ἕως κοινῆς,
ἕως, μία ἐλπίς
ἐν ἀγάπῃ,
&c.

Ne forte aliquid contra fidem vel per ignorantiam vel per minus studium sit compositum. Concil. Milevit. c. 13. a Liturgiis publicis vehementer probō, ut certius constet omnium inter se consensus, & ut obviam eatur desultoria quorundam levitati qui novitates affectant. Calv. ep. ad Prot. Ang. b Ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus. Aug. de bono pers. c. 13.

ing of Scripture-grounds in their Creeds and Confessions, to enlarge and fix their Liturgies and Devotions; finding that fanatick *Error* and *Levity* would seem an *Euchite* as well as an *Eristick*, *Prayant* as well as *Predicant*, a *Devotionist* as well as a *Disputant*, insinuating it self with no less cunning under a *Votary's* Cowle than in a *Doctors Chair*, in Prayers, Sacraments, and Euchologies, as well as in *Preachings*, *Disputations* and *Writings*.

*Vid. Canon. 103.
Cod. Can. Afrie.
Eccl. in the
fourth Centu-
ry. De precibus
quæ debent fieri
ad altare, quæ*

à sapientioribus collecta sunt dicuntur. They condemned *εὐχὰς & αὐτὸθεὺς καὶ ὑμνοὺς καὶ αἵμας.* Zonar. in Conc. Carthag. Can. 117.

This I am sure, The *Liturgie* of the *Church of England* was so usefull, so well advised, so savoury, so complete, so suitable, so solemn and so significant a form of *publick Worshipping* God, so highly approved by wise and worthy men, at home and abroad, as composed by the speciall assistance of the *holy Spirit* of God in the judgement of the first *Heroes* and *Martyrs* of this Reformed Church, so reverently used by many even lesse conformable (in some things ceremoniall) to the *Church of England*, that (beyond all question) it deserved a longer question, a more calm debate, a more serene, serious and impartiall triall, before it should have been so utterly *abdicated* or expelled out of the *Church*, as *Hagar* was out of *Abrahams* family. I humbly conceive that neither *Recusants* should have had so great a gratification to their *refractoriness*, nor this so famous, flourishing and wel-Reformed *Church* should have had so great a slur & aspersion cast upon its *Princes*, its *Parlaments*, its *Bishops*, its *Presbyters*, & all its faithfull people: as if they had hitherto served God so far superstitiously, irreligiously and unworthily, that the *very Book* it self, containing the method, form, matter and words of their publick service of God, must be first vilified and scorned by the *vulgar* insolency; next utterly abrogated and quite ejected out of this *Church*, by such as passionately undertook to abett and patronize the present humours and distempered fits of popular surfeitings and inconstancy, lately risen up, not onely against their own former approbation and practise, but against the piety, wisdom and gravity of this Nation, and all other settled Churches in the world.

Yea further, the partiality and *immoderation* of some men seems in this most *excessive*; that, to shew their implacable despite against the *Liturgie* of the *Church of England*, they cannot endure, nor would, if they had power, permit any Christians to use it, though they find it (as our *Marian* Martyrs did) very *beneficiall* to their souls comfort, and therefore earnestly desire, highly value, and duly use it. So *imperious Dictators* would some men be over other mens liberties and consciences, even in Religion, who are rigid asserters of their own, impatient to be imposed upon by others; and yet most insolently ambitious to impose upon other men, how far they may, or may not *serve God* in a religious way and manner, fancying, that nothing can please God which doth not please them.

What some men have preached and printed against the *English Litur-*

Zech 4. 10.
Luke 18. 11.

Liturgie, and all set forms of Prayers, never so good and fit, as if they were stintings and dampings of Gods Spirit, &c. I must confesse I understand rather the jeer and contemptuousness of their words, than the wit, reason, or Religion of them: for certainly the same may be said against all *Scriptures*, *Psalms*, *Sermons*, preached or printed; against Ministers own Prayers, and any other proposed helps for the advancing of knowledge or devotion in mens hearts: And however some of these *despisers of the day of small things*, may say with the Pharisee, *God, I thank thee that I am not as other men*, who need take to themselves the help of their own or other mens prepared meditations and words to pray or praise God; yet no Charity will permit, that all others should be deprived of such publick helps as they find best for them, yea and necessary, if we duly regard, not the pretended or reall strength of some, but the generall weaknesse in which the *plebs* or common sort of Christians are, and ever will be, as to matter of true devotion; whose infirmity may not only well endure a well-composed *Liturgie* (as one said he could do good musick) but, in earnest, they extremely want it: and it may prove, I fear, not onely a great uncharitableness, but a cruelty, besides imprudence, utterly to deprive the most of Christians of so meet and necessary an help; since nothing yet is found among them, or offered to them, that can or doth any way recompence the want of such forms of serving God, which were at least as good, and most what far better than any private abilities can afford them. Hence it is that poor countrey-people are grown of late years more loose and unsetled, so ignorant and idle, so rambling and irreligious, beyond what formerly they were, when (at least) they were enjoined to attend the *whol-some Liturgie of the Church of England*, which offered plainly to them, as I conceive, all things necessary to entertain any humble, charitable and devout Christians, in their publick services of God; nor could it but be very helpfull to them in their private devotions.

For my own particular, it may be (by Gods assistance) I may as litt'e need this *Liturgie*, or any other *prescribed form*, as any of those Ministers or other Christians that are most contemptners and deserters of the *Church of England* in that point, and most gloriers in their own rare gift or fluency in prayer: yet I must protest, that as I ever highly valued the *Liturgie of the Church of England*, and most, since it came most to be despised by some, neglected by others, & considered by my self; so I cannot but unfeignedly justifie the *Church of England's* great piety, prudence and charity in that particular; looking upon such well-composed forms, in publick, solemn and constant Ministrations of the Church, to be (in many regards) before those of any private mans either serious composing or suddain invention, not onely as to the majesty, solemnity, exactness, unanimity and fulness of them, also as to the suitableness of them both to all holy publick occasions, and to the common peoples necessities, as well as capacities; but even in regard of that which is most spirituall in pray-

er, judicious fervour and fiduciary assent, where the understanding rightly moves the will, and the will readily follows the understanding; the devout soul well knowing what it should desire of God, and earnestly desiring in faith what it knows God allows. It cannot be thought that the Spirit of the most wise God is ~~seen~~ in the unpremeditated rashness of mens praying, or such preaching, more than in what is well advised, and deliberately prepared.

Which in *Liturgies* was and is, in my judgement, an excellent means (and so the charitable wisdom of the *Church of England* judged it) as to settle people in the *true faith*, so to keep them in it with peace and unity, by a uniform Way of instruction and devotion too; which was easie to be understood by the simplest people, and unanimously both composed and approved by the wisest and best in this Church. Nor could it but be in that, as in all other respects, well pleasing to God, who certainly doth not change with every new opinion, fancy and humour of men, be they never so zealous and seemingly devout. So that to conclude, as to this particular, the *Liturgie* of the *Church of England*, I freely profess, that I do in no sort believe, that either God hath afflicted *Her* for composing, enjoyning and using It; or that she hath hereby deserved any of those rude indignities, reproches and injuries cast upon *Her* and It.

The greatest fault and onely blame as I conceive, in this part, lies upon mens *own hearts*, which were grown so squeamish, so cold, so coy, so formall, so indevout in the use of the *Liturgie*, as a part of Gods service: which faults and defects in themselves ought not to have been by them imputed to, or revenged so severely upon the *book and composition* it self, or upon the *Church* composing and commending it to its Children. But the insolencies of some rude *Reformers*, contemning, tearing, burning and abolishing the *Liturgie* of this Church, must be veniall; since there are those that use the very book of God, or holy *Bible*, no better, calling it an Idol, and condemning it to be destroyed: possibly more because it is in *English*, than because it is *Gods Book*; which if lock'd up in an *unknown* tongue, would less discover and brand with sin their wicked practises and policies, than now it doth. The same grand interest that is most against the *English Liturgie*, is also against our *English Bibles*: both of them were great eye-sores to the Papists, and are now no less to many factious Separatists, who are the Jackals or Providores for those Lions.

CHAP. XIII.

The Ceremonies of the Church of England no meritorious cause of Her miseries.



Here are (yet) *two grand Objections* which stick in some mens stomachs, never (they say) to be digested by them, which have driven them utterly to cast off, and shamefully to spue out of their mouths the *Church of England*, abhorring the whole frame and constitution of it, both *name* and *thing*.

The first is the enjoying and using of *some Ceremonies in Religion*, which some esteem as so many *Magick Spells* or *Charms*, superstitious Observations, humane Inventions, *raggs of Rome*, *will-worship*, *vain Oblations*, *brats of Babylon*, marks of the Beast, brands of Antichrist; fitter for Heathenish *Idolatries*, or Jewish Superstitions, than for the *simplicity of the Gospel*, where the service of God must be in Spirit and in Truth, not in fleshly shadows; in power, not in form, &c.

These and the like *Rhetoricall flowers* are oft used to gratifie mens wits and passions, rather than their reason and conscience, in the point of Ceremonies, when they are resolved not to poise in their hands, but to trample under their feet, every thing they list to dislike; notwithstanding all the counterpoise and weight which they could not but see was laid upon them by the *choice wisdom* and approbation of this whole *Church and Nation*; in which we may without vanity presume there were many men as godly and judicious as any of their opposers.

I will not descend to the particular nature and use of each of them: This work hath been sufficiently done by many of my predecessors. I confesse I am not so zealous for those, or any other *Ceremonies* (which may be spared without diminishing the substance of Christian Religion) as to forget that forbearance and charity which I owe to Christians, who may be weak & conscientiously scrupulous: nor yet am I so against these, or any other innocent *Ceremonies* recommended in any Church, by the joynt consent of *all parties*, and by due authority, as for their sakes to withdraw my humble subjection to, and charitable communion with this or any other *Christian Church* in the world, that is otherwise sound in the Faith. I do not so affect *embroideries in Religion*, as to have its garments too gay and heavy, with the *Church of Rome*: nor yet do I so affect a plainness, as to abhorre all decency: least of all am I of that *curiosity* or *coynesse* in Religion, as I will rather rend my garments in pieces, and go stark naked, than weare such an one as may have possibly some *spots* or patches, which might be spared, if they could handsomly be removed, but are better *suffered*, than to have rude hands teare and cut them out as they list, to the perturbation and injury of the whole Church.

As to the generall nature of *Ceremonies* used in the *Church of England*,

Multa toleramus que non probamus. Aug.
Δὲ πολλὰ παθὼν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐρημίαν. Dionys.
Alex. ad Novat. ep.

gland, it may suffice, at present, in order to vindicate this Church, to declare in its behalf, First, that the Ceremonies enjoined and used in the Church of England were esteemed, and oft so declared to be in the sense of the Church, and its chief Governours, not at all of the essence or necessary substance of any religious duty, no more than the clothes of their opposers were of their constitution, or their hair was of their heads; yet both clothes and hair are very comely and convenient in the social living both of men and Christians together, where neither nakednesse (I think) nor baldnesse would become them.

See Dr. Bur-
ger his Book
of the Cere-
monies, and
what K. James
declared tou-
ching them, as
the sense of
this Church.

Secondly, It doth no where appear that our blessed God is so *Anti-ceremoniall* a God as some men have vehemently fancied and clamoured, rather than proved. This I am sure, the God of heaven, whom we worshipped in England, did institute many Ceremonies in the ancient religious services required of the Jewish Church; which certainly God would not have done, if all Ceremonies had been so utterly Anti-pathericall against the Divine nature, or contrary to that *spirituall sincere worship*, which he anciently required (beyond all doubt) of the Jew as well as the Christian, as all the Prophets witnesse.

Isa. I. 11, 12;
&c.
Mic. 6. 7, &c.
Isa. 58. 5, &c.

Nor do we find that God hath any where forbidden any decent Rites, holy Customes, or convenient Ceremonies, to any Christians, in order to advance the decency and order of his service, or Christians mutuall edification and joynt devotion under the Gospel; except onely such as were like the shadows of the night or morning, which went before the rising of *Iesus Christ* the Sun of Righteousnesse, importing Christs *not being yet come in the flesh*, or implying the mystery of mans Redemption not yet completed by the *Messias*: such as were Circumcision, which was to last no longer in force than the *promised seed of Abraham* came, in whom *all nations should be blessed*; and the Covenant of God should be declared to the Gentiles as well as Jews, under another sign or seal, which is Baptisme.

Mal. 4. 2.

Gal. 5. 14.

The *Mosaick Rites* and Ceremonies, as the *Sacrifices*, the *Passover*, the *High Priest*, and other legall Types, as fore-going shadows, justly vanished when the substance came; but those *subsequent shadowes*, *Evangelicall Ceremonies* and *Signs*, which follow, attend upon, and betoken the *Suns* being now risen, and present with his Church; these in point of outward order and decency, also of inward significancy and edification, may well consist with the *Evangelicall worship* of God in Spirit and Truth, however it be not founded on them, or confined to them, as to the inward judgement and conscience of the worshippers.

We see our blessed Saviour, as he conformed to the *Judaick Ceremonies*, both of Divine and Ecclesiastick Institution, as in his *sitting at the Passover*, and celebrating the *Encania* or *Feasts of Dedication*, till his work was finished; so He from the Jewish use adopted or instituted some new *Evangelicall Ceremonies*, to be used in a most solemn manner, as Sacraments, or holy Mysteries in his Church under

the Gospel, for visible Signs, Memorials and Seals of his Love and Grace to us; by which his Christian people may be instructed, comforted and confirmed in Faith and Charity, both to God and to one another.

1 Cor. 14 33.
& 40.

Quod neque
contra fidem
neque contra
bonos mores in-
jungitur, indis-
ferenter est ha-
bendum, & pro
eorum inter
quos vivitur
societate ser-
vandum est.
Aug. ad Ja-
nuar. ep. 15.
In rebus de
quibus nihil
certū statuit
Scrip. divina,
mos populi Dei,
vel instituta
majorum prole-
ge tenenda.
Aug. ep. 26.

Yea our blessed Saviour hath, by his Spirit guiding the pens and practices of the Apostles, sufficiently manifested (as S. Austin observes) that *grand Charter and Commission of Liberty and Authority*, given to his Church and the *governours* of it, for the choyce and use of such decent Customes, Rites and Ceremonies, as may agree with godly manners and the *truth of the Gospel*, best serving for the *order, decency, peace and edification* of his Church in its severall states, parts and dispersions: not as *annexing Ceremonies* to the *nature of the duties*, or humane *inventions* to the *Essence of Divine Institutions* (which the *Church of England* never did, but oft declared the contrary,) nor yet binding the judgement and consciences of those that used them, to any such perswasion; nor yet invading hereby, or prejudicing the liberties of other Churches, or any Christians in their respective subordinations: but allowing other Churches the *like liberty*, and investing its own members in the use and enjoyment of that Christian *liberty* (as to those particulars) which the *Church* hath chosen and appointed in the name of all its *parts and adherents*, for their sociall order, for the solemnity, decency and mutuall edification of *Christians*.

Which was all that the *Church of England* intended in its *Ceremonies*, agreeable to that *indulgence and authority* given by Christ to *It*, as well as to *any Church*. Nor have these enemies to the *Church of England* upon this account of its *Ceremonies*, ever proved, that *Christ* hath repealed this grant, or denied it to this Church more than any others, or that this Church hath yet abused its *liberty*, or that themselves have any speciall warrant given them to enter their private dissent, and put in a publick *prohibition* against the *whole Church*; as if it might do nothing in the externalls, ornamentalls and circumstantialls of Religion, without asking leave of such *supercilious censors* and *imperious dictators*, who scorn to make the consent of the *Church* in things of an indifferent and undefined nature, to be their rule and law, as to outward observance, unity and conformity; & yet arrogate so much to themselves, as they would make their private opinion and dissent to be a bar and negative to the *whole Church*.

For as the *Liturgie*, so the *Ceremonies* used and enjoined in the *Church of England*, were not the private and novell inventions of any late Bishops, or other *Members of the Church of England*; much less of any *Popes*, or *Papists*, as some have imagined: but they were of very ancient choice and primitive use in the Church of Christ, whose judgement and example the *Church of England* alwayes followed by the *consent of all estates* in this Nation and Church, represented in lawfull *Parlaments* and *Convocations*: and this they did then, when with a *Martyr-like zeal and courage* they put themselves into the happy state of a *well-reformed Church*, paring off many *superfluities*

finities or noveller fancies, and onely retaining a few such ceremonies as they saw had upon them the noblest marks of best Antiquity & Decency. Nor may any man, without discovering great folly and injustice, find fault with those members of the *Church of England*, who used those retained and enjoyned Ceremonies, agreeable to their judgements, and in obedience to a publick lawfull command; in which their own vote and consent was personally or virtually included: so that He must by condemning such as were conformable, either condemn himself, and all others who were authors of this publick appointment, or else he must prefer his own private judgement before them all. The first is fatuous Levity, the second is immodest Arrogancy.

I allow as much as these men demand (and so oft impertinently decantate against the Ceremonies of the *Church of England*) as to that *ζήλωμα*, that spirituall and inward worship of God in the rationall faculties of mens souls, which the *Church of England* chiefly intended, and vehemently required, beyond any outward Ceremonies, of all true and sincere worshippers of God: but withall It judged, and so do I, that the *κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν* or *πνευματικὴ* of the outward man, which ought to be conform to the heart, and (being most conspicuous to others) ought also to be most exemplary and significant in those visible acts which necessarily accompany the religious, visible and sociall service of God; that this ought not to be rude, slovenly, negligent, confused, irreverent or uncomely, by affecting various singularities and inconformities to others, which occasion scandalls, strifes, factions, divisions, animosities, disorders and confusions in particular Churches or Congregations: for avoiding of which, every private Christians spirit ought in Reason and Religion to be subject to the publick prophetick Spirit of the Church in its joynt counsels, consents and determinations; against which a man cannot bring any pregnant demonstration of right reason and morality, or of Faith and Scripture-revelation, as S. Austin in his *Epistle to Fannarius* observes; having learned, as he tells us, that principle of calmness, moderation, humility and Charity, from S. Ambrose, as an oracle from Heaven.

1 Cor. 14 32.

These considerations moved the *Primitive Churches* of the first and second Centuries, in their severall grand combinations, and ampler distributions, even amidst their *Martyrdomes* and sharp persecutions (while they had no leisure to be superstitious or superfluous in things of Religion, but onely were intent to Piety, Devotion and Charity;) these moved them to use and retain, as they had received them from the Apostles and their successors, some Ceremonies; yea many more than were used in the *Reformed Church of England*: which appears in *Iustin Martyr*, *Irenaus*, *Tertullian*, *Clem. Alexandrinus*, and others.

Iust. M. Apol.
1. & 2.
Tert. de Bap. &
de coron. Mil.
& alibi.
Clem. Alex.
scqm. 4.
Clem. Alex.
scqm. 7.

Who tell us of the holy kiss and love-feasts; of Water added to the Wine in the Lords Supper; of Oyl, Milk, Honey, a white garment used in Baptisme; of Christians not washing a week after they were baptized; of constant fasts on Wednesdays and Fridayes; of frequent signations with

τὰ ἅγια
ἀνίσχυατα,
τὴν τὰ ἐν
ἡμέρῃ, καὶ τὴν
τὰ ἐν τῇ

the Crosse, both in religious and civil motions, as Indications of their courage and constancy in professing Christ crucified. I might adde their solemne stations and vigils, their adorations and prostrations toward the East; besides their strict zeal in observing *Easter*, or the time of Christs Resurrection; also their *Quadragesimal* or *Lenten fast*, preparatory to it; their not kneeling between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, nor upon any *Lords day* on which they were forbidden to fast, before and at the *Nicene Council*: besides, their severe forms of exercising *Discipline*, and enjoyning *Penances* to such as were scandalous offenders; the great respect & observance which Christian people payed to their *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, yea to their *Deacons* in many things, who all joyned in an high reverence and submission to their *Bishops* or chief *governours* in the Church; in order to which duties concerning the Churches order and peace, most *Councils* of the Church spent much of their time, care and pains, next to the keeping of *Faith* entire and sound.

Quæst. ad Or-
thod. Ref. 115.
of Christian
station in
prayer.

ἐκ τῶν ἀπο-
στολικῶν χρε-
ίων ἢ τοιαύτη
συνήθεια, &c.

So Ref. 118. of Christians worshipping toward the East; which customes they had from those that taught them to pray. Tertull. Apol. c. 16. Hence the suspicion of Christians worshipping the Sun; quod in orientis ad orientem regionem precari.

Graviter pec-
cant qui pro-
pter indifferen-
tes ceremonias
turbant ecclesi-
as, damnant a-
lios, etiam
principes &
magistratus.
Hæcine pietas
quam jactamus?
hæcine eba-
ritas quam de-
bemus fratribus
& plebi? Zanc.
de Redem.

Euseb. hist. l. 6.
c. 44.

Phil. 3. 6.

If the Ceremonies of the Church of England had been many more in that kind than they were, yet since they were in their generall nature allowed by God, and left by him to the prudent choice and use of this, as other particular Churches; certainly, as learned *Zancby* and other reformed Divines observe, they ought not by sober Christians to have been put into the balance of their Religion so far, as for their sakes to overthrow the peace and whole state of such an happy and reformed Church as this was, bringing infinite greater mischiefs upon Religion & the whole Church, by violently removing such ceremonies as neither empaiied the faith, nor depraved the manners of good Christians than ever could be feared by the sober use of them; which did not so much as occasion any scandall or inconvenience to those that had knowing, humble, meek and quiet spirits, rightly discerning the nature of such things, and that liberty granted to themselves of submitting in them to the determination of the Church: nor can it be other than weaknesse of judgement, or want of charity, or a signe of schismaticall and unquiet spirits, that list to be contentious (rising either from ignorance, or superstition, or pride and petulancy) for private persons in such cases peevishly to sacrifice to their private passions and perswasions, the publick peace and prosperity of the Church, which ought to be so sacred (as the learned and pious Bishop of Alexandria, *Dionysius*, wrote to the zealous and factious *Presbyter Novatus*) that it is not to be violated upon less accounts than those for which one would chuse to suffer *Martyrdom*: there may be, as Saint Paul confesseth, a zeal in them, and yet they persecute the Church of Christ.

After that Divine justice hath further punished and manifested the supercilious folly and inquietude of some men, Times may come, in which sober Christians would be glad to enjoy such a state of reform-
med

med Religion in England, as they sometimes happily enjoyed, and despised under these so tedious and terrible burdens of *ceremonies*, as some complained, who are greatly wronged, if they have not since charged their consciences with far greater pressures than any *Ceremonies* can be imagined; the least wilfull and presumptuous immorality being heavier than a thousand such formalities, as much as mill-stones are beyond feathers, and talents of lead more ponderous than the largest shadows.

Experience hath already taught us, that the authentick *ceremonies of the Church of England* were either no hinderances at all, or far lesse, as to the advance of piety, holiness and charity, than the taking away of them, and the consequences have been; especially in such a fashion, as instead of ripping off the *lace*, hath torn the whole garment into rags; and pretending to shave the superfluous hair, hath almost cut the throat of the *reformed Religion*, as to its unity, order, stability and constancy, either in doctrine or duty. Sure it was far better to have the holy, complete and reverent *Sacrament of the Lords Supper* administred and received by humble, devout and prepared Christians, *meekly kneeling upon their knees*, than to have none at all celebrated for *twice seven yeares*; both Ministers and people willingly *excommunicating* themselves, and *starving* one another as to that *holy refectiō*. It was much better and more *Christian-like*, to have *infants baptized* with the ancient *signe of the crosse* (as a token of their constant profession of the Faith of *Christ crucified*) than to have them left wholly *unbaptized*, and so betrayed to the *Anabaptistick* agitators, who boldly nullifie that *Sacrament*, when they see others either vilifie and wholly reject it as to infants, or dispense with so great partiality, as if every petty Preacher were a Lord and Judge, not a Servant and Minister of the Church of Christ. It was better to have some things lesse necessary, yea inconvenient, that looked like order, decency and harmony in the Church, than daily to run thus to endless *faction, ataxie, confusion, and irreligion*. Better that *Bishops and Presbyters, and Deacons* officiate, after the ancient manner in Eastern and Western Churches, in *white garments* (under which form ^a *Angels*, who are ministring spirits, are represented to us, and ^b *Christ himself* in his transfiguration) duly administring holy things to the people of God, than to have no *true Ministers*, no *divine or due ministrations* at all, as is now in many places of *England and Wales*; where either Churches and people are desolate, or pitifull *intruders*, neither truly able, nor duly ordained, dare to officiate in their motley and py-bald habits, as they list; superciliously affecting such odde and antick fashions, as they most fancy to please themselves, or amuse the people with, over whom they seek to have an absolute dominion.

*Cato signatur
ut animi muni-
atur. Terz. de
Ref. car.*

*Chrysostome
speaking to
Presbyters of
Antioch, tells
them, this is
not their chief
glory and
crown,
ἵνα λαμβάνῃ
χριστοῦ σκῶν καὶ
ἀπορίλα βούτα
πρεβελλόμε-
νοι περὶ τῆς
&c. Hom.
83. in Mat.
Vid. Hieron.
in Ezch. 6. 44.*

^a adv. Pelag. lib. 1. *Quod Episcopi, Presbyteri & Diaconi in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste profes-*
surint. ^b Acts 1. 10, Rev. 4. 4 & 15. 6. ^b Mat. 17. 2.

If those few *ceremonies* appointed and accustomed to be used in the *Church of England* were not *herbs of grace*, or of the most fragrant
and

and cordiall sorts of *flowers*; yet (certainly) they were never found to be so *noxious* and *unsavoury weeds* as some pretend: the squeamishness of some people was no argument of any thing pestilent or banefull in them. There are noses that have Antipathies against *Roses*, and some will faint at any *sweet smell*. If a few modest Christians could lesse bear the sent or sight of them, for my part, I could willingly indulge them such a connivence and toleration, as might consist with the publick peace, order, and rules of charity: but I can never approve the *counterseuffle* of those, who for their private disgusting of one sawce or dish, rudely overthrow an orderly feast and *well-furnished table*; who upon the suspicion of *weeds*, root up all the good plants in a garden; who jealous of briars and thorns, destroy the vines and fig-trees. *Ceremonies*, if they bear no great or fair fruit, yet they may, as hedges, be both a fence and ornament to *Religion*, which truly for my part I esteemed them, and so used them; nor did they grow so offensive as now they have proved, untill *over-valuing* on the one side, and *under-valuing* on the other side, pertinacy and obstinacy (as *S. Austin* expresseth his sense and sorrow) like a pair of *alternative bellows*, kindled such *flames of animosity*, as instead of bearing and forbearing one another in love, sought to consume each other in those heats and flames, which would not have risen, had both sides more intended the substance, and lesse the *ceremonies* of *Religion*. There were infinite more obligations to Christian union by the *true faith* they joyntly professed, than there were occasions of dividing by the *ceremonies* about which they differed. But one sharp knife will easily cut in sunder many strong cords, if it be in a mad or indiscreet mans hand.

Although *Ceremonies* of mans invention be no more to be made rivals to *Religion*, than *Hagar* was to *Sarah*, or *Ismael* to *Isaac*; yet it is hard to cast them out, (having been sons or servants to the Churches family) with scorn, unlesse they be found to grow too petulant, either jeering or justling *pure Religion*, of whose genuine substance indeed they are not; yet they may (as hair is to women and men too) be given *It for an ornament*: nor do they deserve to be suspected for superstitious, much lesse irreligious, untill Christians make more of them then they deserve, or the Church intended; either so much contending for them or against them, as takes them off from intending those *main things wherein the grace and kingdome of God doth consist*. It doth not become the *children* of God, either so to please themselves with toyes and bagatelloes, as to neglect their meat; or so to wrangle about them, as to forget either the mutuall love they owe as brethren, or the duty they owe to their parents. But those little *scratches*, which some *Anticeremoniall* mens itching fingers heretofore made upon the *Church of England's* beautifull face, would never, I believe, have so far festred and deformed all things of Religion in this Church, if some men had not mixed of late some things of a more venomous nature and malignant design, in order to gratify the despite of those rude *Demagistrasses* of *Rome*, who have most ill will

and

Sensu sape dolens & gemitus, multas infirmorum perturbaciones fieri per quorundam fratrum obstinationem, vel superstitiosam timiditatem, qui in rebus huiusmodi — tam litigiosas excitant quaestiones, ut nisi quod ipsi faciunt nihil rectum existiment. Aug. ep. 118.

Rom. 14. 17.

and evil eyes against the beauty of this *Parthenia*, the *Church of England*.

I know the common refuge of many, who eagerly opposed the *Church of England* in this point of its *Ceremonies*; was, when they could not answer those arguments which learned and godly men brought to justify the lawfull nature of the things in themselves, also for the *Churches* undoubted *liberty* and power in chusing and using them lawfully; they then flew to that popular and plausible argument, which is in it self very fallacious, arguing a mind rather servile to mens persons, and enslaved to their opinions, than enjoying the freedom of its own reason and judgement: 'Namely, that some learned and many godly men did greatly scruple those *ceremonies*, being so scandalized with them, that they either never used them, or with very great regret; others bitterly inveighed against them, petitioning God and man for the removall of them. Thus do most men plead, who were but copy-holders under the chief Lords of this Faction against the *Ceremonies* of the *Church of England*.

Ans. I do not unwillingly grant (as having been no stranger to some of them) that many of those who were no great friends to the *Ceremonies*, were yet learned, grave and godly men, such as they are reputed to be by those who pretend to be their followers, and have rather out-gone them in the rigour of *non-conformity*, than kept pace with them in that moderation, gravity and charity, which those men seemed to have: who were not therefore sworn enemies against the *Church of England*, because they were no great friends to *Ceremonies*; yea, I am perswaded there were few of them (who truly deserved in former ages the names of godly and wise men) who would not have borne ten times more such *Ceremonies* with patience, rather than have occasioned so great troubles and confusions to this Reformed Church, which they highly honoured and stoutly asserted against those, who under pretence of straining at gnats, intended (it seems) to swallow down Camels; and under colour of battering a few *Ceremonies*, aimed at last to overthrow the whole frame of so famous and flourishing a *Church*; which hath now suffered more from some mens malice or immoderation, than ever it can hope to recover by the wisdom or godliness of any of that Anticeremoniall party.

But grant it, that some of their patrons and predecessors, who opposed *Ceremonies*, were good and godly men; yet still they were but men, *subject to like passions as others were*: Their hearts to God-ward (I hope) were sincere as to the inside of their Religion; but they might (as is usual even in good men) be much warped as to the rinde or outside of their Religion, both in their judgement and practise of things, by their native tempers and complexions, as they were either *melancholick*, dark and scrupulous, or *cholericke*, hot and bold, or more *phlegmatick*, dull and easie, or more *sanguine*, popular and pompous: for through the tincture of these glasses most men behold even *religious forms*,

forms, either as more or less agreeable to their Genius and temper: nor are they seldome lesse biased and swayed by the prepossessions and prejudices of their education, by custome, conversation, reputation, expectation, admiration of mens persons, addiction to particular parties, private relations and interests: all which (though matters of no rationall or morall weight, yet) have a strong secret tide and influence upon mens minds and professions, especially in cases disputable in matters of Religion, that are of a *sceptical, dubious &* indifferent nature, wherein most men are prone to be so *superstitious*, as to imagine that to be most pleasing or displeasing to God, which is so to themselves. Many things are by some practised, because they ever did so; and by many omitted, because they never did use them: men flie from positive superstition, with a strong rebound to negative *superstition*. Nor is it lesse superstition, I conceive, for men to think it a point of Religion to forbear or remove such things, than it is in others, to think it necessary to retain and observe them, upon a religious necessity: which last was not the judgement of the *Church of England*, as to any Ecclesiasticall ceremonies; which were not held to be of necessity, but onely of decency. The opposers of them (indeed) pressed an absolute necessity of duty and conscience to remove them. Who then were in this point superstitious persons, is no hard matter to judge. •

If the *reputation of mens parts and pietie*, of their devotions and austerities of life, signified much in the outward Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, to make them good or bad, lawful or unlawful; certainly by those marks the *Romish party* will be able to produce many instances of exemplary sanctity, severity, and austerity in outward abstinences or observances, by which to maintain the concurrent errors and grosser superstitions of their *Religion*. Persons of *applauded piety* are many times, like smooth and ponderous wedges, the *Devils fittest engines* to cleave the Church in sunder; the weight of their example presents all things to the minds of weak and sequacious Christians, as great importances of *Religion*. So *Origen* and *Tertullian* became the great scandalls and temptations of the Christian world, by the greatnesse of their parts, piety and reputation, as *Vincentius Lirinensis* observes: nor had *Novatus, Donatus, Pelagius*, and others of old, done so much mischief in the *Church*, if they had been men either obscure for their parts, or infamous for their moralls.

It is not onely to be considered, how *able* men are in any settled *Church*, but how *peaceable*, how humble, how far removed from private passions, secular designs, worldly discontents, popular and pragmatick humours; all which doe oft leaven men (otherwise of commendable parts and piety) especially in their younger dayes, when they are most prone to have good conceits and confidences of themselves. Once on wing in their own fancy, and mounted by the breath of vulgar esteem, they are loth to light, and afraid to fall, when their fame and credit are thus at *stake* (besides the glimmering

Vincent. Lirin.
cap. 23. 24.
Tentatio est populi error magistri; & tanto major tentatio, quanto ipse est doctior qui errat.

mering of some oblique interests of profit or preferment, which lye within their eye and reach.) Elderly years do morosely resolve to maintain what once they have adopted under the name of stricter piety and purer *Religion*. Few men know how to sever or recant, when once engaged in a party or difference which carries any mark or en- sign of a *speciall way of Religion*. Reputation is the bearded hook, which holds most men faster than conscience to their sides, even after they perceive how delusory the artificial *hair* was, which first invited them to entangle themselves.

I have known some Ministers of worth and ability, who in all things materiall agreed to the doctrine and worship of the *Church of Engl.* yet in point of *non-conformity* to some Ceremony, rather chose (being once engaged before they had so well examined all things) to live a scrambling, vagrant, and almost mendicant life, from one good house to another (by which means some of them sucked no small benefit) rather than they would take any settled living in the *Church of England*; in which obstinacy they persisted to their dying day: although they grew very calme and coole as to their first heats; and perceiving in time the weaknesse of their own and others mo- tives, they durst not in their maturer years perswade any others, no not their own sons, which were *Ministers in the Church of England*, to be non-conformists, onely they were ashamed to be retrograde in their reputation, though they were got well forward in their better judgements.

Yea, even as to the *polle* and *number of names* (which I think to be but the *number of the Beast*, if we onely tell *noses*, and not consider *reasons*) who knows not but the *conformable part* both of *Ministers and people in England*, were, for many years, twenty to one beyond the *Non-conformists*? nor did they more exceed them in number, than they equalled them every way in learning, piety, gravity, in all good words and works; yea in many things of publick and more generous charity they far exceeded them: the one were, for the most part, getting and scraping for their private advantages; the other were much more hospitable, munificent and charitable.

The first and second generation of *Non-conformists* were more excusable, and more modest in their dissentings: for, coming newly out of not onely the *dungeon* of *Papall superstition* and darkness to a *marvellous light* of *Reformation*, they were jealous of any cloud or shadow which they suspected as threatening to *eclipse* that light; but coming also out of the *fiery furnace* of *Romish persecution*, they were jealous of every thing that had once past the *Popes fingers*, lest it might be too hot for them. These *good and warm men* (to whose *mar- tyrly courage* much might be indulged) while yet *Reformation* was an *Embryo* (in the formation and birth) were in time much worn out; men afterward began more coolely to consider the nature of the things, no less than their own fears or other mens prejudices, especially af- ter they saw those things three times solemnly determined and set- tled by the publick wisdome and authority both of this Church and

State. The few remains of the old stock of pious dissenters (which in my time I have known) were grown so calm and moderate, as to the Ceremonies of the Church of England, that I never found they perswaded others against them. As for Liturgie and Episcopacy, I am sure they justly asserted them, as to the main, as wishing onely some small sweetning of the first, as to a few darker expressions; and the softening of the other, as to some more equable regulations (which were as far from usurpation of either of them, as wiping the eyes is from pulling them out, and washing the hands from cutting them off.

Yes, I know by long experience, that when the graver and more learned sort of Non-conformists perceived how mightily the Reformed Religion grew and prospered in England, amidst the Liturgie, Bishops and Ceremonies, against which some fiercer spirits had so excessively inveighed; when they saw what buds and leaves, blossoms and ripe fruit Aarons rod brought forth, what eminent gifts and graces God was pleased to dispense by Bishops and Presbyters, that were piously conformable to the Church of England, they wholly laid aside their former heats and youthfull eagernesses; which sometimes fed high, and were kept warm by the hopes and flatteries of those who expected that party should long ago have prevailed; yea many of them, now aged, both repented of and reclaimed their more juvenile and indiscreet fervours, advising others, now beginners, to conform to the good orders, and to study the peace of the Church of England; which they saw so blessed of God, as none in the world exceeded Her.

Nor did I ever hear of any sober Christian; or truly godly Minister, who (being in other things prudent, unblameable and sincere) did ever suffer any penitential strokes, or checks of conscience, either upon his death-bed or before, meerly upon the account of their having been conformable to, and keeping communion with the Church of England; nor did they ever find or complain of Ceremonies, Liturgie, or Episcopacy, as any damp to their reall graces, or to their holy communion with Gods blessed Spirit. At last, both good Ministers and people generally submitted themselves in all peaceableness, for many years, to the order and uniformity of the Church of England; untill the late Northern Earth-quake scared many by a Panick fear from their former steadfastness in practises and judgements, which had been taken up by many Ministers, not suddenly and easily; but after serious and mature deliberations: against which nothing new hath as yet been alledged to alter their minds, onely old rusty arguments have been wrapped up in new furnished arms, & the strongest sword, it seems, makes the best proofs and impressions on some mens consciences, even in matters of Religion.

Which (vertigo) excusable giddiness in the vulgar, but shamefull inconstancy in some men of parts and learning, is no news to wise men; since (as the most renowned * Isaac Casaubon observes) the native mutability of mens minds is such, That they precipitantly run by

* Prief. it. ad exercit. in Ann. Baron. Inter cetera mortalitatis incommod. illud censetur, quod ad perniciosam minus bonam ultra populi accurrunt; ad bona & salutaria rarus & lentus vel bonorum consensus.

by *shoals* and *troops* upon changes, which are for the worst; but scarce one man of a thousand is to be won by the sense of his own and other mens miseries, or by the most importune and strongest reasons in the world, to retract his popular transports, or to revert to the better, by holy and happy Apostasies. Changes to the worse, like *sicknesses*, are easie and sudden; recoveries to the better, like *health*, are slow and difficult. Irregular zeal and popular tumults, like storms and tempests, easily drive men from their anchors into dangerous seas, but they seldom bring them back into safe harbors. The first is the work of the many, but not the wise; the second of the wise, who are but few, and who, during the paroxysme or first impression of vulgar violence, must a little yield themselves either to be carried away, or oppressed by the rage and precipitancy of such mutations, which divers sober men (no doubt) have rather suffered of late years than approved here in *England*, who humbly pray to recover that happy port or station, wherein the Reformed Religion was once, like a well-built, well-ballasted, and richly laden ship, safely anchored in the *Church of England*; where the ceremonies were but as the *wast clothes, flags and streamers*; no part indeed of its precious lading, but yet not uncomely ornaments, much less such dangerous burthens or blemishes, as merited the utter sinking and over-setting of so fair a vessel: which seems to have been the delight of some men; though I do not think it was or is according to the desire of the most sober & modest Non-conformists, no more than it was or is agreeable to the mind of the *chief Magistrate*, nor of the *best Nobility*, the *wisest Gentry*, the *learnedst Clergie*, or the *better sort of Commons*, if they were left to their free votes and untumultuated suffrages. Certainly all pious and prudent persons, who ever owned the *Church of England*, having now more leisure and clearer light to discern things, than when the clouds and storms first began, cannot but continually deplore their own credulity, some mens cruelty, and most mens inconstancy in religion, which have left this Church in so broken and calamitous a condition, while some oppose Her, many forsake Her, and few assert Her.

Especially when they finde, as they do every where, by experience, that those *eager agitators* against the *Church of England*, upon the old account of *Ceremonies, Liturgie* and *Episcopacy*, doe yet, as *grand Masters* and most authentick *Dictators*, take to themselves and their respective parties a most *plenipotentiary power*, to teach, ordain, rule, over-see, guide, correct and excommunicate such as they can get into their severalls, divided or new-erected *Churches*, whose *divine authority*, power and jurisdiction in things Ecclesiastick, they cry up for absolute, Supreme, Divine. Thus they make, or at least fancy themselves, mutually *Kings* and *Priests* in the majesty and sovereignty of all Ecclesiastick jurisdiction, amidst their small conventicles, who wholly deny any such authority to the Grandeur, number & magnificence of the *Church of England*; that is the joynt consent, united influence, and combined interest of all good Christians in this

Nation, who publickly agreed with one mind and in one manner to serve the Lord.

Yet in the manner of their Communion, *ministrations* or worship, who sees not, that every one of these new Masters affects to be author of his own *Liturgie*, perswading people to pray to and praise God, to consecrate and celebrate *holy mysteries*, rather after such a form as they shall either suddenly conceive, or more soberly provide; either keeping for the main to the same matter, method and tenour of devotion, which was in the *Church of England*, or, with great artifice, varying so much, as it may be thought to be new and unpremeditated, yea and inspired too, rather than from any ordinary gift or common habit acquired? which sober Christians know full well to be neither an hard nor a rare matter for any men to attain, who have quick inventions, moderate judgements, and voluble tongues.

Lastly, even in the point of *Ceremonies*, (which they have clamoured for dangerous, and rendred so odious in the *Church of England*) even these men that are so impatient to be concluded under any *ceremonies* upon publick order and injunction, yet many of them use two *ceremonies* for one, after their own fancies and inventions; not only by those empharick looks, dreadful eagernesses, vehement loudnesses, long and extatick silences, antick actions, odde and theatrlick postures, which they peculiarly chuse to personate in, hereby setting off (as they think) with the greater grace and gusto, their religious performances before the people: but further, they require of their Disciples, and all that will be their followers, some things of a *ceremonial* nature, besides words and phrases, as speciall marks and discriminations both of admission to, and communion with their Churches or parties; who may commonly be known by those omiffions, no less than by those expressions which they affect to use. 'Tis Religion with some, not to give the title of *Saint* to any but their own partie; never to use the Lords prayer, Creed or ten Commandements. They have also speciall times and gestures, yea & vestures too, observed by them in their holy duties: some chuse to sit, others to stand at the Lords Supper; neither of which was the posture of Christ or his Apostles, which was a leaning or recumbency: some take it after their own suppers, others before: some familiarly hand the elements one to another: most of them use such words in consecration and distribution, as they like best, or as come first to their lips; sometimes such rude expressions (which I have known by some that were no little Idols of the vulgar) that truly no wise man or good Christian could approve them. There are that abhor to appear as Ministers of the *Church of England*, by wearing any gown, or so much as black clothes, in their officiating: many of them, rather than wear a black cap (which is most grave and comely, in case they need one) chuse to put on a white cap, though they need none, appearing as if they went to execution when they go to preaching: some love to preach in *cuerpo*, casting off
their

¹ Ἀνέπερος,
Luk. 22, 14.

² Ἀνέπερο,
Mat. 26. 20.

their clokes, as if they went like boyes to wrestling, when they go to preaching.

How ill would these men take it, if any of those that are lovers and esteemers of the *Ch. of Engl.* should so severely *circumscise their devotions*, as not to suffer them to use any of those new forms, exotick fashions, or affected Ceremonies, which they have thus chosen to themselves, as the discriminations of their factions, the decencies of their profession, and the solemnities, no doubt, of their devotions: how angry would they be, to hear any men crying down all their *fine new modes* (which no doubt themselves think very demure and Saintly) as very undecent and *superstitious*, as superfluous and scandalous, as unnecessary, yea impious, because not *expresly commanded by Christ*, not *punctually practised by the Apostles*, nor any other holy men in any Church: To many of whom the strange and affected carriages of some new men in their duties and devotions, would certainly seem very ridiculous and indiscreet, if not worse, while they are such imperious and severe censurers of a few Ceremonies, thought fit to be used by the wisdom of the *Church of England*.

Whatever these men can plead for those *ceremonious* customes and observations, used by them in their religious performances, which have no other signature or note upon them but onely their own fancy, choice and use, that, I am sure, and much more, may any sober Christian plead in behalf of the *Ceremonies* chosen by, and used in the *Church of England*, as seemed fittest and best for the common good.

There is a *necessity* of decency, reverence, order and convenience, for the adorning of religious duties, that are sociall and exemplary, related not onely to God, but to men in outward profession, quickening thereby and encouraging our selves, winning and alluring others, yea instructing and edifying all sorts in some degree; like the flourishings of *capital letters*, which make them not more *significant*, but more *remarkable*. These are no less lawfull and necessary than discretion is to devotion, or *prudence* is to *piety*; though they are not of the highest and most absolute *necessity*, which constitutes what these adorn, gives being to what these onely beautifie, gives the inward and essentiall form to what these adde onely outward and visible forms to: Ceremonies making *religious duties* not more *pious*, but more *conspicuous*; not more sacred, but more solemn; not more spiritual and holy, but more visible and imitable.

In all which things of a circumstantiall and ceremoniall nature (for *Ceremonies* seem no other but modified or limited *circumstances*, such as are time, place, gesture, vesture, posture, action, &c. all which in the generall do attend (as shadows do gross bodies in the Sun-shine) all the outward actions of men, either naturall, civil, or religious in this life of mortality) if any men may lawfully use, as these enemies to the *Church of England* now do, what their private fancy, skill and will, list to set up in opposition to, and derogation from the
cu-

custome, wisdom, and publick consent of such a Church as England was. Certainly wise and godly men may with much more modesty, safety and discretion, follow the joynt advice and direction of so famous a Church, to whom, and to its followers, some of these new Reformers will not now allow so much liberty as to follow their own judgement, and the Churches appointment too, in matters of Religion, either for substance or ceremony; which liberty they alwayes boldly demanded, and lately challenged to themselves and their adherents, as a right or privilege belonging to them, not onely as men, but as Christians; which yet by their good will no Christians should enjoy besides themselves, and such as receive the Lawes of Religion from their lips.

It is possible indeed for one man to be in some things, at some time and occasion, wiser than many men, (for truth doth not alwayes go in crowds, never in rabbles) as one Lay-man seemed in the great Council of Nice: who was, as *Socrates*, *Ruffinus* and *Nicephorus* tell us, a very plain and simple man; yet he relieved those *Fathers*, when they were shrewdly perplexed by a subtill sophister in the point of *Christs Divinity*, and the most adorable *Trinity*, whose disputative insolency that one plain man (as *David* against *Goliath*) did so rebuke, not by subtilty of his reasonings, but by the majesty of his faith and confession, that the *Philosopher* confessed himself evicted, convicted, converted. Such a solitary rock of Christian constancy was that one great *Athanasius*, (deservedly master of an *immortall name*) because in the sea and inundation of *Arian perfidy*, and the *Apostasy* of most, He, He persisted a constant professor, a couragious Confessor, a patient Martyr by his sufferings for so great a truth; which is of greater price than all Christians temporall lives: better all men die, as to their mortality, than Christ be deprived of the honour of his Divinity; which is the life of a believers faith, and hope for eternall life, by the meritorious excellency and infinite goodness of the blessed Jesus, both God and man.

Notwithstanding these instances in cases of great concernment (which had the Scriptures testimony, & the consent of all the ancient Churches, to buoy up their undertakers against all the oppositions of men or devils;) yet in things of a lesse nature, which being indifferent in their kind, are best determinable by publick prudence, it argues (as *S. Austin* speaks, *insolentissimam insaniam*) no small pride and arrogancy (which is the mother of folly and faction) for any one man, or some few men, whom all order and polity hath made inferiour to others, either as their betters, or as the rulers and representatives of the whole Society, to prefer their own private opinions and judgements before the well-advised results and solemn sanctions of those that are far more in number, and every way as eminent for piety, prudence and integrity, besides the advantage they have of more publick influence and just authority.

Such indeed were the first Reformers and Constituters of the Church of England, both as to its fundamentals, and what they thought ornaments,

Socr. Eccl. Hist.
l. i. c. 5.
Ruff. l. i. c. 3.
hist.
Unus ex confessoribus, simplicissima natura vir, & nihil aliud sciens nisi Jesu Christum & hunc crucifixum.

Aug. ep. 118.
c. 5.

namements, or ceremonies; who, I believe, had much more religious reason for what they then approved and appointed, both as to piety and policy, than we at this distance of times, and different state of things can well discern. I am sure they were masters of as much learning, and as great searchers of *divine verities*, as any of those *new masters*, who now so much blame them, and *per* upon them; yea and, I believe, they had much more of *true zeal and meekness, of humility and charity*, attending their learned counsels and pious endeavours, than will be (at last) found in those men, who are so far from *suffering as martyrs for Christ and his Church*, that they seek to make *this Church* one of the *greatest sufferers and martyrs* that ever was of any *Christian and Reformed Church*. Those forenamed gifts and graces, which sowed (by Gods blessing) those good seeds of Piety and Peace, whence a long and plentiful harvest of Blessings, *spiritual and temporal*, did grow, and was reaped for many years in *England*, by us and our fore-fathers, those, I believe, will carry the honest and humble *Conformists* sooner and nearer to heaven, than the pride, passion and petulancy of these is like to do, who now seem the most supercilious and triumphant *Non-conformists* against the *Church of England*: to some of whose violences, immoderations and imprudencies, (that I name not sacriledges, profanenesses and cruelties) the *Church of England* and its Children (next their sins) do now owe so much of their miseries, dangers and undoings; for which I doubt not but in the day of *impartiall doom*, they will find, that *Gods thoughts were not as their thoughts, nor his wayes as their wayes*.

To the jealousy and contempt which some men expressed against the Ceremonies of the *Church of England*, they added their perpetual quarrelling with those *Festival solemnities* which were appointed to be annually observed in a religious way to Gods glory, and Christians improvement, by fasting or feasting, by prayer, preaching and communicating; which uses and ends being sufficient to justify all things that any Church particularly appoints or observes, agreeable to the generall renour of Gods Word; yet some mens divinity hath been alwayes bent to condemn and discountenance, even the solemn and speciall memorials of *Christs Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending of the holy Ghost*, which celebrate no other mysteries or memorials than those, which the *grand Articles of Christian faith do teach us*. The wisdom and piety of the Church having, in all ages, written in *Dominicall or great Letters* those most remarkable Histories of our Saviours transactions on earth, in order to our Redemption; which certainly are never more observed by common people, than when they are set forth in such *Holidayes*, and are kept with more than ordinary solemnity and festivity, or joy, such as becomes sober Christians: for which we have not onely the ancient Churches general practice, but Gods own command and precedent among the Jews, to prevent forgetting or slighting of Gods signall mercies.

Against all which some men are so envious among Christians, that they

Rom 14.6.

Psal. 105.5.

Prov. 3.5.

Isa. 5.21.

John 10.22.

1 Mac. 4.56.

they will not endure either Ministers or neighbour-Christians to benefit their own and others souls, by preaching upon any of those speciall dayes, or occasions and subjects. They can allow *State Fast*, *Civil Festivals*, and *Common-wealths Thanksgivings*, upon petty and inconsiderable accounts (comparatively) but by no means upon such as are purely Christian, either for mortification or gratulation: in which they are so peevishly partiall, that they superciliously fancy, their *not observing such a day* to be a *service to the Lord*; but they have not so much charity, as to grant that anothers *observing such a day* is an *observing it to the Lord*; which affirmative the blessed Apostle allows no less than the others negative: whose uncharitableness seems in this, not onely superstitious as to their own liberty, but injurious against anothers, while they count them *Jewish* and *ceremonious* in observing those dayes, which all the world knows do not look forward to *Christ* as yet to come, but backward, as to *Christ* already come, both in the *Flesh* and in the *Spirit*; having, as to his meritorious part, finished the glorious work of our Redemption, which ought to be had in *everlasting remembrance*; and left such a *ministeriall* authority in his Church, as ought to preserve the *memorials* of his *Incarnation*, *Passion*, *Resurrection* and *Ascension*, untill his coming again, by all such means, both ordinary and extraordinary, which may with most piety and prudence best attain that great end.

Which the ancient and Primitive Churches undoubtedly did; among whom so early and eager a controversie rose, as to the *punctuall day of Christs Resurrection*: nor have the modern and best reformed Churches failed in these grand celebrations, to conform, as the *Ch. of Engl.* did, to pious Antiquity, finding no reason or Religion why they should in such lawfull and laudable customes affect to vary from the *Catholick patterne*, so conform to the word and will of God. From which private Christians would not so easily dissent, if they did not too much *lean to their own understandings*, and so fall under that woe, of *being wise in their own conceits*: which biasles easily betray weak and wilfull men, to count *good evil*, and *evil good*; to think their own refractoriness to be Religion, and other mens honest devotion to be but superstition: of which I confess I never thought either this Church or any other to be in the least degree guilty, while they did observe such *holy memorials*, with publick celebrity, as were appointed to the *honour of God*, and to the imitation of those *graces* which were remarkable in the eminentest servants of God, renowned in the Gospel; such as are the *blessed Virgin* and *Mother of our Lord*, as also his prime *Apostles*, by whose means the light of the Gospel shone through all the world. Nor do we find our Saviour himself withdrawing in such cases his *conformity* to the Churches practise, in those *Encenia* or *Feasts of dedication*, which were thankfull and joyfull memorials of the restauration of that material Temple which was to be demolished; whereas these holiday-celebrations used in this Church, have respect to such things as are never to be

be forgotten, abolished, or changed, while the world continues, and Christ hath any Church upon earth; which I believe he will have to the end of the world, according to his promised assistance to all his faithfull Ministers, who continue in the fellowship and succession, both for doctrine and authority, of the blessed Apostles.

But I have done with these long and unhappy debates about the sacred Festivalls, and other Ceremonies authorized by the Church of England; on which some *flesh-flies* (mistaking them for galls and sores, when they were but decent variations of beautifull colours in its garment) have so importunately fastened, especially in the hotter season of these late *dog-dayes*, that they have very much *flye-blown* the reformed Religion, and endangered not onely the *purefaction*, but the utter corruption of the whole state of this Church of England: whose quarrel and right in these things I should not have thus far revived or vindicated, if I had not thought it necessary by this *salt of sound speech*, to repress those further *putrifying principles*, which upon this account are daily suggested to simple and well-meaning people, against the whole frame and constitution of the Church of England.

Whose publick commands and settled constitutions as I alwayes approved and obeyed, but most readily, since I best understood them in their late fiery triall; because I have found them, in great and weighty matters, serious, solid, scripturall; in lesser things, moderate, discreet and charitable: so I never had either heart or hand, tongue or pen, to assert any thing that was by private or particular mens fancies brought in, either to a peevish *non-conformity*, or to a pragmatick *super-conformity*. Though I willingly allow many of my calling to be much wiser and better than my self; yet I cannot look upon them as wiser than the whole Church of England, which saw with many more eyes, both forward and backward, than any one Bishop or Presbyter can do: whose reall Innovations in later times, beyond what either the letter or usage of this Church (which best interprets Its meaning) did enjoyne and authorize, I am no way concerned to maintain; nor was I ever discontent to have them both gain-said and removed, as *insolencies* mis-becoming any Church-man, never so wise or great, to impose upon the Majesty of so famous a Church as England was; which never needed any other additions, innovations or decorations, either in Doctrine, or Discipline, or Worship, than those which It self had soberly chosen as a wise Mother and grave Matron, which justly disdains to be made gayer or finer by such ribbands, feathers and toyes, as any of her Children shall list to pin upon her.

It had better become, in my judgement, the learning, gravity and discretion of those men, who most admired and obtruded their own supernumerary and unwonted ceremonies, to have confined themselves to the Churches known Injunctions and Customs: for it were endless, if every man, never so good, should be gratified in his Church-projects and religious inventions; which became the great pest and op-

pression of the Western Churches; when the Bishops of *Rome*, by their own inroachments and other Bishops connivence, undertook to innovate or regulate all things in all Churches, which should have been ordered either by generall Councils, or by the Synods of particular Churches, as was most convenient for them. Nor in *England* could ever prudent men with reason have doted on any of their novelties, when they plainly saw that even those few sparks of ancient Ceremonies, with which the *Church of England* contented her self, (and which neither made nor marr'd Religion, being rather spangles than spots on the Churches garments) even these (I say) have a long time been made, beyond their merit, not onely occasions for some to rail, others to scorn, a third sort to blaspheme the purity and honour of the *Church of England*; but also to schismatize in Her, and separate wholly from Her. Yea from the later obrusions of some mens either renovations of things antiquated, or innovations of Ceremonies never enjoyed by the Church, those dreadful *conflagrations* have grown, which have almost quite consumed Her; the quenching of which deserves (as it needs) not onely these drops of my pen, but of all your tears and prayers (*most worthy Gentlemen*) who find yourselves (as I am) very much concerned for the honour and happiness of this Church, which was in all points prudently reformed, and excellently constituted.

CHAP. XIV.

Second Obj.
against the
Church of Engl.
from Church-
mens personal
failings.



Second grand Objection, very popular and plausible, which the enemies of the *Church of England* have made great use of to decry and destroy, if possible, the whole frame & constitution of It, is taken from the *private infirmities, personall failings, & male-administrations*, which some men have either suspected or really observed in some of the *Clergie*, ei-

ther Arch-bishops, Bishops, or Presbyters of the *Church of England*: against whom it is objected, that either they were not so warm and voluble Preachers, as those men do most fancy; or possibly less learned and industrious then was fit for Ministers; or not so prudent, it may be, and compassionate toward weaker Christians, as became those that were stronger in the faith; or lastly, not so morally strict & unblamable in their lives, as indeed all Ministers of the Gospel ought to be at all times. Hence the *Adversaries of the Church of England* do conclude that both head and heart were sick, that there was no sound part, that all was full of bruises and putrified sores, that in the *Church of England* nothing could be found worthy of a true Church, a true Minister, or a true Christian.

Rom. 14.

I sa. 1. 5, 6.

My

My answer is, That all the *modest Clergie* in *England* desire to be so humble, so ingenuous & so impartial, as not to forget their own infirmities, while they cōplain of others injuries. For *my self*, being conscious how little removed I am from failings, as a man and Minister, I shall willingly confess, and strive to amend, what any mans charity shall with truth convince me of : and for others, my *Fathers* and *Brethren*, I presume I have (because I humbly crave) their leaves to give *God the glory of his own justice*, of other mens malice, and of our own failings. My design is not to reproch any man in particular, but to excite my self, with all other *Ministers*, to such repentance & amendment as God requires, the better world expects, the malice of our enemies exacts, our own safety and this Churches distresses command of us.

The *Clergie* of *England* of all degrees have endured too many sufferings (beyond any other rank or order of men) to fancy they have not had many sins. Not to own our distempers, after the long application of so rough physick, were indeed to tax the *wisest* and *gentlest Physician*, not of severity, but cruelty and superfluity: where-as the *father of our souls never chastiseth* his children so much for his own pleasure, as indeed for their profit. Gods judgements are in this very mercifull, and his severities the fruits of his loving kindness, that he chuseth rather to punish us than forsake us; and to afflict us by his own justice, than to betray us to the cruel flatteries of our own lusts, which would prove ours and his greatest enemies too, if we were left to our selves.

Heb. 12. 5, 6,
&c.

The *smart eye-salve* which the *Clergy* of *England* have endured of late years, may well cleare our sight so farre, at least, as to discern and confess those faults which heretofore (it may be) we over-looked, or slighted, or excused, upon the common score of humane infirmity; which indulgence may better be allowed to any men, than to *Ministers of the Gospel*, especially if persons of eminency and conspicuity. Of all *Clergie-men*, beyond all other men, the world justly expects (and so doth *God*) sobriety, gravity, exactness, even in their younger years, as *S. Paul* doth of *Timothy*; how much more in their maturity and age? Little sins in them (if publicated) grow great by their scandall and contagion: O how ponderous, how immense, how flagitious are the presumptions, the vicious habits, the wilfull, open, obstinate and constant deformities of *Ministers*! In all which (if the just *God* should be extreme to mark what hath been amisse among us, both young and old, great and small, who is able to abide it? Before the Lord who hath done it, we must, with old *Eli* and holy *Job*, put our mouths in the dust, and smother our sense in silence.

1 Tim. 4. 12.

Psal. 130. 3.

Nevertheless, we are, and ever must be, *pertinacious even to the death* (with holy and afflicted *Job*) to maintain, not onely the innocency, but also the merit of the *Clergie* or *Ministry* of *England* (as to the greater and better part of them) in respect of the people of this Nation in all degrees. Although (as *David* did, when *Shimei* reproched and cursed him bitterly, disdainfully and unjustly) we cannot

2 Sam. 16.

but be sensible & complain of some mens excessive malice & immoderation against us; yet we cannot but make an *humble submission* to, with an *agnition* and justification of that *divine wrath* & justice which seems to be gone out against us: before the *Almighty* we desire to be either silent, or confitent, or suppliant, as becomes those that are justly ashamed, and truly penitent. 'Tis fit we *hide*, and *abhor our selves in dust and ashes*, before his presence, who onely can pity and repair us, by turning the causeless *curse* of men into a blessing, making the sacrilegious impoverishings and indignities, the ingratefull abasings and intolencies of some unreasonable and violent men, an occasion of his gracious favour, and all good mens compassions toward the afflicted *Clergie* and *Church of England*: for where Churchmen are miserable, the Church cannot be happy; where the Clergie are distressed, the Laity cannot be prosperous.

We are so far willing to gratifie the malice of our bitter adversaries, (to whom no musick is so pleasing, as any evil report brought upon the *Ministers of England*) as with *S. Austin* to make our confession to God, that we may be more *vile in our own eyes* before the Lord, and cover our selves with that *cloke of confusion* which God hath suffered some men to cast upon us, after they have stripped us of those ancient Honours and Ornaments, with which we were by the piety, gratitude and munificence of former times happily invested, not more to our own, than the whole nations great renown in all the world.

Rev. 2. 1.

Gen. 44. 16.

Without all peradventure, the most holy and *all-seeing God*, who walketh in the midst of the *golden Candlesticks*, whose pure eyes are most intent upon the *Ministers of his Church*, hath found out the *iniquity* of his servants, the *Bishops and other Ministers of the Church of England*, not onely in our persons, but in our professions; not onely in our morals, but in our ministrations:

2 Cor. 5. 19, 20

Numb. 20. 12.

Who being solemnly *consecrated*, and duly *set apart* to the service of *God & his Church*, in the name, place, power and authority of *Jesus Christ*, and drawing neer to his speciall presence, with *Moses* in the Mount, with *Aaron* in the Holy of Holies, in those glorious manifestations of *God in Christ* to his Church, by publick ordinances and spirituall influences; yet have not so *sanctified the name of the Lord our God* by our hearts and lives, by our doctrine and duties, as we ought to have done.

Isa. 1. 11.

Eccles. 5. 12.

Many of us doing the work of God (which is a *great work*, of eternal concernment to our own and other mens souls) either so unpreparedly, negligently and irreverently, or so partially, popularly and passionatly, or so formally, pompously and superciliously, that our very *officiatings* have been *offences* to God and man, our *oblations vain*, our prayers the *sacrifices of fooles*, our pains in preaching (how much more our idleness?) hath been no better than the *foolishnesse* of preaching in good earnest. Some of us have been prone to place the highest pitch of our *Ministeriall* care, exactness and duty in *ceremonious conformities*, which alone are meer chaffe, miserable, empty for-

malities; neglecting the substance, life and soul of Christian Religion, which consists in righteousness and true holiness, while we too much intended the meer shadow, shell and out-side of it: others have so eagerly doted upon their sticklings against what was duly and decently established in *this Church*, as to the outward circumstances and ceremonies, the decent manner and form of social Religion, that they feared not (as far as in them lay) to make *havock* of the power of Religion, together with the peace, unity, order, and very *being* of *this famous Church*.

Many of us so *over-preached* our peoples capacities, that the generality of our auditors, after many years preaching, were very little edified, nothing amended, being kept at too high a *rack*, both of affected *Oratory* and abstruse *Divinity*, for want of plain *catechising*, and charitable condescending to them: others in a supine and *slowly negligence*, have sunk so much below the just gravity, solidity and *majesty* of true preaching, that the meanest sort of illiterate people have undertook to vie with them, and to match them: infinite swarms of mechanick rivals rose up into desks and pulpits, when once they saw such pitiful preaching serve the turn, which consisted not in study, meditation and reading, but in a bold look, a confident spirit, and a *voluble tongue*; so that neither such preaching nor praying seemed many degrees removed from meer vulgar prating, from triall extemporary chat.

'Tis true, few *Bishops*, few *Presbyters* among us, but may confess, that either in our access to *that great and terrible work*, unfitted and unfurnished in great part, or in our converse and exercises in it, with less mortified affections and less exemplary actions, either by our ambitions, or our envies, or our covetousness, or our impatience, by our looseness, or luxury, or laziness, or vulgarity; we have too much abased the *dignity of our calling*, and the honour of our profession: whence justly and necessarily follows the darkning and eclipse of our credit, esteem and reputation among the people; when they see their *Physicians* themselves infected, their *Surgeons* ulcerous, their *Antidotes* poysonous, their *Ministers* helping to fill up the *measure of the sins of the people, doing wickedly in a land of uprightness*: while justice was done to them, while all favor shewed them, in plenty, peace, dignities, honours, while the fruits of *Gods and mans indulgence* were bestowed upon them and continued to them; then for Clergymen and Pastors to *wax wanton, to feed themselves*, and to neglect the flock which was purchased with the precious *blood of Christ*. Hsa 26.10.
Ezek 34.2.

Who can wonder if the *wrath of God break out against us*, when (as the sons of *Aaron* and *Eli*) the *Priests of the Lord* adventure to approach the glory of God with *strange fire*, with dead and unreasonable, instead of living and acceptable sacrifices? Who of us can doubt or complain, that we bear the *iniquity of our holy things*, while the anger of the Lord is thus gone out against us, and presseth sore upon us in the saddest wayes of temporall calamities; loading us at once with poverty, reproch and contempt, cast upon us by popular Lev. 10.1.
Rom. 12.1, 2.
Exod. 28.33.

lar fury and plebeian despite, which knows no bounds of justice, moderation, pity or charity, much less of any reparation and restitution; which possibly might have been hoped from the magnificence of *Princes* and great men, when once their anger had been asswaged, and their displeasure pacified against the distressed and despised Clergie.

Numb. 16.

Jerem. 15. 19.

But *vulgar fury*, like the fire of hell, is consumptive. and unquenchable, when once it hath leave to rebell and rage against their betters, especially such as have been their *Governours* and *Teachers*, the reprovers or restrainers of their ruder lusts and follies: nothing is more insolent, precipitant, boisterous, brutish, implacable, inexorable, irreparable. 'Tis like that divine vengeance which was executed by the *earths opening its mouth* (as it did upon *Korah* and his complices) scaring all, and threatening to swallow up the *whole Congregation* of the Lord, as it doth at this day, still gaping upon the whole *Clergy*, and the remnant of this *Church of England*, which yet hath escaped: the bayardly blindness of common people being such, that they are neither able nor willing to discern between what is *precious* and what is *vile*, to distinguish between the use and abuse of things, between persons and their functions, between *divine Authority* and *humane Infirmary*, between the essentiall constitution of things, and their accidentall corruptions. The headiness of such *Reformers* would seek to put out the seeing eyes of all Bishops and Ministers, because of the weaknesse or wantonnesse of some.

Isa. 2. 20.

Ezek. 13. 11.

Nor do these popular flames know at length how to spare their own *Idols* and *Teraphims* (their *Lares* and *Penates*) those Household and familiar Gods, whom they formerly most dearly embraced, adored and doted upon, but now they have cast them to the Moles and Bats. For it is very observable in these times, that the *plebeian rudenesse*, coldnesse, mutability, licentiousnesse, petulancy and ingratitude of some men, hath vented it self against no sort of *Ministers* more spitefully and insolently, than those who heretofore were their *great* favourites and darlings, because they soothed them up many times, contrary to their own private judgements, and the Churches publick appointments, either in a *weak* and wavering *non-conformity*, or in a wilfull and *wanton refractorinesse*, even to a despising, calumniating and separating humour, against the whole *Church of England*. 'Tis evident, many Ministers have found those their *keenest persecutours*, of whom themselves were sometimes the *greatest flatterers*, and compliers; *slightly healing* or lightly skinning over those raw sores of *non-conformity*, even to a greater pain and festring (as now it hath proved) which they should have seriously searched & thoroughly healed, by sound demonstrations asserting at once both their own judgments, and the Churches wisdom, in the pious use of its power and *liberty*. All which Ministers did then shamefully betray, when they *daubed with untempered mortar*, complying for their private interests and advantages, both with this Churches in-

junctions, and *its enemies oppositions*: which thuffling, at last, put the *common people* into such a *confusion* and *uncertainty* of mind, that they knew not what to chuse or refuse, whom to believe or follow, what to preserve, or what not to destroy; severely punishing even the authors, occasioners and abettors of their irresolutions; resolving at last to be destructive of all things that had any mark of the *Church of England's* wisdom and authority upon them: not content to prune off superfluous suckers, they concluded to lay their rude axes to the root as well as branches of this Church.

Yea, while the *Clergie* or *Ministers of England* do justly and humbly, in the freedom and integrity of their souls, thus make their *penitent agnitions* to the Divine Justice, (every one seeing his own sins in his and the Churches sufferings, and best knowing the plague of his own heart) while they are, with *Daniel*, humbly prostrate before the majesty of God and the throne of his grace; some people are of such impotent malice, that they make them the more the *foot-stool* for their pride and insolency, thereby to exalt themselves the more against us. I would have such *monsters of cruelty* and *uncharitablemese* to know, that however the *Clergie of England* do shrink to nothing before God, condemning all their own *righteousnesse*, and themselves as *unprofitable servants*, that they may be found clothed with the *righteousnesse of Christ*; yet as to the exorbitancies of some mens malice, revenge, passion, covetousness, cruelty and ingratitude, which hath vented it self beyond all bounds of Christian charity, modesty and equity, against the *whole frame of the Church of England*, against all its Ministry and Ministers, as well *Presbyters* as *Bishops*, great and small, good and bad, one and all, no man can hinder me or them from this just plea for our selves, in the words of *sobernesse and truth*.

Dan 9.

Phil 3. 9.
Luke 17. 10.

Acts 26. 1. 7.

First, whatsoever the *Clergie of England* (either as *Bishops* or inferior Ministers) did enjoy and act according to the *lawes established*, and agreeable to their own consciences, they are, in those things, not to be blamed in the least kind by any sober and wise mans censure: yet even for these chiefly it is, that some subtil and silly people do most bitterly inveigh against them, and in them against this *whole Church and Nation*; which must either be guilty with the *Clergie*, or the *Clergie* must be free and unblameable with the *Parlements* and whole people of the land, who chose, and by law imposed such orders upon *themselves* and their *Ministers*.

Secondly, for the *Clergies private failings* and personal infirmities, either immorall or indiscreet, to which, as frail men, they may be subject; in these they desire to be the *first accusers*, and *severest censurers of themselves*: which ingenuity is sufficient to silence the malice of the worst, to satisfy the justice of the best, and to merit the pity as well as pardon of all charitable Christians, who are not strangers to their own excess or defects.

Thirdly, Beyond these (which are but personal and occasional, & so venial failings) the *Clergie of England* do desire, and challenge their severest

verest adversaries, to charge and convince any considerable number of them, either in private parties and conventions, or in more publick *Synods* and *Convocations*, of having at any time conspired to broach or abet any Heresy or false Doctrine, any gross Errour, *Schisme* or *Apostasy*, any Immorality or Exorbitancy, contrary to Truth, Faith, and good manners.

That liberty which some of the Clergie conceived might honestly be indulged to such people as were tired and exhausted with hard labour in the *six dayes*, for their civil and sober recreation on the *Lords day*, or *Christian Sabbath*, thereby to counterpoise those Jewish severities which they saw some men began to urge and obtrude upon Christians, both as to the change and rest of that day; (which quarrell is not yet dead in *England*) this (I am prone in charity to believe) neither arose from any root of immorality in the advisers, nor intended any fruits of impiety in the publishers, who were not ignorant how far in such a *Toleration* they did conform to the judgement, and practise too, of some *foreign reformed Churches*, and to the chief instruments of their *Reformation*, who neither did nor do (even in *Geneva*) abhor, avoid, or forbid modest, honest and seasonable recreations to servants and labouring people on the *Lords day*. Although, for my part, I confess, I approve rather, according to the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, in the Homily of the time and place of prayer, that holy & strict observance generally used by the most cautious Christians in *England*, which yet doth allow such ingenuous relaxations of mind, and motions on *that day*, as are neither impious nor scandalous, being at once far removed from *Judaick rigours*, and from Heathenish riots; which medium was the sense and practise too of the best and most of the Clergie in *England*, as to that one point of the Christian Sabbath, or *Lords day*, which *Justin Martyr* calls *Sunday*, *ἡμέρα ἀνέξα*, so sharply objected against some of them.

So then, as to any reall enormities of opinions, or scandalous practices in Religion, the Clergie of *England* (taken in their polity and integrality) neither are, nor ever were guilty (since the *Reformation*) either in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, or Manners: which justification is as clear as the noon-day's light, if not our selves, nor our home-bred enemies, but the *Reformed Churches* abroad, or the ancient and Primitive Churches might be our Judges. None but *Papists* and *Separatists*, or *Anabaptists* and *Schismatics*, have ever condemned or suspected the *Church* or *Clergie of England* of any corruption in Doctrine, of any flaw in the Foundation, of any fraud in holy Institutions, of any allowed licentiousness in our Conversations, of any undecency in our Devotions, of any superstition in our religious Administrations; in all which, according to the directions of Gods Word, by the assistance of Gods holy Spirit, through faith in the merits and mediation of the Son of God our onely Saviour Jesus Christ, we worshipped the onely true God, who is blessed for ever.

As to the point of *Church-Discipline*, wherein some men were so
cla-

clamorous and importune, as if there had been no health in this Church, because it did not take their physick, which it needed not; as the laws had not enjoined all those *ancient severities* and strictnesses of *penances*, because neither the temper of the times nor mens spirits would bear them; so the *wise Bishops*, and *discreet Ministers* under them, did so manage this point of *Church-discipline* for many years, by their care and vigilancy, their good doctrine and exemplary lives, their fatherly monitions and charitable corrections (as far as the laws gave them leave) that they happily attained to the reall use and best end of all *Church-discipline*, which is the Churches peace and preservation in purity and honour, in sincerity and conspicuity of true Religion: whose interests might (possibly) have been carried higher, as to the point of Discipline, if the *Clergie of England* had been furnished with such a latitude of power as *Primitive Bishops* and *Presbyters* both enjoyed and exercised; which the softness and delicacy of this Age would hardly endure, especially when once the passions, novelties & ambitions of men were carried on, under the pretexts of Reformation and new Discipline; in which some men resolved never to be satisfied, till all things fell under the *tuition* and *gubernation* of their own factions: unless all Church-power be in some mens hands, no Church-government is worth a button.

Not but that the remissness of some *Church-governours*, and the rigours of others (according to their private tempers, judgements and passions) might (sometime) by their excesses or defects (possibly) displease more calm and moderate men; as warping too much on either hand, from that medium and rectitude of charity, discretion, legality and constancy, which the *Canons* of the *Church* intended, Its constitution, health and peace required, especially in the peevishness and touchiness of those times, when many *Philistins* and *Dalilabs* lay in wait to betray and destroy the *Church of England*.

Yet amidst these seeming *exorbitances* of some *Church-men*, it may with truth be affirmed, and is by all experience confirmed, that the state of *Christian* and *Reformed Religion*, for doctrine, manners and government, for piety, charity and proficiency, was far better, both in *England* and in *Wales*, than it now is, or is ever like to be, under those sad effects to which some mens fury, faction and confusion seek to *reduce this Church*. So then the male-administrations truly charged upon some *Church-governours* heretofore, had not so bad an influence upon this Church and the Reformed Religion, as the latter want of able and fit Governours, after the ancient way of Church-government, hath now produced every where.

For the defects and inordinacies of some *private Ministers* (which can be no wonder, where there were above ten thousand of them) I neither approve nor patronize them in the least kind; onely I plead in behalf of the whole order and function, as it stood in this Churches constitution, that a *few Ministers* faults ought not, in any justice or reason, to be odiously charged upon the *whole Church* or
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their

their profession, no more than the fall of *some Angels* is imputable to the whole *Angelick nature*. Nor do I see any reason why the infirmities or deformities of some *Clergie-men* (and those not many in comparison) should be more a stain and reproch to their calling, than other mens misdemeanours are to their either civil or military professions: in which though there ever will be some *Cheats* and *Pettifoggers*, others *Quacks* and *Mountebanks*, a third cowards and traitors; yet these do not diminish the just honour and use of learned *Lawyers*, discreet *Physicians*, or gallant *Souldiers*, whose employments are then liberall and ingenuous, when they are honest and usefull to the Common-wealth.

It were a madness to quarrel with all *Candles*, and put them out, because some are small, others want snuffing, a third sort burn dimly, and have (as we say) *Thieves* in them: the foggs and vapours rising from the earth, and oft darkening the Suns light, are no diminution to its native lustre, which is the greatest visible blessing in the world, as a good *Bishop and Ministry* is in the Church: nor may the miscarriages of some Bishops and Presbyters in the *Church of England* be cast as reproches, or made disparagements to their holy orders, much less to the *whole Church*; especially when we consider that the defects and faults of some *Clergie-men* in *England* were mightily recompensed, yea, and over-balanced by that learning, piety, industry and virtue, which was generally competent, and in many of them so eminent, that I believe the whole world did not exceed them, and few in any Church did match them; yea many, both *Bishops* and other *Ministers*, who seemed less plausible or popular in their preaching, were yet not less sound in their doctrine, potent in their writing, prudent in their governing, and exemplary in their godly lives, having that in height and depth, which others had in breadth and length.

Who but persons of egregious ignorance or profligate impudence, without wit, modesty, or conscience, can or dare deny, what (blessed be God) is and ever will be most evident to all the world, that ever since the happy *Reformation of the Church of England*, there have been, and still are (though their number seems now much diminished by death, and other disorders, without any due recruiting) such *Clergie-men* (both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*) who for all worth, divine and humane, will be had (as they deserve) in everlasting and honourable remembrance?

After-ages, more remote from partiality, passion and faction, will better know how to value them by the want of them, than this Age hath done, which did sometime enjoy them, and still might, if having had so liberall experience of their other Christian vertues and Ministeriall abilities, in preaching, praying, writing and living, it had not sought further to satisfy its curiosity, by trying the patience and perseverance of many grave and good Ministers; to which purpose the most heavy log-end of Christs Cross is laid upon many of them, (not onely *supplicia*, but *ludibria*) silence, prisons and poverty,

ty, which have befallen some of them, but undeserved shame, with popular contempt; and this from their own countrey-men, and from many of their own *converts*: these now press upon their persons and profession too, threatening an utter extinction of their ancient order, authority and succession in this Church and Nation, if their enemies might have their wills upon them; which (God be thanked) they have not yet obtained to the latitude of their malice, though it hath reached very far, God help us.

I know that the present sufferings of *Bishops* and other *Ministers* (as chief members of the *Church of England*) have been, and still are, in many mens eyes, the greatest signs and *indications* of their sins; *vulgar justice* ever judging those men *criminous* whom they see *calamitous*: like *dogs* in a countrey village, which are ready to flie upon any strange one, not for any offence he gives them, but because they see some currs have begun not onely to bark at him, but to bite and worry him. The plebs or common people are first *injurious*, and then *ensorious*; Prosperity and Power are their great Idols; they easily trample upon those *Gods* whose hands and feet are off; they conclude them unworthy of any *Resurrection*, who are once cast down and buried by them. Nothing is more common with the community of people, than to *condemn the generation of Gods children*, who have generally been rather *passive* than *pragmatical*. Holy Polycarp is called for, as an *Atheist*, to be sacrificed in the fire of *vulgar zeale*; S. Paul not fit to live; Christ himself worthy to be crucified, if the rabble may have their vote; the chief part of whose innocency consists in finding fault with others that are vastly better than themselves. I believe that if the *Bishops* and *Ministers* of this Church had been stoned by none but such as had a not faults and infirmities equall to, nay exceeding theirs, they had to this day been untouched.

Psal. 73. 15.

Acts 22. 22.

Curiosum genus
ad cognoscendā
vitam alienam,
desideriosum ad
corrigenđam
suam. Aug.
conf. 1. 10. c. 3.
a John 8. 7.

Acts 28. 4.

Inde incipit be-
atitudo iudicio
divino, ubi
arumna aestima-
tur humana.
Amb. off. 1. 1. c.
16.
b Heb. 12. 5.

Nequaquam da-
lenda est affli-
ctio infirmita-
tum, quam in-
telligimus esse
matrem virtu-
tum. Salvian.
c Psal. 23.

To whose score and account this (now) is added, that they must needs be great *sinners*, since they are so great *sufferers*; they cannot but be murderers, on whose hands people see such *vipers hanging*. Thus carnall and sensuall Christians are prone to judge, who are strangers to the *croffe of Christ*; not understanding that the *afflictions of Christians* are *mysterious*, as well as their *faith*, and their *Sufferings* as well as their *Sacraments*; that God doth, as our *heavenly Father*, many times love most where he most rebukes; that they have oft most of his heart, from whom he most hides his face as to temporal prosperity, and on whom his hand lies heaviest as to visible *chastisements*; which if they mend us, they argue not enmity, but love. It is no token, that because he punisheth our *faults*, therefore he hates our *persons*, much less our calling and profession: the *rod and staff of God* lying upon us, or lifted up against us, is not to drive us from him, but, as a Shepherds crook, to draw us neerer to him; nor is it with any design to scare us from our duties, or to make us desert our station, or to force us to renounce our *Ordination* to his holy service (as some have shamefully done) but as with goads to excite

us the more to persist in our office stedfastly, and to discharge our Ministry the more diligently : so that it is but a plebeian and fanatick fancy from hence to imagine, that the God of order is now (after 1600. years) grown out of love with *Primitive and Apostolick Episcopacy*, or with regular and orderly *Presbytery* in his Church, because he afflicts both Bishops and Presbyters ; or that Jesus Christ, the Ancient of dayes, the *Alpha* and *Omega* of immutable wisdom, now designs to set up a meer novelty of *parity* and *popularity* in his Church, which tend experimentally, and so most apparently, to the feditie, nullity and *Anarchy* of Religion in this and all other Churches ; whose constitution may be commendable, although the execution of things may be blameable and punishable upon the merit of personall defaults, not Ecclesiasticall defects.

Dan. 5.

No *Chaldean*, no *Magician*, no *Soothsayer*, no *Astrologer*, no *Enchanter* can spell any such meaning, as to Gods displeasure against the frame and constitution of the *Church of England*, out of that *hand-writing* which seems to be directed against the *Clergie* and *Ministers of England*. 'Tis true, every one ventures to read and interpret it as they list, to flatter their own parties, opinions, passions and interests : so did the Philosophers, the Heathens, the Atheists, the Idolaters, the Scoffers, the *Fulians*, the Apostates, the Hereticks, the Schismaticks of old, grossly mistake the meaning of those hot and sharp persecutions, which oft befell the *Primitive Christians* and Orthodox professors of faith in Christ crucified, concluding they deserved true Crosses, who so much gloried in the Cross of Christ ; nor knowing what *Theriak* God makes out of those Serpents that sting us, nor what Antidotes he extracts out of those deadly poysons which destroy us. The royal Title over *Christs head* was never more deserved than when he was *hanging upon the Crosse* ; for on that, as a King on his *Throne*, he most conquered, and after triumphed over both his and his Churches greatest enemies : nor were his sufferings the least of his solemnities and glories, his Father being never better pleased with him than when he cryed out, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?*

I am perswaded in like sort, that the great *afflictions* now incumbent upon the *Clergie* and *Church of Engl.* do no way signifie, that he or they are *forsaken of God*, any more then Christ then was ; nor do they import any dislike that the God of peace and order hath against the respective office and subordination of *Presbytery*, or the ordination and eminent gubernation of Bishops, as they were designed and established in the *Church of England*, according to the *Primitive and Catholick pattern* : for both these God hath heretofore highly and signally approved ; if imploying, blessing and prospering of them in his Church, if accepting so many holy sacrifices and services from them, be as much a sign of Gods approving their function, as his now afflicting them is a sign of his reproving their faults.

But the plain sense of our *sufferings* is, (as * *S. Cyprian* observes) The Lord punisheth us, that he may bring us to repentance for our sins, both

* Dominus probari familiam suam voluit; & quia traditam nobis divinitus disciplinam pax longa corruerat, accitem fidem, & pene dixerim dormientem, censura celestis erexit. Cypr. de lapsis.

both personall and professionall; for those disorders by which we blemished or prophaned our holy orders. 'Tis not the *government* in it self, but our own *mis-governments*, that have offended God: he aims not to consume that primitive and pure gold that is in this *Church*, but to refine us from that dross we had as men contracted. Nor do I doubt but God intends to improve us to his service in better times, of which we may not despair, if we find out selves amended by those bitter potions which in bad times, and by evil men, a good God administers to us for our health.

How glorious will both *godly Bishops* and *orderly Presbyters* in *England* appear to this Church, and to all the world, when, coming out of this fiery furnace, they shall shine brighter than ever they did, with the love of Christ, and of his Church, both as to the care of those private charges and publick inspections committed to them in excellent order, and administred by due authority, when neither pride nor envy, pomp nor popularity, neither the upper nor the lower springs of ambition (rising from Prince or people) shall distract the counsels, or divide the hearts, or cross the endeavours of *venerable Bishops*, and *worthy Presbyters*, and *pious people*, from that Christian subordination, unanimity and conjunction, which best becomes them as men and Christians; which *Ignatius* so highly commends, and which is so necessary, both as to counsel and order, government and proficiency, for the good of all sorts of Christians in any Church?

Mean time it is no small mercy that exacts from some Ministers, and enables them to give publick experiments of true Christian courage, patience, magnanimity and constancy, which are our *highest conformity to Christ*; by which the world may see, that the *honour of true Christian Bishops and Ministers* doth consist as much (or more) in their sufferings, as in their speaking and doing well; in their losses, as well as in their injoyments of all things. Then will Princes, Parlements and People, think us most worthy to enjoy the ancient estates, honours, liberties, priviledges and immunities, which the pristine piety, charity, munificence and gratitude of *your* and their fore-fathers bestowed upon the Clergie, and devoted to God, when they shall see that, without these, we are not onely willing, but zealous to serve God, and solicitous to save their souls, as the greatest reward and wages of our work: nor will the incumbent distresses upon the worthy *Clergie of England* much abate the love and value of them, with those that are worthy of them: certainly, as mens sins should be esteemed their greatest afflictions, so no mens sufferings are to be counted their sins.

If any *Ministers* have justly suffered, as unable, and so intruders; as incorrigible, and so unworthy; having had the justice of being accused by two or three witnesses, and the charity of receiving two or three admonitions, before they were suspended, silenced, sequestred and ejected, giving no hopes of their being amended; yet even the grossest defects and immoralities of such *Clergie-men* (who are indeed

1 Cor. 4 8, 9;
&c.

1 Tim 5. 19.
Tit. 3. 10.

deed the shame and reproch of their profession) may not be imputed to, or revenged upon the *whole calling and Church*; considering that the *Church of England*, by her good *Lawes*, wholsome *Canons*, and wise *Constitutions*, did strictly require, not onely the best minds and abilities, but the best manners and examples, both from *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, agreeable to those respective duties and *instructions* set before and charged upon them at their *ordination*, which they were not onely to know, but to do; not onely to believe, but to live: that so the *Ministers* of this *Church* might appear not only the best of civil men, but the best of Christians; who ought to be holy men, and the holiest of holy men, as specially consecrated to the service of Christ and his Church. It was by the *Church* intended, that *Church-men* should be the most *savoury salt* in themselves, and carefull seasoners of others: if some proved *unsavoury*, yet I am sure it is most *unseasonable* and *unseasoned* rashness to cast all *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, yea the whole order and œconomy of the *Ministry* and *Church of England*, upon the dunghill of vulgar contempt; among whom (beyond all dispute) were so many most accomplished Preachers, and excellent Practisers of true Christianity, whose breath was so good, that their lungs could not be bad.

But if there had been a *visible* and *generall* Apostasy in *many*, or the *most part*, yea in all the *Bishops* and *Ministers of England*, from their duty; yet (I conceive) this is no argument to destroy that holy order and Evangelicall function, from whose declared rules and injunctions in the Church they had *degenerated*: for neither the infirmities nor the presumptions of men ought to annull that office, or abolish that authority which is Divine: Christs commission which is given to the Church, must not be voyded or cancelled by reason of any Ministers omissions. Sacred institutions (such as the *Ministry* and *government of Christs Church* are) ought to continue, notwithstanding the intervening of mans ignorance, error, profaneness, or Idolatry. The *plagues* and *leproscies* arising from mens persons, and adhering to them, are not imputable to that place, power, station and authority which they have in the *Church*. Men may be unworthy of their holy function, but the *function* it self is not made unworthy; no more than *Aarons* joyning with the people in making the *golden calf*, did disparage the sacred dignity of that *Priestly office*, to which he was by the Lord designed. The enormous folly of *Eli's sons* did not make the sacrifices they offered of none effect, nor yet nullifie the honour and office of that *Priesthood* wherewith they were duly invested. *Judas* his being an *Hypocrite*, a *Thief*, a *Traitour* and a *Devil*, yet did not abrogate that *Apostolical office* and *Episcopall authority* which he had received from Christ equally with the *other Apostles*, untill by open *Apostasy* he fell into open rebellion, desperation and perdition.

Which gross and open *Apostasy*, either from Christ or his Gospel, from the Christian faith or their Ministeriall office and ordination, cannot with any truth or fore-head be charged upon the *Clergie* or *Ch.*
of

Exod. 32. 25.

1 Sam. 2. 12.

Act. 1. 17, &
20.

of England, who (for the main) both in the consecration of *Bishops* and ordination of *Presbyters*, in the administration of holy duties, & execution of their offices, generally, and for the main, kept to the *Ancient, Primitive* and *Apostolick* customes of all the Churches of Christ since the *Apostles* dayes: so that whatever blame, charge, or reproch is cast upon the Clergie or Church of England, must equally lie upon all *Christian Churches*, since the first complete and settled constitution of any Church.

I know the mouths of some men, like moths, and their tongues, like worms, are prone to corrode by infinite scruples, scandalls and reproches, all the beauty of the Church of England, with all the merit and honour of its Clergie: but (blessed be God) we stand or fall with the *Catholick Church of Christ*, with the whole order, race and *Apostolick* succession of *Christian Bishops* and *Presbyters*: we more fear the rudeness and heaviness of mens hands, than the sharpness of their wits, or weight of their arguments, which are as spiteful, and yet as vain, as the *vipers* biting of the *file*; when from some Ministers personall failings, they fasten their venomous teeth upon the whole state and constitution of the Church of England.

In whose behalf I am neither afraid nor ashamed to appeal to you (*my most honoured countrey-men*) as the nearest and best Judges in the world of this matter: First, as to the Church of England in its godly care and Christian constitution, whether you do believe, or really find, that in any thing it hath been wanting which is necessary for the good of your souls: Next, as to the *Bishops* and *Ministers* of England, whether (abating personall infirmities) they have not generally been, ever since the Reformation, both able and faithfull in the work of the Lord; whether (as Mr. Peter du Moulin confesseth) you and your fore-fathers do not chiefly owe to them both the beginning and continuance of the Reformed as well as Christian Religion, next under the mercy of God, and the care of your pious Princes; whether the tenuity or weakness of some Ministers, who had less abilities, and perhaps too little encouragements, were not abundantly supplied by the eminent sufficiencies of many others: and if every *Diocese* had not an excellent Bishop at all times, or every Parish enjoyed not a very able Preacher; yet I am sure neither of the two Provinces in England, nor any one County ever wanted, since the Reformation, either excellent Bishops or excellent Preachers in them, to a far greater store than was to be enjoyed in Primitive times, when Dioceses were larger, and petty Parishes not at all in the Church of Christ.

So then I may justly quere, whether one odious century of Ministers, (branded (some of them) for scandalous, because they were more exactly conform to the Laws and Customes established in the Church of England) were a just ground to reproch the whole Clergie, or to abolish the order, function and succession, both of Bishops and Presbyters, which some men aim at (officious compilers of that uncomely Cento:)

Scio ever-
nem Papi-
Or reformatio-
nem Ecclesie
Anglicane, post
Deum & reges,
deberi præcipuè
Episcoporum
Doctrinæ &
industriæ. Per
du Moulin. ep.
3. ad episc.
Wint.

Whe-

Whether they might not with as much truth and more reason have enumerated the scandalous *livings* of *England*, as so many not convicted but supposed scandalous Ministers; many of whose maintenance was worse than their manners, and more unworthy of their profession:

Whether any thing truly objectable against any *Bishop* or *Minister* of *England* (as scandalously weak, wicked and unworthy) may not with as much more truth be objected against their severest enemies.

No man in *England*, not grossly ignorant, or passionately impotent, can deny what I here affirm and proclaim to all the world, That the *Clergie* of *England*, both *Governours* and *governed* (taking them in their integrality or unity, as they were esteemed a third estate in the Body politick, or as an *Ecclesiasticall fraternity* and *corporation*) have been not onely tolerable, but commendable, yea admirable instruments of Gods glory, and the good of mens souls, in this Church and Nation:

That as they did at first in the *morning* of the *Reformation*, so ever since, during the *heat* and *burthen* of the day, they have with great learning and godly zeal, with Christian courage, constancy, integrity and wisdom, every way asserted, vindicated and maintained the truth, purity and power, also the peace, order and honour of *Christian* and *Reformed Religion*, against *Atheists* and *Infidels*, against the *superstitions* of the *Romanists* on one side, and the factions of the *Schismatics* on the other. Nor have they onely built with the trowel, but fought also with the sword of the Word. What Giantly error, what *Papal Goliath* hath ever appeared defying this *Reformed Church*, whom some excellent Bishops, and other learned Divines who were Episcopall, have not encountred, prostrated, confounded and beheaded: the *spoiles* and *trophies* of them are still extant in their works, as eternall monuments of the incomparable prowess, worth and merit of the English Clergie.

Nchem 4.17.

What wholsom, saving and necessary truth did they ever wilfully deprive You of? In what holy institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ have they ever conspired to defraud or diminish you? In what holy work or duty have they come short of any? In what excellent doctrine, gift, grace, or vertue have they been so defective, as not to give your forefathers, your selves, and all the world, most illustrious proofs and generous examples?

To which testimony no ingenuous, knowing, and conscientious Christian can deny his assent, if he hath ever made use of their excellent lives or labours; to which (as I formerly touched) *God himself* hath set to the broad seal, and great witnesse of his own Spirit, upon the hearts and consciences of many thousands, both still living, and long ago dead. These, at the *grand Assize*, or *day of Gods righteous judgement*, will (I am confident) highly justifie before men and Angels the *Church of England*, and its *Clergie* or Ministry, as blessed means of their salvation: these will convince the gainlayers, enemies

mies, blasphemers and destroyers of *this Church*, and its Ministry, of their envy, partiality, blindness, unthankfulness, and malice; also of their unreasonable lusts and injurious passions: for nothing but such black and hellish clouds, could ever hinder men, after an hundred years experience, from seeing, owning, esteeming and enjoying so great and glorious a light of grace and mercy, truth and peace, as hath shined in the *Church of England*, ever since the *Reformation*, while the *golden Candlesticks* were unbroken, the beautifull order and proportion of their branches unconfounded, the burning lamps of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* in them either not wholly extinguished, or not *snuffed* so close as might put them quite out, in respect of that pristine beauty and lustre, love and honour, which they formerly enjoyed and deserved in this as all well-composed Christian Churches.

What wise and *gracious Christian* (comparing, as the builders of the later Temple, former times with these) doth not with sadness of soul see and confess, that the generall state of *this Church*, the visible face of the *Christian Reformed Religion*, the tempers of mens hearts, and the practises of their lives, were heretofore, both as to truth, order and peace, to piety, morality and charity, incomparably beyond what now they commonly are, or are like to be, while so much emulation, faction and confusion prevail among us, which are the dry nurseries of ignorance, Atheism and irreligion? Blessed be God, in former times, while worthy *Bishops* presided, and discreet *Presbyters* assisted them in the great work of teaching and governing the *Church of God in Eng.* O what beauty, what order, what harmony, what unity, what gravity, what solidity, what candor, what charity, what sobriety, what sanctity, what sincerity, what improvements, what perseverance, what correspondency, what constancy was there generally to be seen among Christian Pastors, and true Professors under their potent Ministry and prudent inspection!

Who is able to express or conceive (unless he had some experience of those *blessed times* and tempers) what sound and judicious knowledge, what fruitfull faith, what hearty love, what discreet zeal, what severe repentings, what fervent prayers, what earnest sighs, what godly sorrows, what unfeigned tears, what just terrors, what unspeakable comforts, what well-grounded hopes, what spirituall joyes, what heavenly meditations, what holy conversations, what humble softnesses, what diligent assurances, what longing desires, what unwearied endeavours, what patient expectations, what tender compassions, what meekness of obedience, what conscientious submissions were observable in the general frame of good Christians carriage, as to God and their Saviour, so to their *Superiours*, both *Civil & Ecclesiastical*, in order to their own souls and their neighbours good? And all this blessedness was enjoyed while some mended pitifully complain, that a few *Ceremonies* pinched their consciences; that a *white garment* dazeled their eyes; that the ancient & transiend *signe of the Crosse* crucified both the Sacrament and their senses;

that kneeling at the *Communion* bowed down their souls even to the ground; that the devout *Liturgie* loaded their spirits; that grave & godly *Bishops* pressed Church-order and Discipline too hard upon them.

Yet then (even then) it was, that *Learning* flourished, *Knowledge* multiplied, *Graces* abounded, excellent *preaching* thrived, *Sacraments* were duly administred and most devoutly received, the fruits of *Gods Spirit* were every way mightily diffused, Justice and common honesty were practised, hospitable kindness exercised, Christian charity maintained, plain-heartedness and good works abounded; without any such crafts and policies, such frauds and factions, such jealousies and distances, such malice and animosities, such rudeness and disorders, such insolencies and hypocrisies, such indignities and diminutions, as are now of later years generally cast upon the *Reformed Religion*, and those Preachers of it that adhere to the constitution and communion of the *Church of England*; who are implacably maligned by those men, who in persecuting and oppressing them and this Church, do boast as if they had done *God very good service*, and highly advanced the *interests of Jesus Christ*.

Which *Themselves* will then begin to doubt and disbelieve, when the heat of their passions is allayed, when their popular fallacies and froths are vanished, when their secular designs are frustrated, when their high metal is abated, when their strength begins to fail them, when their sectators, flatterers, feeders and abettors are scattered from them, when the tide of successes is come to its ebb, when the *terrors of death* are upon them, when their consciences shall give them a true and impartial prospect of their actions and passions, when they shall see how little holy fire there was amidst so great a *smoke*, how much dross and trash hath been their superstructures, how much their *pragmatick spirits* have ruined, how little they have edified, as to any thing of true, serious, solid and usefull *Religion*, beyond what was formerly enjoyed to a satiety in *England*, while they make it their *master-piece of piety and reformation*, utterly to debase the *Clergie*, to divide Christian people, and to demolish the whole frame of the *Church of England*. The great day of burning and refining will best discover and determine what the hearts and works, the purposes and practises of such men have been.

Mean time, that I may not be deceived in my own persuasions or prejudices (who possibly may be partiall to my mother the *Church of England*,) I crave the favour of your upright judgement, as wise *Gentlemen and worthy Christians*; who, remotest from all designs and discontents, have most impartially observed the rise and progress, the variations and depravations, the folly and fury, the divisions and confusions of some mens spirits and practises in *England* (who have earnestly sought, and still do, to obtrude their fancifull, deformed and many-formed *Reformations* upon this *Church*, as much, God knows, against *Her* will, as a loathsome potion is against the stomach of an healthfull patient.)

Do you, O my noble Countrey-men (*bona fide*) (apart from fears and

and flatteries, which are below persons of true honour and piety) do you in earnest find the temper and constitution of *Religion*, as *Christian* or *Reformed*, either its inward power, or its outward polity, any way bettered and advanced in this Nation, as to the visible form of it, in essentials or ornamentals, in Doctrine or Discipline, in faith or good works, in profession or reputation, in order or peace, in solidity or decency, in authority or charity? Do you find it in your own present comforts and enjoyments, or in your hopes of after-blessings upon your posterity?

If I had the opportunity to see *your faces* (*O honoured Gentlemen and beloved Country-men*) I should (no doubt) easily discover by the clouds and dejections of your looks, what your thoughts, fears, griefs and sympathies are, in the behalf of the *Reformed Religion*, and the present state of the *Church of England*.

While some of Her destroyers walk with haughty looks, triumphant spirits, and threatening eyes; *You* are full of tears, sighs and sorrows, to see the *Church of England* (sometimes so amiable, venerable and formidable, for the beauty, authority and majesty of Christian and Reformed Religion in it) so much now divided, impaired, debased, deformed, and in danger to be destroyed. And this, after so many publick *protestations*, so many specious *pretensions*, so many pious *precipitations*, so many Parliamentary heats and votes, Ordinances and Acts, to maintain the *true Religion*, established in the *Church of England*. After all which, little other effects appear, save onely these: the hypocrisie, formality, coldness and unprofitableness of some Christians, have been punished by the rudeness, rashness, fancifulness and uncharitableness of others; who neglecting cordially to advance the great and joynt *interests* of *Gods glory*, this *Churches* peace, their own and others *souls* good, have rather raised, fomented small factions, and carried on the poor concernments of different and divided parties, in order to their own private profit and sinister advantages.

Hence, hence these *luxations*, distortions, dislocations, weaknesses, deformities, and almost dissolutions, which have befallen the *Church of England*, and the *Reformed Religion*, once happily established, professed and prospering in it; which *pejorations*, as to the piety, peace and honour of this Nation, no man that hath eyes to see, and a heart to be sensible of, can behold, without sad and serious deploing:

While he sees, not onely the outward order, polity and harmony of *Religion* worsted, torn and shattered; but the inward bands of *Christian love* and charity so ravelled, broken and cut asunder, that almost all people in all places, in Cities, in Parishes, in Families, in Churches, are full of bitter feuds, envies, enmities, animosities and Antipathies. Christians of different principles and parties do not love the presence or aspect of each other; they look with jealous, supercilious, contemptuous, evil eyes upon one another; they do not willingly meet in one place, nor correspond in civil affaires. As

for religious unity and mutual society, they perfectly abhor (as needles touched with the different poles of the load-stone) any communion with one another in any sacred duties and Christian mysteries: they thunder out *Anathemas* against each other: they have different Churches or Bodies, different Ministers and Bishops, different designs & interests, different spirits and principles; each studying as much to depress and destroy their rivals and dissenters, as to advance their own sides and parties; which dream much more of swords and pistols, of fights and victories, of blood and vastation, whereby to set up that *Empire* and *dominion* which each affects in their new wayes of Religion, than of humility, obedience, charity, and other Christian graces.

John 13. 34.

1 Cor. 1. 10.

Eph. 4. 3.

Coloss. 3. 13.

The Evangelicall exhortations of Christ and his blessed Apostles to all Christians, to love one another, to live in peace, to be of one heart and one mind in the Lord, to speak the same things, to walk worthy of their holy calling, to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, to be gentle, meek, courteous, tenderly affected, forbearing, forgiving one another; these holy charms, these pious and pathetick conjurings, these divine prayings, and charitable beseechings, are much forgotten. Those Scriptures which joyn faith and repentance, zeal and meekness, righteousness and true holiness, piety and charity, patience and perseverance together, are practically interpreted, as if they were meer *Apocrypha*, unfit rules, blunt tools, weak engines, to carry on the great designs that some pretend for Christ and His Saints; who take their modell for a new Jerusalem, more out of the dark descriptions of the *Apocalyps*, than out of the clear revelations of all the Gospels and Epistles.

So that Christian & Reformed Religion being very much resolved into fancy and faction, there must necessarily follow great abatings, not onely of Christian charity, but even of morality; infinite degenerations, as of mens passions and affections, so of their actions, from Christian sincerity to hypocrisy, from common equity and humanity, to mutual insolencies, animosities, cruelties. Plead to some men Scriptures or Statutes, lawes of God or man; they reply, *Providences*, *Power*, *Successes*: urge the commandements of the second Table, the holy Precepts, the humble, meek and orderly examples of Saints in Old or New Testament; there are that retort *new lights*, *inward dictates*, *spiritual liberty*, *special impulses*, *extraordinary cases*.

In which they hold, as once a person of very supercilious gravity, also of versute and vertigenous policy, (a true Protestant Preacher, who had passed through all shapes, Episcopall, Presbyterian, Independent, and is now ready for the metamorphosis of a Lutheran Superintendency;) he told me as his opinion, That it is in many cases lawful for Moses to do what Pharaoh may not; and for the Israelites to do what the Egyptians (as men) might not do: that there are (after the Gnostick principles, which Irenaeus tells us of) *Gospel-liberties*, which holy men may sometimes take upon heroick motions, and extraordinary impulsions upon their spirits & fancies, which those that are yet under legall bondages and restraints may not venture upon, nor are capable

Iren. 1. 3. c. 15.

capable of, because they (are *psychici*, not *pneumatici*, they) may have principles of law and reason, but have not the *privy seal* or warrant of Gods Spirit dictating or moving within them. This was answered to me by that sage Dictator, whose answers have more of the Heathen oracles ambiguity, than of divine infallibility; when I fillily urged those fixed rules of justice, and unflexible bounds of equity and charity, of righteousness and true holiness, which I (simply) conceived were impartially given in the *written Word of God* to all mankind, and specially to all Christians, to whom that Word is now delivered, and owned by them, as onely able to make the man of God perfect to every good word and work. Certainly it was ever esteemed strange *Divinity* among Orthodox Christians, to hold, that there are some special indulgences and *providential temporary dispensations* given to some sort of Christians above others, to act at some times and conjunctures, in such wayes as themselves must needs confess to be, by the clear *letter of the Law and word of God*, *injurious, unjustifiable and unwarrantable*, that is, in plain terms, unlawfull, wicked and abominable: which evils ought not in any case to be done that good may come thereby, no more than *Lot's daughters* might lie with their father, to prevent their barrenness, or the defect of posterity.

Hence have followed those strange *rapes*, which some mens lusts have endeavoured to commit upon the *Christian and Reformed Religion*, against the *known lawes both of God and man*: hence those *presumptuous sins*, those *enormous impieties*, for which no Apology, but made and affected necessity, is alledged, which none but *God Almighty* can convince, confute and revenge: hence those *convulsions*, faintings, swoonings and dyings, which are befall the *Church of England*, and its holy profession, the *Reformed Religion*; which heretofore was a pure and unspotted *Virgin*, free from the great offence, constant to her principles and duties both to God and man, alwayes victorious by her patience. This seems now besmeared all over with blood; this is sick, deformed and ashamed of her self: so many sanguinary and *sacrilegious* spirits pretend to court and engross her; such foul *spots* are found upon Her, which are not the spots of Gods children, & which no *nitre*, no *sope*, no *fullers earth*, no *palliations* or *pretensions* of humane wit, policy, or necessity, can wash away, or make clean, til He plead Her cause, & take away Her reproch, whose love induced him to shed *his own precious blood for his Church*; a noble, eminent, uniform and beautifull part of which, I must ever own the *Church of England* to have been.

Of whose former holy and healthfull *constitution* I am daily the more assured, by those modern *eruptions* and *corruptions*, defections and infections, errors and extravagancies, blasphemies and impudicities, which have so fiercely assaulted and grievously wasted the Truths, the Morals, the Sanctities, the Solemnities, the Mysteries and Ministrations, the Government and Authority, the whole Order and Constitution of the *Church of England*: clearly evincing to me, that

that this Church was heretofore not onely tolerably, but most commendably reformed, and happily established upon the pillars of piety and prudence, verity and unity, purity and charity. Nor do I doubt but the *blessed Apostle S. Paul*, with all those *Primitive planters and Reformers of Churches*, would have given the right hand of fellowship to the *Christian Bishops, Presbyters, and people of this Church of England*, cheerfully communicating with us in all holy things, blessing God, and greatly rejoicing to have beheld that power and peace, that stedfastness and proficiency, that beauty, order and unity, which was so admirably settled, and happily preserved many years in this Church, by the joynt consent and *suffrage of the Nation; Princes, Parliaments and People* cheerfully giving up their names to Christ, and willingly yielding themselves to the Lord, and to his Ministers. Nor do I believe those *Primitive and large-hearted Christians*, who brought the price of their estates, and laid it down at the Apostles feet, testifying their esteem of all things but as loss and dung in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, that these would have ever repined or envied at the riches, plenty, civil honours, peace and prosperity, wherewith the Governours and Ministers of Christs Church were here endowed. No, those first-fruits of the Gospel had too good hearts to have *evil eyes*, because the eyes of *Princes, Peers and people* had been good to the Clergie, investing them with that double honour, which the Spirit of God thinks them worthy of, while they rule well, and labour in the Word and Doctrine; so as the godly Bishops and Presbyters of the Church of England did abundantly, since the Reformation: nor was their labour of love in vain in the Lord.

Col. 2. 5.

2 Cor. 8. 5.

Acts 4. 34.

Matth. 20. 15.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

Phil. 2. 16.

What was really amisse or remisse in any Ministers, as to their minds or manners, (as some *Errata's* we find even in those Pastors and Churches which were of the *Apostolicall prim*, the very first & best Edition) certainly there wanted not sufficient authority and wisdom, skill or will, in the *Governours of Church and State*, to have reformed all things in such a way of Christian moderation, as should have gratified no mens envies, revenges, ambitions, covetousness, and the like inordinate passions; but have kept all within those bounds of piety, justice, charity and discretion, which would have satisfied all wise and honest mens desires and consciences.

Luke 9. 54.

Job. 1. 19.

Such an *Apostolicall spirit and method of Reformation*, as would have cleared the rust, and not consumed the metall, sodered up the flaws, but not battered down the whole frame of so goodly a Church; this spirit might have mended all things really amiss in England, at a far easier and cheaper rate, than either calling for fire from heaven, or calling in the Scots to quench our intestine flames with oyl. To purge the English floor from all chaff, there was no need to raise up such fierce winds, as the Devil did when he overthrew the whole house, and oppressed all *Jobs children* with the rubbish and ruine both of superstructures and foundations.

No work requires more wary, wise, and tender hearts and hands
too,

too, than *Church-work*, or that which men call *Reformation* of Religion, which easily degenerates to high *deformities*, if bunglers, that are rash, rude, deformed and unskilfull, undertake it. Nothing is more obvious, than for *Empiricks* to bring down high and plethorick constitutions to convulsions and consumptions, by too much *letting blood*, and other excessive evacuations: those are sad *purgations* of *Churches*, which with threatening some malignant humours, do carry away the very life, spirit, and *soul of Religion*, the whole order, beauty, unity and being of a *Church*, especially so large, so famous, so reformed, so flourishing an one as the *Ch. of Engl.* was; which some mens ignorance, malice and excess hath a long time aimed at; impatient not to forsake, yea and quite destroy both It and all its true Ministers, to whose learning and labours they owe whatever *spiritual gifts*, *Christian graces*, *priviledges* or *comforts* they can with truth pretend to. All which, I believe, they have not much bettered or increased since their *rude Separations* and *violent Apostasies*, by which they have shewed themselves so excessively and unthankfully exasperated against the *Fathers* that begat them, and the *Mother* that bare them; more like a *generation of vipers*, full of poysonous passions, which swell the soul to proud and factious distempers, than like truly humble, meek and *regenerate Christians*, who cannot be either so *unholy*, or so *unthankfull*, as to requite with shame, despite and wounds, the *womb* that bare them, and the *breasts* that gave them suck; not feeding them with fabulous *Legends*, *superstitious inventions*, or meer humane *Traditions*, but with the *sincere milk of Gods word*, as it was contained in the *holy Scriptures*, which were the onely constant fountain from whence the *Church of England* drew and derived both its *Doctrinals* and its *Devotionals*, its Ministry and Ministrations.

Mat. 3. 7.

2 Tim. 3. 2.

1 Pet. 2. 2.

Of which truth, having such a *cloud of witnesses*, so many pregnant and undeniable demonstrations before God and the world, before good Angels and Devils, before mens own consciences in this Church, and before all other *reformed Churches* round about: I suppose these are sufficient Testimonies in the judgement of *Tou* (*O my worthy Countrey-men*) and of all other sober Christians, to vindicate the *Church of England*, that it never deserved, either of *Princes*, *Parlaments*, or *People*, so great exhaustings and abasings, as some men have sought to inflict upon Her.

Over which no *tongue* is so eloquent, no *pen* so pathetick, as to be able sufficiently to expresse, *eye* no so melting, as to weep enough, no *heart* so soft and diffusive of its sorrows, as worthily to lament, when they consider that wantonness of wickedness, that petulant importunity, that superfluity of malice, that unsatisfied cruelty of some men, who have endeavoured to cast *whole cart-loads* of unjust reproches, vulgar injuries, and shameful indignities upon the whole *Church of England*, seeking to bury with the *burial of an Asse*, either in the *dunghill* of *Papall pride and tyranny*, or *popular contempt and Anarchy*, all its former renown and glory, its very name and being, together with the office, order, authority, distinction and succession of its *Antient*;

2 Cor. 2. 15.

cient, Apostolick, and Evangelical ministry, which hath been the favour of life unto life, the mighty power of God to the conversion and salvation of many thousand souls in the Church of England.

Whose sore Calamities and just Complaints having thus far presented to *Your* consideration and compassion; it is now time for me to enquire after the *causes* and *occasions* of its troubles, miseries, confusions, and feared vastations; in order to find out the best methods and medicines for *Her* timely cure and happy recovery, if God and man have yet any favour or compassion for *Her*.

The end of the first Book.





BOOK II.

SEARCHING THE CAUSES AND OCCASIONS OF THE Church of *England's* decayes.

CHAP. I.



Unt it is now time (most honoured and worthy Countrey-men) after so large and just, so sore and true a complaint in behalf of the *Church of England* and the *Reformed Religion*, (heretofore wisely established & unanimously professed in this Nation) to look after the *rise* and *originall*, the *Causes* and *Occasions* of our Decayes and Distempers, of our Maladies and Miseries, which by way of prevention or negation I have (in the former Book) demonstrated to be no way imputable to the former frame, state or constitution of the *Church of England*; but they must receive their source from some other fountain. The search and discovery of which is necessary, in order to a serious cure: for rash and conjecturall applications to sick patients are prone (as learned Physitians observe) to commute their maladies, or to run them out of one disease into another, but not to cure any; turning Dropsies into Jaundise, and Feavers into Consumptions. The greatest commendation of Physitians (next their skill to discerne) is, to use such freedom in their discoveries, and such fidelity in their applyings, as may leaſt flatter or conceal the disease.

In this disquisition or inquiry after the *Causes* and *Occasions* of our *Ecclesiastick* distempers, I will not by an unwelcome scrutiny, or uncharitable curiosity, search into those more secret springs and hidden impulsives, which proceed (as our Blessed Saviour tells us) *out of mens hearts, into their lives and actions*; such as are wrathfull revenges, *unchristian envies*, *sacrilegious covetings*, *impotent ambitions*, *hypocriti-*

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call

ὅκ ἐστὶ νόσος·
ἵαε διαγνώ-
σκειν, ἀλλὰ νό-
σος μετὰ
βάλλειν. Hip.
Non sanari, sed
mutari morbus.
Fernel.

Mat. 15. 19.

2 Tim 4.3.
1 Tim. 6.4.5.

call policies, censorious vanities, pragmatick impatiencies, an itch after novelties; mens over-valuing of themselves, and undervaluing of others; a secret delight in mean and vulgar spirits, to see their betters levelled, exauctorated, impoverished, abased, contemned; a general want of wisdom, meekness, humility and charity; a plebeian petulancy and wanton satiety (even as to holy things) arising from peace, plenty, and constancy of enjoying them.

Ephes. 6.12.

Revel. 2.24.

These spiritual wickednesses, which are usually predominant in the high places of mens souls, being (*Arcana Diaboli*, the *padm & stratagemata Satane*) the secret engines, depths and stratagems used by the Devil, to undermine the hearts of Christians, to loosen the foundations of Churches, and to overthrow the best settled Religion; being least visible and discoverable, for they are commonly covered, as mines, with the smooth surfaces and turfs of zeal, sanctity, reformation, scrupulosity, conscience, &c. these I must leave to that great day, which will try mens works and hearts too, when men shall be approved and rewarded, not according to their Pharisaick boastings, popular complyings, and specious pretensions, but according to their righteous actions and honest intentions.

Revel. 2.23.

Onely this I may without presumption or uncharitableness judge, as to the distempers of our times, and the ruinous state of the Church of England; that many men, who have been very busie in new brewing and embroyling all things of Religion, would never have so bestirred themselves to divide, dissipate and destroy the peace and polity of this Church, if they had not been formerly offended and exasperated, either by want of their desired preferment, which S. Austin observes of Arius, the great and onely stickler of old against Bishops, or by some Animadversion, which they called persecution; although it were no more than an exacting of legal conformity, and either sworn or promised subjection, as to Canonically obedience. Many men would have been quiet, if they had not hoped to gain by rising their Mother, and robbing their Fathers. Some at the first motions might (perhaps) have good meanings and desires, as Eve had to grow wiser; but they were soon corrupted by eating the forbidden fruit, by the unlawfulness of those means, and extravagancy of those methods they used to accomplish them. But God and mens own consciences will in due time judge between these men and the Church of England, whether they did either intend or act wisely or worthily, justly or charitably, gratefully or ingenuously. This I am sure if they have the comfort of sincerity, as to their intent, they have the honour of unsuccessfulness to humble them, as to the sad events which have followed preposterous piety.

Noluisse fertur
Arius, quod
quum esset
Presbyter, Episcopus
non potuit ordinari.
Aug. de Hæres.

C H A P. II.



He chiefeſt apparent cauſe, and moſt pregnant out-ward occaſion of our Eccleſiaſtick miſchiefs and miſeries (as I humbly conceive) ariſeth from that *inordinate liberty* and *immodeſt freedome*, which of later years, all ſorts of people have challenged to themſelves in *matters of Religion*, preſuming on ſuch a *Toleration* and *Indulgence*, as encourageth

Inordinate liberty in religious affairs the chief cauſe of miſeries in the Church of Engl.

them to chuſe and adhere to what doctrine, opinion, party, perſwaſion, fancy or faction they liſt, under the name of their *Religion*; their Church-fellowſhip and communion: nor are people to be *blancked* or ſcared from any thing which they liſt to call their *Religion*, unleſs it have upon it the mark of *Popery*, *Prelacy*, or *Blasphemy*; of which terrible names, I think, the *common people* are very incompetent judges, nor do they well know what is meant by them, as the onely forbidden fruit: every party in *England* being prone to charge each other with ſomething which they call *Blasphemy*, and to ſuſpect mutually either the affecting of *Prelacy*, or the inclining to *Popery*, in wayes that ſeem arrogant and imperious in themſelves, alſo inſolent and injurious to others, each aſpiring ſo to ſet up their particular way, as to give law to others, not onely propoſing, but preſcribing ſuch Doctrine, Diſcipline, Worſhip, Government and Miniſtry as they liſt to ſet up, according to what they gather or gueſs out of *Scripture*, whereof every private man, and woman too, as *S. Jerom* tells of the Luciferian hereticks, flatter themſelves, that they are meet and competent judges, ſince they find themſelves no way directed by any Catholick interpretation, nor limited and circumscribed by any joynt wiſdome and publick profeſſion of this Church and Nation; which heretofore was eſtabliſhed and ſet forth in ſuch a publick confeſſion of their faith, ſuch Articles and Canons, rules and boundaries of Religion, as ſerved for the orderly and unanimous carrying on and preſerving Chriſtian Doctrine, Diſcipline, Worſhip, Miniſtry, or Government.

This *wide doore* once opened, and ſtill kept open by the crowding and *impetuofity* of a people ſo full of fancy and fury, ſpirit and animofity, ſo wilfull and ſurly, as the *Engliſh* generally are; beſides that they are naturally lovers, and extremely fond, as children, of *new faſhions*, as in all things, ſo in Religion it ſelf; it is not (I ſay) imaginable (as at the pulling up of a great ſluce, or opening of a *flood-gate*) what (*vortices & voragines opinionum*) floods and torrents of opinions, what precipitant ruſhings and impetuous whirlings, both in mind and manners, have every where carried a heady and headſtrong people quite headlong in Religion: not onely to veniall novelties, ſofter whimsies and leſſer extravagances in Religion, which are very uncomely, though not very pernicious; but alſo to rank

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blasphemies;

blasphemies, to gross immoralities, to rude licentiousness, to insolent scandals, to endless janglings, to proud usurpations, to an utter irreligion, to a totall distracting, confounding and subverting of the Church of Engl. All this, under the notion of enjoying whatever liberty they list to take to themselves, under the name and colour of Religion: which anciently imported an holy Obligation of Christians to God, and to each other, carried on by a Catholick confession, an unanimous profession, an uniform tradition, an holy ordination and orderly subjection; but now, they say, it is to be learned and reformed, not by the old wayes of pious education, and Ecclesiastick instruction, not from the Bishops or Ministers of this or any nationall Church; but either by the new wayes of every private spirit's interpreting of Scriptures, or by those new lights of some speciall inspirations, which, they say, are daily held forth by themselves and others of their severall factions, or according to the various policies of Lay-men, and those pragmatick sanctions which serve the prevalent interests of parties.

This, this is the project, so cried up by some men, for propagating the Gospel, and advancing the Kingdome of Jesus Christ, so rare, so new, so untried, so unheard-of in any Christian Church, ancient or later, that it is no wonder, if neither the Church of England, nor its learned Clergy, nor its dutifull children, can either approve, admire, or follow such dubious and dangerous methods, or labyrinths rather of Religion, any more than they can canonize for Saints those vagrants and fanaticks of old, who were justly stigmatized for damnable hereticks, or desperate schismaticks, for their deserting that Catholick faith, tradition, order and communion of the Churches of Christ, which were clearly expressed in their Creeds and Canons, founded upon Scripture, and conform to Apostolick example.

The Gnosticks, Cerinthians, Valentinians, Carpocratians, Circumcellians, Montanists, Manichees, Novatians, Donatists, Arians, and others, were esteemed by the Primitive Churches as Foxes and Wolves, creatures of a wild and ferine nature, impatient of the kindest restraints, not induring to be kept in any folds, or bounds of Christs flock, which ever had an holy, authentick and authoritative succession of ordained Bishops and Presbyters, as its Pastors and Teachers; also it had its safe and known limits for Religion, in faith and manners, Doctrine and Discipline, for order and government, both in lesser Congregations and larger Combinations. The true Christian liberty anciently enjoyed by Primitive Christians and Churches, was fullest of verity, charity, unity, modesty, humility, sanctity, sobriety, harmonious subordination, and holy subjection, according to the stations in which God had placed every part or member in those bodies; they were the farthest that could be from Schism, Separation, mutiny, novelty, ambition, rebellion, while every one kept the true temper, order and decorum of a Christian.

Certainly, if either particular Congregations, or private Christians

ans liberty had consisted in being exposed or betrayed, as *Sheep without their Shepherds*, to all manner of extravagancies incident to vulgar petulancy and humane infirmity; those *Primitive Churches* and ancient *Fathers*, those godly *Bishops* and blessed *Martyrs*, those pious *Emperours* and Christian *Princes* of old, might have spared a great deal of care, cost, pains and time, which were spent in their severall *Councils* and *Synods*, *Parlaments*, *Diets* and *Conventions*; whose design was not to make new, but to renew those *Scripture-Canons* and *Apostolicall constitutions*, which were necessary to preserve the faith once delivered to the *Saints*, and to assert, not onely the common salvation, but also that *Catholick succession*, communion and order of Churches transmitted from the *Apostles*: in which endeavour the piety and wisdom, the care and charity of ancient *Councils*, expressed in their many *Canons* made for the keeping of the unity of the *Spirits truth* in the bond of peace among Christians, were so far (in my judgement) from being meer *heaps of hay, straw and stubble*, burying and over-laying the foundations of Christian soundnesse and simplicity (which seems to be the late censure of one, whom I am as sorry to see in a posture of difference from the *Church of England*, as any person of these times, because I esteem his learning and abilities above most that have appeared adversaries to, or dissenters from Her) that I rather judge with Mr. *Calvin* (a person far more learned, judicious and impartiall in this case) 'They were, for the most part, 'very sober, wise and suitable *superstructures*, little deviating from, ' & no way demolishing any of those grand foundations of Faith, Hope, 'linefs, or Charity, which were laid by *Christ* and his blessed *Apostles*, 'which ever continued the same, and were so owned by their pious 'successors, however they used that liberty and authority in lesser matters, which was given them by the *Scriptures*, and derived to them 'by their *Apostlick mission* or succession, for the prudent accommodation of such things as concerned the outward polity, uniformity, order and peace of the Church, or for those decent celebrations and solemnities of Religion, which were most agreeable to the severall genius'es, and civil rites of people, and the mutable temper of times; all which who so neglects to consider, will never rightly judge of the severall counsels, customes and constitutions of either ancient or later Churches.

The best of whose piety and prudence the Reformed Church of England chose to follow, as exactly as it could, first in Her decreeing, declaring, determining, translating and communicating to her children those *Canonicall Books of holy Scripture*; also in the owning, professing, and propounding to them those *Ancient, Catholick and received Creeds*, which are as the summaries and boundaries of Christian Faith, containing those articles which are necessary to be believed by all: after this it used those discreet limits and rules which it thought fittest to keep the visible profession of *Christian Religion* in due order and decency, according as occasion required, and the state of this particular Church would bear.

Not

Jude 2.

Tametsi illorum temporum Episcopi multos Canones ediderunt, quibus plus videntur exprimere quam sacris literis expressum sit; ea tamen cautione totam suam œconomiam composuerunt ad unicam illam verbi divini normam, ut facile videas nihil ferè habuisse hac in parte à verbo Dei alienum. Cal. Inst. l. 4. c. 4. sect. 1. j.

Nor was the *Church of England* in any of these things ever blamed or blamable, by any *well-reformed Church*; nor by any men that impartially professed Christianity: among whom I cannot reckon either the *politick Papist*, or the *peevish Separatist*; much lesse those later rude rabbles of *libertines* and *fanaticks*, who abhor all things in any Church or way of Religion, which they suspect to be contrary to their loose *principles*, and these must be conform to their several secular ends and interests; which truly in *England* are now neither small, nor poor, nor modest, but grand, high, and aspiring, extremely inconsistent with those publick principles and ends of good order, polity, peace and unity, which formerly were established and maintained in the *Church of England*, as they ought to be in all well-ordered Churches: whose work and design was, not loosely to tolerate different *publick professions* of Religion in the same nation or community, according as every man lists; but seriously and impartially to constitute and authorize some *one way*, grounded upon Gods Word, and guided by the best examples, as the *publick standard of Religion*, for Doctrine, Duties, Worship, Devotion, Discipline.

Which methods of Piety and Charity were ever highly commended, and cheerfully followed by the wisest and best *Christian Magistrates* in all ages; and possibly they had been ere this recovered and renewed here in *England*, if the *beast of the people*, getting the bridle of liberty between *its teeth*, had not so far run away with some *riders*, who had too much pampered it, that it is no easie matter (not to be done by sudden checks, or short turnes) to reduce that *heady and head-strong animal* to the right postures of *religious managing*: besides, that wise men are taught by experience, that nothing so soon tames the *madnesse* of people, as their own *fiercenesse* and extravagancy; which, at length, as *S. Cyprian* observes, *tires* them, by taking away their breath, and vainly exhausting their ferocious spirits. Time and patience oft facilitate those cures in Church and State, which violent and unseasonable applications would but more enflame and exasperate. I do not doubt but the greatest *patrons* for the *peoples liberty* in matters of Religion, will in time (if they do not already) see how great a charity it is to put *mercifull restraints* of religious order and government upon them, which are no lesse necessary than those sharper curbs and yokes of civil coercions. No wise States-man will think it fit, in honesty or safety, to permit common people to do whatever seems good in their own eyes, as if there were no *King* or *supreme Magistrate* in *Israel*: nor can any good Christian think it fit, that in Religion every man should be left to profess and patronize what he listeth, as if there were no *Christ*, as *King*, and chief *Bishop* of our souls, or as if he had not left us clear and settled foundations for faith; also evident principles, besides patterns of Christian prudence, and Church-polity, for order and office, discipline and duty, direction and correction, subordination and union. What these measures and proportions have been, both as to the judgement and practise of the *universall Church*, from the very Apostolicall

Schismaticos
semper inter in-
itia fervores in-
crementa vero
capere non pos-
se, nec augere
quod illicite co-
perint, sed sta-
tim cum prava
sua emulatione
deficere. Cypri.
ep. 52.

Judges 21.25.

Stolicall times, and their Primitive successors, till this last century, is so plain, both in Scripture and other Ecclesiastick records, that I wonder how men of any learning can be so ignorant, or men of any honesty can be so partiall, as by their doubting and disputing, to divide the minds of Christian people, and by rude innovations to raise so unhappy factions, as have at this day overspread this Church and Nation like a leprose, which is a foul disease, though it may seem white as snow, blanch'd over with the shews of liberty, but betraying men to the basest servitude of their own lusts, and other mens corruptions as well as errors.

CHAP. III.



Know and allow that just plea, which is made by learned and godly men, for Christians mutuall bearing with, and forbearing one another, in cases of private and modest differings, either in opinions or practises: yea, as S. Ambrose, S. Austin, S. Jerome, and others observe, there is a great latitude of liberty to be exercised among particular Churches, in their different methods, and outward forms of holy ministrations, according as their severall polities are locally distinguished by Cities, Countreys, or Nations. I willingly yield to all men, much more to all Christians, that liberty naturall, civil and religious, which may consist with Scripture-precept and right reason, with grounds of morality and society; which is as much as I desire to use or enjoy my self, in point of private opinion, or publick profession.

What Christian liberty is desirable and tolerable among people.

I have otherwhere observed out of Tertullian, that Religion is not to be forced, but perswaded. I admire the Princely and Christian temper of Constantine the Great, who professed he would not have men cudgelled, but convinced to be Christians; that Religion was a matter of choice, not of constraint; that no tyranny, no rape, no force is more detestable, than that which is committed upon mens consciences, when once they come to be masters of so much reason, as to chuse for themselves, and to hold forth those principles upon which they state their Religion. This indeed was the sense of that great and good Emperour: But then withall, he professed not to meddle, by any Imperatorian or Senatorian power, with matters of Religion, either to alter and innovate, or to dispute and decide them, but left them to the piety and prudence of those holy and famous Bishops, which were chief Pastors of the Church; whose unanimous doctrine and uniform practise had carried on Christian Religion amidst all persecutions with so great splendour, uniformity, authority and majesty, that few Christians were so impudent as to doubt, much

Euseb. in vita Const. M.

lesse

less contradict, and openly dissent from their religious harmony, publick order and profession, which was grounded on *Scripture-precepts*, and guided by *Apostolicall patterns*.

Rom. 14. 3.

2 Thef. 3. 15.

Yet amidst those primitive exactnesses, to preserve the publick peace and unity of Churches, nothing was more nourished and practised, than that *meeknesse of wisdom*, which every where sought to instruct men, not to destroy them for their private differences in Religion, when they were accompanied with humility, modesty and charity, not carried on with insolence and injury, to immorality and publick perturbation; in all which men shew malice and pride, mixed with, and sowing their opinions, which easily and insensibly carry mens hearts from dissentings to emulations, from emulations to anger, from anger to enmity, from enmity to despiciency, from despising to damning one another. Private perswasions, like sticks, when they come to vehement rubbings or agitations, conceive heat, and kindle to passionate flames; whereas in a calm and Christian temper, who so differs from me, is in charity to be interpreted, as desirous either to learn of me, or to instruct me better: and therefore such an one deserves to be treated, not as an *enemy*, but as a *brother*; not tetrically, morosely, injuriously, but candidly, charitably, christianly.

Acts 10. 30.

Yet because experience teacheth us, that the ignorance, infirmity and incapacity of most people is such, that they cannot easily find out of themselves the *Truths of God*, which are the grounds of true Religion; yea, some are so lazy and indifferent, as to neglect all means which might help them; yea, and many are either so peevish or proud, as they are impatient not to be *singular*, or not to lead *Disciples* after them in Religion (the highest ambition being that of *Hereticks*, which seeks to *domineere over mens souls and consciences*;) for these and other weighty reasons, both in civil and religious regards, *Christian Religion* ought not in any Christian Church-polity or Nation to be left so loose and dissolute, as to have no *hedge* or *wall* to the vineyard, no limits or restraints set to the petulancy of those, who under the name of *liberty*, study to be malicious, *licentious*, abhorring any thing solid, strict, or settled in Religion, either as to themselves or others; counting all those as enemies to their *factious designs* and interests, who enjoin them to live in any godly order. Hence these *Oecumenicall censors* and *universall criticks* as boldly and easily reproch, revile, contemn, injure as they please, all those Christians and Churches too, who humbly conform to that profession of Religion, though never so Christian and Reformed, which is once established in any Nation or Church, by publick consent and sanction, upon the most mature deliberation and impartiall advise, in order to Gods glory, and the common good of that society.

If these dissolute fancies of *Christian liberty* should be followed or indulged to people by such Magistrates and Ministers as own that Religion, certainly no society of men would be more unfociable, more sordid, more shamefull, or more miserable. Common people will

will be starved or poisoned, if they be left to feed themselves; they will be as so many ragged regiments; if they be left, as the Israelites, to pick up Religion; like straw, where they can find it.

Therefore all piety, policy and charity commands, that in every Nation professing the faith of *Jesus Christ* as the only true Religion, there should be, as there was in *Engl.* some such wise and grand establishment, as should be the publick measure or standard of Religion, both as to Doctrine, Worship & Government. This in all uprightness ought to be set before people: not onely propounded and commended to them, but so far commanded and enjoined by authority, as none should neglect it, or vary from it without giving account; much less should any man publickly scorn and contemn it, or the Ministers and dispensers of it, by writing, speech, or action, to the scandall of the whole Church and Nation, yea to the scandall of the very name of *Jesus Christ* and his holy Institution, which ought to be (as *Tertullian* rarely expresseth it) 'received with godly fear and reverence, entertained with solicitous diligence, maintained with honourable munificence, contained within the bounds of charitable union and humble subjection; such as no way permits any private fancy, upon any pretensions whatsoever, rudely and publickly to oppose or despise it.

But, because it is possible that some truths of Religion may be unseen, and so omitted by the most publick diligence; and some may afterward be discovered by private industry and devotion, which ought not to be prejudged, smothered or concealed, if they have the character of *Gods will* revealed in his written Word, whose true meaning is the fixed measure and unalterable rule of all true Religion: to prevent the suppressing or detaining of any Truth, which may be really offered to any Church or Christians, beyond what is publickly owned and established; also to avoyd the petulant and insolent obtruding whatever novelty any mans fancy listeth to set up upon his own private account, varying frō, or contrary to the publick establishment; nothing were more necessary and happy, than to have in every *Nationall Church* (which hath agreed with one heart, one mind, one spirit, and one mouth to serve the *Lord Jesus*) according to the pattern of primitive piety and wisdom, persons of eminent learning, piety, prudence and integrity, publickly chosen and appointed to be the constant *Conservators of Religion*; whose office it should be, to try and examine all new opinions publickly propounded: no man should print or preach any thing different from the publick standard and establishment of Religion, untill he had first humbly propounded to that venerable council in writing his opinion, together with his reasons, why he adds to, or differs from the publick profession.

If these grand *Conservators of Religion*, who ought to be the choicest persons in the Church and Nation, both for ability, gravity and honesty, do (at their solemn and set meetings once or twice every year) allow the propounders reasons and opinions, he may then publicate his judgement by preaching, disputing, writing or printing:

*tibi metus in
Dum, ibi gra-
vitas modesta,
& diligentia
attenta, & cu-
ra sollicita, &
adlectio ex-
plorata, & com-
municatio deli-
berata, & pro-
motio emerita,
& subiectio re-
ligiosa, & ap-
paritio devota,
& processio mo-
desta, & ec-
clesia unita, &
Dei omnia.
Tert. de pref.
c. 43.*

But if they do not, he shall then keep his opinion to himself, in the bounds of private conference onely, for his better satisfaction; but in no way publicate it, to the scandall or perturbation of what is settled in Religion. Here every man may enjoy his *ingenuous liberty*, as to private dissenting, without any blame or penalty, which he shall incurre and undergo, in case he do so broach any thing without leave, as a rude *Innovator* and proud disturber.

Private and modest dissentings among Christians safely may, and charitably ought to be born with all *Christian meeknesse* and *wisdom*: but certainly it would be the very pest and *gangrene* of all true Religion, also the moth and canker of all civil as well as *Ecclesiastick peace*, to tolerate every mans ignorance, rudeness and pragmaticalness, to innovate and act what they please in Religion. Though Christians may be otherwaies sound and hearty, yet they may have an *itch of novelty*, popularity, vain-glory. It would make mad work in Religion, if every man, under the notion of Christian liberty, should be permitted not onely to *scratch* himself as he listeth, but to *infect* others by every pestilent *contagion*, yea to make what *riotous havock* he pleaseth of the publick peace and order.

2 Tim. 3. 7.
Ephel. 4. 14.

It were a miserable childishnesse in any nation professing Christianity, to be ever learning, and never coming to the knowledge of saving and necessary truths; to be still tossed to and fro with winds of doctrine, and never cast anchor upon sure and safe grounds; which are easily found, if men aimed at piety as well as policy, and regarded Christs *interest* or his Churches, more than their own private and secular advantages: which was once happily done, by Gods blessing, in the Church of England, to so great an exactness and completeness of Religion, that nothing for necessity, decency, or majesty, was to be added or desired by sober Christians; nor could much be added for convenience.

When Religion is thus settled by publick counsel, *consent* and *sanction*, it ought in all reason and conscience to be preserved in wayes of honour, peace and safety, more-carefully than those banks are, which, by keeping out the seas *inundations*, preserve our pastures and cattel from drowning: else every Polity and Nation pretending to be Christian, proclaim to all the world, that they think Religion to be no better than matters of *Scepticall dispute*, and variable opinion, having nothing in it clear or certain, as to any divine truth, or *infallible Revelation*. Of which, since their ignorance and weakness, or passion and partiality (to which every private man is subject) makes them less capable either to search or judge, to dispute or determine; the wisdom of God hath alwayes either established, or exemplarily directed his Church to use and enjoy some such *constant Conservators* of Religion, besides the occasionall Reformers and restorers of it, which were of old the *Prophets* extraordinarily sent, besides those that were ordinarily brought up in the *school*es of the *Prophets*, which were the *nurseries* of those learned and wise men, who made up the *Sanhedrim* or grand Council among

mong the Jews, consisting of seventy men, who were for piety, parts and place, chief *Fathers*, *Doctors* and *Rabbies* in the Church of the Jews, and the great Conservators of their Law and Religion.

Answerably we read in the Primitive Churches and times, this care and power was by the wisdom of Christ fixed, and by all good Christians owned, in the *Apostles* and *Elders*; to whom, in case of *Acts 15.* any dispute or difference in Religion, address was made, not onely to hear their counsel and judgement, but to submit to their decisions and decrees; which bound every man to preach no other doctrine, different from, much less contrary to, what that *venerable consistory* both taught and summarily delivered to the Churches of Christ, *1 Tim. i. 3.* viz. *wholsome formes, and short summaries of sound doctrine*, as well as in their more *diffused writings*, occasionally sent to particular Churches, and divinely delivered to the use, care and custody of the Catholick Church. *2 Tim. i. 13.*

Agreeable to these holy precedents, every Christian Church in after-ages had (within their severall distributions, or dioceses, distinguished by their Cities or Provinces) their *Synods* or *Ecclesiastical Councils*, for all those emergencies or concernments of Religion which arose within their limits and combinations: proportionably they had more extensive Conventions and *generall Councils* in cases of grand concernment, for the comprising of all differences in Religion, and conservation of the Churches both purity and peace. These methods of prudent piety and pious prudence, as they were of *divine Institution*, so they ought to be perpetuall in the Church of Christ, as being the onely means left for the conservation and reformation of Religion.

'Tis true, in the dimness of after-ages, when the decay of Primitive zeal, love, sanctity and sincerity, had too much prevailed over these *Western Churches*, the *Bishops of Rome*, taking the advantage of the higher ground, whereon the fame of that City was raised, not onely for being the *Metropolis of the Roman Empire*, but for being a prime Church of *Apostolicall plantation*, and high renown for the Faith and martyrly constancy of its *first Bishops*; these, with no great difficulty, as with great art and policy, contrary to the judgement and practise of *Antiquity* for the first 600. years, sought to fix the *Standard of Religion* in the *Popes chair*, and to make his breast the great *Conservator of Religion*: certainly a very easie, compendious, and happy way to keep up the peace and honour of Christian Religion and Churches, if the *Bishop of Rome* could, in the *noon-day-light* of these times either convince the world of his speciall gift of *Infallibility*, or make good his claim of being *sole and supreme* Judge of all controversies in Religion, above any other Pastors and Bishops, yea and above a *generall Council*. *Rom. i. 8.*

This late prodigious pillar, or huge *Colosse* of the *Popes infallible, sole and supreme power*, hath, as of old, so of late years, not onely been much weakned by many Churches, Greek and Latine, dissen-

ting, but by some it hath been quite overthrown, demolished and broken in pieces, as an arrogant abuse and *intolerable tyranny*, contrary to all rules of Scripture and reason, never challenged by the first famous and holy *Bishops of that Church*, nor owned in after-ages (when Popes began to usurp upon other Bishops and Churches) by the most learned and godly men of those times.

This justice being done to the honour and liberty of the Churches of Christ, and their respective *Bishops* or *Pastors*, against the *Papall obtrusion* of his sole *judicature*: yet no Reformed Church, of any repute, hath been so transported by just indignation against the *Papall usurpations*, as to expose themselves and their Religion to the various breath and *giddy brains* of the vulgar; but every one hath both confined and settled their profession by some *publick profession*, as the *standard of Religion*; also they have some such *Conservators* of Religion, either ordinary or extraordinary, as do take care that the established Religion suffer no injury or detriment.

This authority or power seems now much wanting in *England*, though it be very necessary, in my judgement, which should preserve the publick stability of true Religion, as not to invade any good mans private liberty, which ought not to be too severely curbed; yet not so indulged, as to injure the common welfare, contrary to all rules of reason, justice and charity.

These *Conservators of Religion* should not exact of private Christians any explicate conformity or subscription, under penalty of any mulct or prison, much less with the terrour of fire and faggot, which was the zealotry of *Papal tyranny*: onely they should take care that people be duly taught that Religion which is settled; that none be a publick Preacher, that is a declared dissenter or opposer of it; that no man do broach any novelty without their approbation; that no man do petulantly blaspheme, oppose, scorn or perturb that constitution of Religion which is publickly settled, as supposed to be the best; that no man abuse the name of *Christian liberty* to the publick injury.

All sober and wise Christians do see and feel, by late sad experience, that *liberty*, in the vulgar sense and notion, is but a golden Calf, which *licentious* minds set up to themselves under that specious name; as the Israelites did their abominable Idoll, under the popular title and acclamation of *These are thy Gods, O Israel*.

If common people be indulged in what freedom they will challenge to themselves, wise men will soon find, that their Christian liberty is no better than an *Image* of jealousy, a *Teraphim*, a *Tamuz*, or *Adonis*, offensive to the God of reason, order, law and government; destructive to humane society; dishonourable to the name of Christ, and that holy profession which was so renowned of old, as Christian, that is, the most regular, meek, harmlesse, strict, peaceable and charitable Religion in the world: whose divided and deformed aspect, even now in *England*, if (as *Clem. Alex.* observes in his time) a prudent *Heathen*, or morall *Turk*, or sober *Jew*, or grave *Philosopher*, should

Exod. 31.4

Μὴ δὲ πῖ-
στεύειν διὰ τῆς
διαφωνίας
τῶν αἰρέσεων:
παρετείνει
γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια,
ἄλλων ἄλλα
δογματίζον-
των. Clem.
Alex. σρωμ.
7.

should behold, as to the effect of some mens principles and practises, who glory much in their Christian liberty, would they not conclude, that Christ their Master was the *Author*, and *Christian profession* the favourer of all manner of *Licentiousness*?

Which is not more a *dehonestation* of the Doctrine, Spirit, Disciples and Myserie of Christ Jesus, than an infinite damp and hindrance to the propagation and spreading of the Gospel in the world: yea, it is the high-way, through the justice of God upon the wanton wickedness and hypocritical profaneness of such Christians, utterly to extirpate the power, peace, comfort, yea and profession of *Christian Religion*. The Mahometan power and poyson had never spread so over those famous *Asian, African, and Eastern Churches*, if *Heretical and Schismatical* liberty had not first battered the strength, and corrupted the health of Christianity. Hence those inundations of barbarity, those incursions of forraign enemies, following those intestine wars and confusions, by which the wise and just God hath in all ages punished the folly and presumption of petulant and *licentious Christians*, who first dare to think, then to speak, at last to act, what they fancy and affect, instead of what God commands, and the Catholick Church hath observed in all ages. These popular provocations of God, which are full of *impudent impiety*, commonly are revenged by dreadfull and durable judgements, long and lasting miseries. For the *pertinacious mischiefs* of Heresie and Schisme once prevailing upon any Church & Nation, are, like *frenzy* or *madness*, rarely cured, without loss of much blood; besides the iron goads and sharp harrows of mutuall depredations and oppressions, which are used between parties and factions, once in religious respects engaged against each other. 'Tis not expectable that Christians thus tearing and maffacing each other, should recover their wits, till sharp and successive afflictions have shewed them how *unholy* and *unthankful* they are, without *naturall* and *spirituall* affections, who dare at once despise their *Fathers*, reproch their *Mother*, and devour their *Brethren*; who being baptized, instructed, communicated and converted (as they pretend) to the same Lord *Jesus Christ*, and to his holy profession, by the *Ministry* of such a *Church* as *England* was (so Christian, so Reformed) yet by a voluntary separation and desperate defection (as *αὐτοκατάκερτοι*) self-condemned) dare to execute such bold and rash censures of *excommunication*, both upon themselves and others, as a sober Christian should greatly tremble to undergo, if the sacred authority of such a *Church*, by its Bishops, Ministers, and other Members, should joyntly pass such a censure upon them, as their own pride, passion, superstition, and licentious humours daily dare to do. May they not justly fear, lest God should satisfy them with their own *delusions*, and ratifie that judgement which they have uncharitably chosen, of being ever *separated* from his Church, and from himself? might not God justly *despise* and *reject* them, who have despised and *rejected* such means, such Ministers, such Ministrations, as some have done, and still do, in the *Church of England*? If the

Tit. 3. 11.

Luke 10. 16.

dust

Mat. 10. 14.

dust of his Ministers feet will rise up in judgement against ingrateful refusers; how much sorer punishment may they expect, who are the insolent abusers of such messengers of peace, and cruell vastators of such a Church as England was, before it felt the sad effects of this Christian liberty, which common people are prone not more to magnifie, than to mistake and misuse?

CHAP. IV.

Of Plebeian rudeness and licentiousness in Religion, if left to themselves.



Non rationibus
convincuntur,
quia non intel-
ligunt; nec au-
toritatibus corri-
piuntur, quia
non recipiunt;
nec flectuntur
suasionibus, quia
subversi sunt.
Bern. in Can.
f. 66.

Imperiti, ani-
mosi, & propter
inopiā consilii
iracundi. Fer-
mil. ap. Cyp.

Ho doubts, but if the *plebs* or *populacy*, in any Nation or Church, be left to themselves, to cut out *Religion & Liberty* into what thongs they list, they will soon be not only unshod, ungirt & unblest, but so quite naked and unclothed, as to any Christian grace or vertue, gravity or decency, truth or sanctity, that their shame and nakedness will soon appear in all manner of fedity, deformity, error and ignorance, insolence and confusion? They have little studied the *vulgar genius*, who do not find by all reading and experience, that the common temper of people is rude and perverse, light and licentious, petulant and insolent, as *S. Bernard* well expresseth it. 'They are not convincible with reason, because incapable; they despise good examples, because they love not to imitate them; they are too proud and peevish to be sweetly won and perswaded to goodness; they are mad and impatient to be curbed. Yea, they are undone, and perish eternally, if they be *betrayed* to themselves; if God and good men be not better to them than they deserve, desire, or design for themselves, either in things civil or sacred; if there be not, by just and honest policies, such holy restraints and *wholsome severities* put upon them, as are not their *chains*, but their *girdles*; not their *bannacles*, but their *bridles*. Alas, what wise Magistrate or Minister is there, who doth not find by daily experience, that if you will but save *peoples purses*, they are not very solicitous how to save *their souls*? most of them think *Taxes* and *Tithes* farre greater burthens, than all their sins and *trespasses*; not much valuing their sanctification or salvation, so as they enjoy that rustick, thrifty and unmannerly *liberty*, which they naturally affect, against their teachers and betters. What immense summes of money have of late years been spent upon military and *secular accounts*? If the hundredth part had been desired of them, in order to have procured a *competent maintenance* for an able Preacher in every parish (without which there is little hope ever to enjoy *competent Ministers*) O what an out-cry would have been made? what an oppression would it have seemed to the common people, beyond ship-money, yea, beyond the *bricks* and *bondage of Egypt*, as if their very life-blood and the marrow of their bones had been taken from them? so much doth the *beast* and *naturall* man over-weigh the Christian, in the most of men and women.

The

The freest, easiest, and cheapest *Religion* is thought the best among them: what is most *grateful*, is most godly: then they fancy themselves most happy, when least obliged to be holy; and then most zealously religious, when they may be most securely licentious. The more factious and *pragmatick spirits* among them do think that all *Polity* and *Religion*, things *civil* and *sacred*, must needs be shipwreckt and utterly miscarry, unless they have an oar in the boat, unless they put their hand to the helm of all *government*. It doth not suffice their busie heads and hands to *trimme* the *sailes*, as common *Mariners*, when commanded, but they must be at the *steerage*; not considering what *ballast* of judgement, what anchor of constancy, what compass of sound knowledge, both divine and humane, is necessary for those who undertake to be *Pilots* and guides of *States* and *Churches*.

*Nisi quod ipsi
faciunt, nihil
rectum existi-
mant. Aug. ep.
ad Janua.*

The rude plebs, like *mutinous mariners*, are prone so to affect *liberty*, as to endanger their own and other mens safety: they are like *Porpuices*, pleased with storms, especially of their own raising: they joy in the *tossings* of *Religion*, and hope for a prey by the wrecks both of well-built Churches and well-setled States: they fancy it a *precious liberty* to swim in a *wide sea*, though they be drowned at last, or swallowed up by *sharks*: they triumph to see other poor souls dancing upon the waves of the dead sea, to be overwhelmed with ignorance, idleness, Atheism, profaneness, perdition; which is the usual, and almost unavoidable, fate of those giddy-headed, & *mad-brain'd* people, who being happily *embarked*, and orderly guided in any well-setled Church, do either put their *ablest Pilots* under *hatches*, or cast them over-board; which hath been of late years the *religious ambition* of many thousands, in order (forsooth) to recover and enjoy their *imaginary Christian liberties*, which soon make common people the sad objects of wise mens grief and pity, rather than of their joy or envy. For, like *wandering sheep*, they naturally affect an erroneous and dangerous *freedom* from their *shepherds* and their *folds*, that they may be free for *foxes*, *wolves* and *dogs*: yea, some of them, by a strange *metamorphosis*, that they may seem *Christs sheep*, turn *wolves*, seizing upon and destroying their own *shepherds*: which the true *flock of Christ* never did, either in the most persecuted, or the most peacefull times of the Church; but were ever subject, with all humility and charity, to those *godly Bishops* and *Presbyters*, which were by Apostolicall succession and Divine authority *over* them in the Lord; whom they were so far from stripping, robbing, or devouring, that both *Christian Princes* and *faithfull people* endowed them with most gratefull and munificent expressions of their loves and esteem, even in primitive and necessitous times, as a due and deserved honour to men of learning, piety and gravity, who watched over their souls, being both well enabled, and duly ordained to be their rulers and guides to heaven.

Heb. 13. 17.

But now, who sees not by the sad experience of the *Church of England*, how the *plebs* or common people, yea all persons of *plebeian spirits*,

cry out, Depart from us, we will none of your wayes, neither Discipline nor Doctrine, neither your Ministrations nor Ministry, neither Bishops nor Presbyters; let us break these Priestly bonds in sunder, and cast these Christian cords from us: our *liberty* is, to lead our tame *teachers* by their noses, to pull our asinine Preachers by their *luculent ears*, to rule our precarious *Rulers*: if they pretend to have or use any Ecclesiasticall authority, so as to crosse our liberties, to curb our consciences, or to bridle our extravagancies; we look upon them as men come to *torment us before our time*, who seek to lead us away captive, to deprive us of our dear God *Mammon*, (as *Micah* cried out after the Danites) or of our great Goddess *Liberty*, according to the jealousy which *Demetrius* and the Ephesine rabble had for their *Diana*, against the Apostles. This is the *Idea* of that petulant, profane and *fanatick liberty*, which vulgar people most fancy and affect; for the enjoying of which, they have made so many horrid clamours, and ventured upon so many dangerous confusions, both to their own and other mens souls, in matter of Religion.

Job 22.13.

Psal. 1.3.

Mat. 8.29.

Acts 19.28.

CHAP. V.



Shall not need by particular *instances* further to demonstrate to *You* (*my honoured Countrey-men*) what your own observation daily proclaims, namely, the strange pranks, *cabrioles*, or freaks, which the *vulgar wantonnesse* hath plaid of late years, under the colour and confidence of *liberty in Religion* (provided they profess no other *Popery* or

Instances of abused Liberty in the vulgar neglect of reading the Scriptures.

Prelacy than what is in their own ambitious hearts & insolent manners.) Nor is this petulancy onely exercised in the smaller circumstances, or disputable matters of *Religion*, but even in the very main *foundations*; such as have been established of old in all the generations and successions of the Churches of Christ, both as to good doctrine and orderly conversation.

First, if you consider the (*Magna Charta*) grand charter of your souls, the holy Scriptures. Those *lively oracles*, which were given by *inspiration* and *direction of Gods Spirit*, which beyond all books in the world have been most desperately persecuted, and most divinely preserved, having in them the clearest characters of *divine Truth*, love, mercy, wisdom, power, majesty and glory, the impressions and manifestations of greatest goodness, grace, both in morals & mysteries, in the prophecies and their accomplishment, in the admirable harmony of prescience & performance, of *Prophets & Apostles*, setting forth the blessed *Messias*, as the prefigured Sacrifice, the promised Saviour, the desire of the world; those *Books* which have been de-

Acts 7.38.
2 Tim. 3.16.

1 Tim. 2. 13.
Gal. 1. 8.

livered to us by the most credible testimony in the world, the uniform consent of the pillar and ground of Truth, the *Catholick Church of God*, which the Apostle *S. Paul* prefers before that of an Angel from Heaven; that divine *Record*, which hath been confirmed to us by so many *miracles*, sealed by the faith and confession, the repentance and conversion, the doctrine and example, the gracious lives and glorious deaths of so many holy *Confessors* and *Martyrs* in all ages, besides an innumerable company of other *humble professors*, who have been perfected, sanctified and saved by that word of life, dwelling richly in them in all wisdom.

Co. 3. 16.

2 Tim. 4. 3.

Nehem. 8. 3, 8.

Yet, even in this *grand concernment of Religion*, the holy Scriptures, (whose two *Testaments* are as the two *poles* on which all morality and Christianity turn, the two *hinges* on which all our piety and felicity depend) much negligence, indifferency and coldness, is of late used by many, not onely people, but their heaps of *Preachers*, under the notion and imagination of their *Christian liberty*; that is, seldome or never seriously to read, either privately or publickly, any part of the *holy Scripture*, unless it be a short Text or Theame, for fashion sake, which (like a broken morfell) they list to chew a while in their mouths: but the *solemn, attentive, grave, devout*, and *distinct* reading of *Psalms* or *Chapters*, or any other set portion of the *holy Scriptures*, old or new (to which *S. Chrysostome*, *S. Jerome*, *S. Austin*, and the other ancient Fathers, both Greek and Latin, so oft and so earnestly exhorted all Christians) this they esteem as a poor and puerile business, onely fit for children at school, not for Christians at Church; unless it be attended with some exposition or gloss upon it, though never so superficiall, simple and extemporary; which is like painting over well-polished marble; being more prone to wrest, darken and pervert, than rightly to explain, clear or interpret the Scriptures, which of themselves are in most places easie to be understood: obscure places are rather more perplexed than expounded, when they are undertaken by persons not very learned, or not well prepared for that work; which was the employment anciently (as *Justin Martyr* tells us) chiefly of the (*ἐπισκοπ.*) the Bishop or President then present, whose office was far above the (*ἀναγνώστ.*) or Readers, who having done his duty, the other, as Pastor of the flock, either opened or applied such parts of the Scripture as he thought best to insist upon.

Just. M. Apo. 2.

Yet there are (now) many such supercilious and nauseous Christians, who utterly despise the *bare reading* or reciting of the *Word of God* to the Congregation, as if no beauty were on it, no life or power in it, no good or vertue to be gotten by it, unlesse the *breath of a poore man* further inspire it, unlesse a poore worm, like a snail, slightly passing over it, set a slimy varnish upon it: as if the saving truth, and *self-shining* light of Gods Word, in the precepts, examples, promises, prophecies and histories, were not most cleare and easie of it self, as to all things necessary

sary to be believed, obeyed, or hoped; as if honest and pure-hearted Christians could not easily *perceive the mind of God* in the Scriptures, unlesse they used alwayes such *extemporary spectacles*, as some men glory to put upon their own or their auditors noses. Psal. 19. 7, 8.

Certainly such *new masters* in our *Israel* forget how much they *symbolize* with the Papists in this fancy, while denying or disdaining all *reading of Scriptures* in publick, unless some expound them, though never so forrily, slovenly and suddenly, they must by consequence highly discourage, yea, and utterly forbid common people the reading of any portion of them *privately* in their closets or families, where they can have no other expositors but themselves; and it may be are not themselves so confident, as to undertake the work of expounding the hard and obscurer places; as for other places which are more necessary and easie, sure they explain themselves sufficiently to every humble, diligent, and attentive reader or hearer: the blessed use and effects of which if these supercilious Rab-
bies had found in themselves, while the Word of God is publicly, distinctly and solemnly read in the Church to them, doubtlesly they would not have so much disused, despised and decried this godly custom in the *Church of England*, of *emphatick reading* the Word of God in the audience of Christian Congregations.

O rare and unheard-of Christian Liberty, which dares to cast so great a slighting and despiciency upon the publick reading of the Scriptures, which are the Churches *chiefest Jewel*, so esteemed and used by Jewes and Gentiles, full of its own sacred, innate and divine lustre; then indeed most spendid and illustrious, when handsomely set, that is, when the *Priests lips* preserve the *knowledge* of them, and duly impart them to *Christian people*, both by discreet reading and preaching, that is, explaining and applying them! Mal. 2. 7.

CHAP. VI.

Vulgar neglect and scorn of ancient formes of wholesome words, in the Decalogue, Creed, and Lords Prayer.
Rom 6. 17.
2 Tim. 1. 13.



Feet these vulgar slighatings and depreciatings, cast upon the publick reading of the *Word of God* by some novellers, I shall in vain set forth to you what is less strange (yet very strange and new in the Church of Christ) than is the *supercilious contempt* and total rejection of all those ancient venerable forms of sound words and wholesome doctrine, either literally contained and expressly commanded in the *Scripture*, such as are the *Ten Commandments* and *Lords Prayer*; or evidently grounded, and anciently deduced out of the *Scriptures*, such as are the *Apostles Creed*, with other ancient *Symbols* and *Doxologies*, which were bounds and marks of all *Christians unity* and soundness in the *faith*, generally used by all pristine and modern Churches of any renown, who mixed with their publick Services of God these great pillars and chief foundations of piety, these constant rules, standards and measures of Religion, by which they took the scantlings or proportions of all their duties and devotions, of their sins and repentance, of their faith and hope: hence the humble confession of their sins, the sincere agnition of their duties, the earnest deprecations of divine vengeance, the fervent supplications for mercy and pardon, the hearty invocations for grace, the solemn consecration of the sacramentall elements, the due celebration of holy mysteries, the high *Doxologies* or exaltations of the glorious Trinity, the joynt testifications of Christians mutuall charity, harmony and communion: All these (I say) were carried on and consummated in the Churches publick worship, which was excellently improved, heightened and adorned, by the use and recitation of those *Summaries of Religion* amidst the congregations of Christians, to which they assented with a loud and cheerfull *Amen*.

Yet, which of them is there (now) that is not openly, nor onely disused, but disdained, disgraced and disparaged by some men, as *nauseous crambe*, which their souls *abhor*: so far as they from reverent attending, or hearing, when any Minister reciteth them, that they scarce have any patience, or can keep within those looks and postures of civility which become them: yea, they endure not to have their children taught them, as the first rudiments of Religion, the seminaries of faith, and nurseries of devotion, which being rightly planted, and duly watered by catechising, may in time (by Gods blessing) bring forth the ripe fruits of wisdom and holiness, of faith and obedience, both to power and order, to an uniformity and constancy of Godliness.

The ancient Christian writers, as *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Rufinus*, *Ferome*, *Austin*, and others, sufficiently tell us, That these compendious forms of duty, faith and devotion, the *Decalogue*, *Creed*,

Totius Evangelii brevium.
non. Tert. de
Orat. Dom.

So Cypri. *Caelestis doctrinae compendium, fidelium harmonia, in toto orbe celebratum Amen.* And Ruffin. in Symb. Iren. l. 2. c. 9. l. 3. c. 3. It is called *Apostolorum traditio*, *ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις τῆς πίστεως*, Amphiloch. Hieron. ep. 16. Chrys. in Symb.

Lords

Lords Prayer and *Doxologies*, were highly valued, and solemnly used in Christian Conventions, as the gracious *condescendings* of our God, and Saviour, to the weakest memories and meanest capacities: some of them being of their express and immediate dictating: according to which pattern, the *blessed Apostles*, and the Churches of Christ after them, took care that both those, and other forms like to them, should be used among Christians; that so by frequent repeating, and inculcating those excellent summaries of Faith and *Catholick principles of Religion*, all sorts of Christian people, young and old, learned and ideots, might be either *catechised* or confirmed in the very same things, to be believed, prayed for, and practised, in order to their own and others salvation. Which *great work* can never be safely built upon *Seraphick sublimities* and Scholastick subtilties; much less upon imaginary raptures, childish novelties, idle dreams, and futile whimsies, which of late do seek (very impiously) to juggle out of all Churches use, and out of all Christians memories, those wholsome *solidities*, and holy *summaries*, which have in them both the warmth of Christian love, and the light of Divine truth; in comparison of which, all novel affectations are dark and cold, dull and confused, silly and insipid.

Heb. 6. 1.

Yet what sober Christian doth not see, that of late years this *popular liberty* in *England* is risen to such a *nauseating*, niceness and *curiosity of Religion*, as hath not onely infected the simpler sort of common people with an abhorrence of all those usefull and *venerable forms*, which the prudence & piety of this or any Church commended to them in their publick celebrations; but (to the great encouragement and advance of ignorance, Atheism and profaneness, uncharitableness and insolence among the vulgar) many persons of very considerable parts and good quality, are shrewdly leavened with these *Novellismes* and *Libertinismes*: Yea (which is worst of all) many *Ministers*, especially of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* parties, yea and some of the ancient order and *Catholick* conformity of the *Church of England*, even these (as *S. Peter* was over-awed to a *disimulation*, misbecoming the freedom and dignity of so great an *Apostle*, by too great fears, and compliances with the *circumcised Jews*) have been so carried down this stream of plebeian prejudice, and popular indifferency, more than liberty, to say or silence, to do or omit what they list, that they have not onely much neglected all the devotionall set forms of this *Churches* prescription (which, in my judgement, merited a far better fate and handsomer dismissal, than they found from many mens hands) but some have wilfully disused, and so discountenanced, even all those *sacred formes* which have either *Divine*, or *Apostolick*, or *Catholick* characters of honour, antiquity and Religion upon them.

Gal. 2. 14.

How miserably are many publick Preachers either *afraid* or *ashamed*, solemnly to recite so much as once every *Lords day* the *ten Commandements*, or the *Apostles Creed*, or any other of those *ancient Symbols*: yea, when is it, that some Ministers dare use either so much

Matth. 6. 9.
Luke 11. 3.

much courage or conscience, as to use the *Lords Prayer*, either by it self, or in the conclusion of their own *voluminous supplications* before or after their Sermons? in which neither much regard is had to the *method*, nor the matter of the *Lords Prayer*, which they pretend is the use of it; but it is made to stand, like a *meer cypher*, silent and insignificant, while men love to multiply the *innumerable Logarithmes* of their own crude *inventions* and incomposed *devotions*: when as that *Prayer* which the wisdom of our Lord Jesus twice taught his *Disciples* upon severall occasions, and in them all his Church, both in a doctrinall and devotionall way, as a method, matter and form of Prayer, is in it self, and ever was so *esteemed* and *used* by all good Christians, not onely as the foundation, measure and proportion, but also as the *confirmation, completion, crown* and *consummation* of all our *prayers* and praises to God.

Instead of which, and wholly *exclusive* of it, how many *poor-spirited Preachers*, of late, more to gratifie and humour some silly and self-will'd people, than to satisfie their own consciences, yea, highly to the scandall of many worthy Christians, and the dishonour of the Reformed profession, are become not onely *strangers*, but almost enemies to that, and all other *holy forms of Religion*, contenting themselves with their own private *composures*, or their more sudden conceptions, in all publick *celebrations* and solemn *worship*; not having so much modesty and humility, as to consider, what is most evident to wise men, that no *private mans sufficiencies* in point of publick prayer and celebrious duties can be such, for method, comprehensiveness, clearness, weight, solidity, sanctity and majesty, as may compare, much less dispense with, and neglect, yea utterly reject, those sacred summaries and *solemn formes*, which have been divinely instituted: whose *foolishnesse is wiser then the wisdom of men*, and whose shortness is beyond the amplest prolixity and largest spinings of *humane lungs and invention*; there being more *spirit* in one drop of Christs Prayer (as in *cordiall* and *hot waters*) than in whole seas of *vulgar effusions*; which, at best, having much in them very flashy, insipid and confused, had need to have, at last, the sacred *infusion* of Christs prayer added to them, to give them and us that sanctity, spirit, life, completeness, comfort, and fiduciary assurance of acceptance, which all good men desire in their service of God. Certainly they seem much to *overvalue* their own *prayers*, who wholly disuse or despise the *Lords*: nor do I see how a *Minister of Christ* can comfortably discharge his duty to the *flock of Christ*, if while he professeth to preach that Gospel which Christ hath taught, he industriously omits the *use of that prayer* which Christ hath not onely commended, but enjoined and commanded, as an *Evangelicall institution*. Which shamefull compliance of many *Ministers* with vulgar *levity* and *licentiousnesse*, seems to me so far from really advancing their own honour, or the true *interests of the Christian and Reformed Religion*, that (in earnest) they have by these and the like mean *desertings* of their own judgements & duties, very much exposed them-

Quanto facilius
audiamur, dum
prece quam fili-
us docuit apud
patrem loqui-
mur?

Quanto ef-
ficacius im-
petramus quod
petimus in
Christi nomine,
si petamus ipsi-
us oratione?
Cyp. de Orat.
Dom.

Quantum sub-
stringitur ver-
bis, tantum de-
funditur sensu-
bus. Tert. in
Orat. Dom.

themselves, and the *Reformed Christian Religion*, to the insolencies and contempts of the meanest *people*, which as easily crowd and prevail upon them, as waters do against crazy and yielding banks, when once they see *Ministers* so stoop and debase themselves to the *dictates* and *censures*, the fears and frowns, the fancies and humours of giddy and *inconstant people*, who naturally affect such *liberty* or looseness in Religion, as may have least shew of divine *Ligation* and Authority; but onely such, as being of mens own choice and *invention*, they may as easily reject, as others obtrude. The very Directory and its ordinances, which gave the *supersedeas* or *quietenest* to the *Liturgie* of the *Church of England*, doth not yet seem to intend any such severity, as wholly to silence, sequester & eject the *Lords Prayer*, *ten Commandements*, or the *Apostles Creed*, out of childrens *Catechisms*, Ministers mouths, or Christians publick profession and devotion; in which they seem to me to appear a rich and invaluable Jewels, giving the greatest lustre, price and honour to their religious Solemnities.

CHAP. VII.



Have already shewed you (O worthy Gentlemen) one great and evil instance of that *inordinate liberty*, which some people have challenged of late to themselves in *England*, to the great dishonour and detriment of the *Christian Reformed Religion*; besides the disgrace and indignity cast upon this sometime famous and flourishing Church, while they have endeavoured to abolish all those holy Summaries and wholesome Forms, which are the best and meetest preservers of true Faith, holy Obedience, and mutual Charity among the community of Christian people.

Nor are these the onely *extravagancies* of *vulgar licentiousnesse*, (whose inordinate and squalid torrent, like an inundation of waters, knows not how to set any bounds of modesty, reason, or conscience to it self;) but they have farther adventured, as a rare frolick of popular freedom, to invade and usurp upon, to confound and contemn, to divide and destroy the office, honour, authority, the succession and derivation, yea, the source and original of that sacred Priesthood, or Evangelical Ministry and mission, which was ever so highly esteemed, revered and maintained among all true Christians; as well knowing that Its rise and institution was *divine*, from our Lord *Jesus Christ*, as sent of God his Father, who alone had authority to give the *Word and Spirit*, the Mission and Commission, the Gifts and Powers that are properly ministeriall.

The innovations, usurpations and vastations made by some upon the order, office and authority of the Evangelicall Ministry.

Joh. 15. 27. 28.

Which

Which, as the blessed *Apostles* first received immediately from Christ, so they duly and carefully derived *them* to their *Successors*, after such a method and manner as the Primitive and Catholick Churches, in all places and ages, both perfectly knew, and (without question) exactly followed, in their consecrating of Bishops and ordaining of Presbyters, with Deacons, as the onely ordinary *Ministers* of Christs Church; whose *ministeriall authority* never was any way derived from, depending upon, or obnoxious to the humour, fancy, insolency, and licentiousness of the *common people*. To which miserable captivity and debasement, as the *Aaronicall* or *Levitical* Priesthood was no way subjected, so much less ought the *Melchisedekian*, Christian, and *Evangelicall* Priesthood, which is no less soveraign and sacred, nor less necessary and honourable in the Church of God. So that those *licentious intrusions*, which some people now affect in this point of the Ministry; cannot be less offensive to Gods Spirit, than they are directly contrary to those *holy rules of power and order* prescribed in the New Testament; which both the *Apostles* and their *successors*, both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, together with all faithfull people, precisely observed in all those grand *Combinations* and *Ecclesiasticall Communions*, whereto the Church of Christ was distributed in all nations: where, if sometime the peoples choice and suffrage were tolerable, as to the person whom they desired and nominated for their Bishop or Presbyter; yet it was never imaginable, that either Bishop or Presbyter was sufficiently consecrated and ordained, that is, invested with the power, office and authority ministeriall, meerly by this nomination and election of the people; which indulgence, in time, grew to such disorder, as was intolerable in the Church: much less was any esteemed a Minister of Christ onely because he obtruded himself upon that service.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

The late licentious variations, innovations, invasions, corruptions and interruptions, even in this *grand point of the Evangelicall office and Ministry in England*, have, partly by the common peoples arrogance, giddiness, madness and ingratitude, and not a little by some Preachers own levity, fondness, flattery and meanness of spirit, not onely much abated, and abased to a very *low ebbe*, that *double honour* which is due; but they have poured forth *deluges* of scorn, contempt, division, confusion, poverty, and almost *nullity*, not onely upon the persons of many worthy *Ministers*, but upon the very order and office, the function and profession; whose sacred power and authority, the pride, petulancy, envy, revenge, cruelty and covetousness of some people, have sought, not onely to arrogate and *usurp* as they list, but totally to innovate, enervate, and at last *extirpate*. For nothing *new* in this point can be true, nothing variable can be venerable: that onely being authentick, which is ancient and uniform; that onely *authoritative*, which is Primitive, Catholick and Apostolick, both in the copy and originall, in the first commission and the exemplification.

I confesse I formerly have been, and still am, infinitely grieved to hear,

hear, and ashamed to report what enormous *liberties* many men have of late years taken to themselves in this point of being *Ministers of the Gospel*; what *contradictions* of sinners, what cruell *mockings*, & *sawings asunder*, what buffetings, strippings, crucifyings, and killings *all the day long*, the Ancient and Catholick Ministry of this & all Churches hath lately endured in *England*, since the wicked wantonness of some men hath taken pleasure to be as *thorns in the eyes*, & *goads in the sides of the Ch. of England*, and Its *Ministers*, be they never so able, successful and deserving: whom to calumniate, contemn, impoverish and destroy in their persons, credits, estates, liberties, yea, and lives, hath seemed (like *Mordecai* to *Hamans* malice and wrath) so small a *sacrifice* to the fierceness and *indignation* of some men, that they have aimed at the utter extirpation of the Nation, the nullifying, cashiering and exaurating of their whole office and function; either owning no *Ministers* in any divine office, place and power, or obtruding such strange moulds and models of their own invention, as are not more novell and unwonted, than ridiculous and preposterous; like *Monsters*, having neither matter nor form proportionate to *Ministers*.

Against whose petulant and too prevalent *poysen*, I have formerly sought to apply some Antidote; not more smart and severe, than charitable and conscientious: aiming (as now I do) neither to flatter nor exasperate any; but in all Christian integrity and sincerity, to discharge my duty to God and my neighbour, to this Church and to my Countrey.

Nor was it indeed then, or is it now other than high time to answer that folly, to repell and obstruct (if possible) that *Epidemick mischief*, which (on this side) greatly threatens both Church & State, Faith and good manners, all things civil as well as sacred. What wise and honest-hearted Christian (that hath any care of posterity, or prospect for the future) doth not daily find as an *holy impatience*, so an infinite despondency rising in his soul, while he sees so many *weak shoulders*, such unwashen hands, such unprepared feet, such rash heads, and such divided hearts, not onely *disown*, cast off, contemn and abhor all *Ministry* and *Ministers* in the *Church of England*; but they are publicly intruding themselves upon all holy duties, all sacred Offices, all solemn Mysteries, all divine Ministrations, after what fashion they list, both in their admission and execution? In many places, either pittifull silly *wretches*, or more subtill and crafty fellows, have become the mighty *Rivals*, the supercilious *Censors*, yea, the open menacers & opposers, no less than secret underminers, of the most *learned* and *renowned*, the most *reverend*, *able* and *faithful*, both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, in *England*. All that ever these Worthies have done in former ages, or still do never so commendably in their religious services of God and this *Church*, is superciliously and scurrilously *cried down* by some men (under the presumption and protection of their ignorant and impudent *Liberties*) as no better than formall and superficiall, carnall and unspirituall, as unchristian, yea, *Antichristian*.

All their and our *catechisings*, preachings, prayings, baptisings, consecrations; their instructing of babes, their confirming of the weak, their resolvings of the dubious, their terrifying and binding over to judgement unbelieving and impenitent sinners, their censuring and admonishing of the scandalous, their excommunicating the contumacious, their loosing the penitent, their comforting the afflicted, their binding up the broken-hearted; all the exercise and operations of their *spirituall power*, yea, their very *ordination* and *holy orders*, their gifts and graces, their abilities and authority, either from God or this Church; all these are either baffled and *disparaged*, or invaded, usurped by some *rude Novellers*, with equall insolency and insufficiency, being for the most part by so much the more impudent, by how much they are grossly ignorant.

Yea, some of them, the better to colour over their lazy and illiterate licentiousness (to which they are now degenerated) have such audacious brows, and *fear'd consciences*, as after they have pretended to have tasted *how gracious the Lord was*, in the orderly and holy dispensations of *heavenly gifts* by the Ministry of the *Church of Engl.* yet they *now glory to cast off all her ministrations*, to separate from her communion, and all due *subjection* to any of her Ministers, vapouring much of their *own* and *other mens gifts*, of extraordinary *callings*, of *odde ravings and rantings*, of *new seekings and quakings*, of *rare dipping and dreamings*, of their *extemporary prophecyings*, and inspired (yet confuted) prayings, of extraordinary unctions and inward illuminations; the grounds and fruits of which strange pretensions I have been a long time diligently curious to observe in the speech, writings and actions of these pretenders. And I must profess, that either I am wholly a stranger to right reason as well as true Religion, to the Word and Spirit of God, principles and practises of all godly men and women in former ages; or I am utterly incapable to discern any of these, either rationally or religiously, orderly or honest expressions in any instances or degrees proportionable, or indeed comparable to (much less beyond) what was most clearly observable (as the Sun's light at noon-day) in the *Sermons, Prayers, Writings, Lives and Actions* of those *Ministers*, and other excellent Christians, who heretofore held, and still do, an holy communion with the *Clergie and Church of England*.

Beyond whose sober light and solid discoveries of *true Religion*, these new Masters (who will needs be Ministers) have yet offered to me no other but such *strange stuffe*, such rambling rhapsodies, such crude incoherences, such *chymicall chimaras*, such *Chaos-like confusions*, such Seraphick whimsies, such Socinian subtilties, such *Behmick* bumbast, such profound non-sense, such blasphemous raptures, big as *Behemoth*, and disdainfull as *Leviathan*, *proud swelling words of vanity*, as no sober Christian hath leisure to intend, or need to understand, if he had capacity; which he is not likely to have, since I am confident they pass their *authors own understanding*: not that there is anything in them that flows from the *higher springs* of grace,

1 Pet. 3. 3.
Heb. 6. 4, 5.

Joh 40. & 41.
2 Pet. 2. 18.

grace, or the profounder depths of divine mysteries; but they are Col. 2. 18.
meer puffings up of proud and fleshly minds, intruding themselves
into things they have not seen, who delight in this froth of idleness,
these *lyings* and vapourings of hypocrisie, which never did of old (in 1 Tim. 4. 2.
the *Gnosticks, Montanists, Manichees*, or others of the like bran with
these men) in the least degree advance the majesty or authority of
Christian Religion, or the credit and comfort of Christian Preachers
or Professors; however they served for a time the bellies and inter-
ests of such popular Parasites, more than Preachers of the Gospel,
or Ministers of Jesus Christ.

Pure Religion and undefiled before God and the Father was of old, still is, and ever will be in the minds and mouthes of true Ministers (when these Hucksters and Mountebanks, these deceitfull workers are buried in infamy and obscurity with those their rotten predecessors) a rich magazine of heavenly wisdom, a Treasury of sound knowledge, a store-house of pregnant and ponderous Truths, bringing men to a good understanding of God, themselves, and their neighbours, free from the rust and scurf of childish easiness and popular petulancy, planted by holy and humble industry, watered by prayers and patience, beautified with all manner of usefull vertues and moralities, dispensed to others with authority, industry and perspicuity, entertained in mens own hearts with honesty and charity; not studying to be admired of men, but approved of God; not affecting to stupifie auditors with strange difficulties and curiosities, but to edifie them with saving Truths, and sound Doctrine, in words easie to be understood; five of which S. Paul preferred before ten thousand in an unknown tongue, or unintelligible gibberish, so much affected by these new-minted Ministers.

That primitive, plain, and profitable way of *preaching, praying and writing*, was the commendable method of those excellent, ordained, and orderly *Ministers of the Church of England*, who were furnished both with *ability and authority* for so great and sacred a *work*, whose notions were more in the *fruitfull valleys of practicall piety*, than in the *barren heights of uselesse sublimities*. Then was it that the sweet and fruitfull *dews of heaven* crowned those true Ministers labours with all spiritual *proficiencies* and heavenly blessings: then was the *Church of England*, and thousands of pious souls in it, like *Gideons fleece*, full of holy distillations, or like the garden of *Eden*, liberally watered with the *rivers of God*; I mean the faithful endeavours of able, honest, and Orthodox Ministers, both *Bishops and Presbyters*, duly ordained and divinely authorized for that service: then was the time common people had less of curiosity and liberty, but more of piety and charity; they were more kept to their bounds and *inclosures*, but enjoyed far better pastures than they now find in the ramblings and extravagances of those commons, where they have chosen to enjoy their Pastors and Preachers after their own heart.

Nor is this infolency of people any wonder (though it be a great
Y 2 griet)

De pref. ad
Har.

grief) to sober Christians, when they consider how far this *gangrene* of *abused liberty* hath spread among men and women too: the meanest and most mechanick *He* or *She* (as *Tertullian* observes of some bolder *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* in his dayes) dare, contrary to all Primitive pattern, and Scriptural precept, to preach, to baptize, to consecrate, to censure, to excommunicate; scorning and opposing all things that are not branded with their *schismaticall marks*, their novell badges, and factious discriminations.

Wherewith so soon as any silly men or women come once to be dubbed and signalized, their first vow and adventure is against the whole frame and constitution of the *Church of England*, but specially against the orderly, ancient, and Catholick Ministry of it; which is the rind or bark of Religion, by which the sap, life, and nourishment of it is preserved and conveyed from the root *Christ Jesus*, to the severall branches of his Church in every place. This, this must by all means be peeled round, stripped off, and cast away, under pretence of *Christian liberty*; and a better, because freer, course of deriving Christian Religion to peoples eares and hearts, by another Ministry than that Ancient, Apostolick, Catholick and Primitive way of an orderly ordained Ministry, which consisted of *Bishops, Presbyters & Deacons*, be brought in. Against the constitution & succession of all these, as corrupt, adulterous, *Papish, Babylonish, spurious* and *superstitious*, in *England*, whole troops of plebeian spirits have been, and still are, engaged, whose fierce onsets and encounters were at first begun, and are still carried on with as great resolution and error, as his that assaulted a Windmill instead of a Giant.

The great alarm given by their chief leaders, is, First, to rail bitterly against the whole Clergie, and all sacred orders used in the *Church of England*: thence they proceed to wipe off their Baptisme, as vain and invalid; to vomit up their *Lords Supper*, as nauseous and superstitious; to read their *Creeds* backward, to an unbelief of all things have been preached: next, they cancell the *Decalogue*, as a Judaick phylactery, a legall prescription: lastly, they learn to account and call the *Lords Prayer* a kind of spell and conjuration, being perfect enemies to any thing that looks like a *Liturgy*, or set form of prayer and devotion. After this, with stiff necks and haughty looks, they scornfully defie all ancient ordination, all Catholick succession, all Apostolick commission derived to any Bishops and Presbyters, as Ministers of Christ, altering and annulling, as much as in them lies, all the order, descent and power of the Evangelicall Ministry, both in this and all other Christian Churches since the Apostles dayes; the right of redemption of which they challenge to themselves, according as their severall fancies list to make themselves or others Ministers, or to have none at all, which is the highest pitch of their Christian liberty, counting all Ministers to be but their curbs and manacles.

Having thus commenced Masters of mis-rule, their next work is to turn the garden of God, any settled Church, as this of *Engl.* was, into ruinous

nous heaps, or a very dunghil, to expel the *Priests of the Lord out of his Temple*, to make *Churches of Stables, and Stables of Churches*; to bring in the lips of *bleating calves there, where the calves of learned, devout, and eloquent lips were wont to be offered*. It is not liberty enough for them to separate from the *Church of England*, and *apostatize* from those Ministers that baptized them, unless they utterly destroy them both; setting up instead of one *National* and renowned, one uniform and flourishing *Church*, in which were truth and order, unity and beauty, strength and safety, all Christian gifts and graces, every good word and work to admiration, innumerable little swarms in severall *Conventicles*, with Ministers strangely multiform, mutable and mis-shapen: in which novell confederacies, both Preachers and people rather catch and hang together by chance, like *burres*, in confused knots, than grow like *Olive-branches*, or the *kerneis of Pomgranates*, with order and comeliness, from the same *root Christ Jesus*, after the methods of those *ancient Churches*, which were the prime and exemplary branches whereto after-successions should conform themselves.

As these *factions* people are, so must their new *Priests and Ministers* be. Grave and godly *Bishops*, with their *learned Presbyters*, must be set aside, as *broken vessels*, that they may set up, by *popular and plebeian suffrages*, some miserable *mechanicks*, some *antick engines*, some pittifull praters and *parasites* of the *vulgar*, who have had no higher breeding or degree in Church or State, than that of *poore tradesmen*, (for the better bred and more ingenuous sort of men abhor such impudence and usurpation:) their shop hath been their school, their hammers, or shuttles, or needles have been their books. At last, coachmen, footmen, ostlers and grooms despair not to become *Preachers*, by a rare and sudden *metamorphosis*, coming from the office of rubbing *horses heeles*, to take care of *mens souls*, as some *Farriers* in time turn *Physicians*. It matters not how sordid, how silly, how slovenly, how mercenary, how illiterate they are, provided they have *cunning* enough to pretend a call, *impudence* enough to display their *ignorance*, and *hypocrisie* enough, by much talk of Gods grace in them, to supply the reall wants of all competent ability, as well as authority, to be *Ministers of the Gospel*.

Yet these, these (O my noble Countrey-men) are in many places rude *intruders*, insolent *usurpers*, doughty *undertakers*, to discharge the duty of *Evangelicall Ministers*: in any one of these you must seek, and may find, as they pretend, a *Bishop*, a *Presbyter*, and a *Deacon*; all *Evangelicall power*, *Ecclesiasticall offices*, and *Ministeriall authority*: these are the new-invented *Machines* or *Engines* (which the *Church of England*, and all others, since the *Apostles* times, were not so happy as to know or use) which must set up the decayed *Kingdome of Jesus Christ*: these must propagate the glorious *Gospel*; these must exalt *Christ crucified*; these must consecrate for you holy *Elements*; these must administer to you the blessed

a Dindi baptis-
mi jus habet
summus sacer-
dos qui est E-
piscopus; de hinc
Presbyteri &
Diaconi. Tert.
de bap. c. 17.
Tert. exh.
ad Cast. c. 7.
Differentiam
inter ordinem
& plebem con-
stituit ecclesie
autoritas &
honor per ordi-
nis confessionem
sanctificatus à
Deo, ubi eccle-
siasti ci ordinis
est confessus &
offert & tinguit
sacerdos qui est
ibi solus.
Eucharistie
Sacramentum
non de aliorum
manu quam
presidentium
sumimus. Tert.
coro. mil. c. 3.
Cyp. ep. 35. in illa verba, Quomodo misit me pater, &c. John 20. 21. unde intelligimus, non nisi in eccle-
sia prepositis, ac in Evangelica lege & Dominica ordinatione fundatis, licere baptizare, aut remissionem peccatorum de-
re. b Tertul. de præf. ad Hæc. cap. 41. c Epiphani. Hæres. 89. Aug. de Hæc. c. 27.

Facinus mul-
tis mortu gene-
ribus multan-
dū Socr. hist.
l. 1. c. 20.
Niceph. l. 8.
c. 49.

Athanasius
Ischyram vel
Ischyriorem
sacris mysticis
operantem, fa-
cto flagitante
deprehendens,
mensam sacram
evertit, calicem
confregit, im-
piam temerarii
hominis audaci-
am inhibuit.
Actus nostra
multos vidit
Ischyram, A-
thanasium nul-
lum. Langius
in Niceph.
locum.

fed Sacraments; these must exercise all Church-power and Divine au-
thority over your consciences: whereas for my part I do not think that
the best of these new Masters and Ministers can have from their own
fancies or peoples forwardness so much authority (because they have
none, either from God, or the Church of Christ, or the laws of this
Land) as would make them petty Constables or Born-baylies, a Lay-el-
der or an Apparitor.

This I am sure, that in the purest and a primitive times, as *Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, S. Cyprian*, and others assure us, the holy
mysteries of Christian Religion, the power of the *Keyes*, the *sacrating* of
Sacraments, the *pastorall ruling and preaching*, as of office, duty and
necessity, to any part of Christs flock, was esteemed the peculiar and
proper work of *Bishops and Presbyters* in their order and degree, as
the true and onely Pastors and Teachers that succeeded the twelve
Apostles and the seventy Disciples in their ordinary Ministry; nor
were men branded for other (how able soever) than insolent and
execrable usurpers, who did adventure to officiate unordained, that is,
not duly authorised as Ministers. Such intruders b *Tertullian* notes
both some men and women to have been in his time, who were
leavened with *Schisme* and *Herese*: so c *Epiphanius* and *S. Austin*
tell us of the *Quintilliani, Pepuziani, and Colliridiani*, who were con-
founders of the Ministeriall order.

Sozomen, Socrates, Nicephorus, and other Church-historians sharp-
ly censure one *Ischyras*, or *Ischyrius*, who unordained pretended to
be a Presbyter, and so to officiate; calling him a detestable person, and
worthy of more than one death: whom *Athanasius* finding about to
consecrate (or rather defecate) the *Eucharist*, he in an holy and heroick
zeal, as Christ in the Temple, brake the Communion Cup, overthrew
the Table, and repressed his insolent impiety, counting him as ano-
ther *Judas Iscariot*, a traitor to Christ and the Church.

Yet in the place of the Ministers of the Church of England, I be-
seech you how few *Athanasiuses*, how many *Ischyraesses* may you now
see, challenging to themselves the care of mens souls, as Ministers
of Christ, undertaking the *managerie* of mens eternall interests, con-
fident to interpret Scriptures, to resolve doubts, to decide contro-
versies, to satisfie mens consciences, to keep up the truth, power and
majesty of Christian Religion, by new, undue, and *exotick wayes*, a-
gainst the torrent and impetuous force of *ignorance, Atheism, pro-
faneness, error, malice and madness* of men and Devils?

For all which grand designs of Gods glory and the Churches good,
those men are as fit agitators as *Phaeton* was to drive *Phæbus* his
Chariot; and truly with like success they will do it: for instead of en-
lightening the world, these *Incendiaries* will set all on fire, as far as they
meet with any combustible matter: in which sad conflagrations be-
gun and blown up by them in this Church of England, some of them

are

are so vain as to glory, calling them the *spirituall day of judgement*, an *invincible doomesday*, a coming of Christ in the *spirit of burning and refining*, to purge his Church. For this purpose they say the *Sun* must be turned into *darknesse*, and the *Moon* into *blood*; government of Church and State must be subverted: nor do they (according to their severall fancies and interests) fail to presage and expect a *glorious Resurrection* to their parties, which they hope shall *reign with Christ*, if not a *thousand years*, yet as long as they can prevail, so as to get power, and preserve those liberties they have ravished to themselves.

CHAP. VIII.



Or are these novell undertakers ever more ridiculous, than when they *son pillows* under their own rustick arms and others elbows, excusing, yea abetting their illiterate rudeness, and *idiotick confidence*, with the primitive plainness and simplicity of the Apostles, when Christ first chose them, who were Fishermen, Tent-makers, or the like.

The pretensions of Intruders to excuse their wants. *Apostolos in perversum amulantur.* Tert. de præf. 1.30.

Which is truly, but very impertinently alledged, as any parallel case with these *impotent* and *pragmatick* intruders; unless they could manifest to the world (which they never yet did, nor ever will) such *miraculous endowments*, such *power and anointing* from above, as came upon the Apostles, which in one moment was able to furnish them with more *sufficiency* and *authority*, than all study and industry can ever do any of us; which are the now ordinary means appointed and blessed by God, succeeding in the place of *miraculous gifts*, where Churches are once fully planted, and Christianity settled. To all which the constant testimony of an *uninterrupted Ministry* and holy succession of ordained Bishops and Presbyters, from the very Apostles, as they from Christ, is a more *pregnant witnesse* and conviction, than any new miracles could be, much more than any such pitifull accounts can be, as these *wonders of ignorance* and *arrogancy* can give to the world, of any extraordinary matters they say or do, either as Ministers or Christians. The best of some of whose lives would *deform* (I fear) the *golden legend*, which seems to be writtten by a man of a *brazen forehead*, a *leadenn wit*, and an *iron heart*.

We (the *despised Clergie of England*) do profess to use, and pray God to bless our long preparative studies, meditations, writings, readings; also our immediate care & concomitant labours in this kind, habitually to fit us for that dreadfull work, and for every actuall discharge of it. We find these methods practised by the most famous lights of the Church, recommended by S. Paul to Timothy, though a person in some things *extraordinarily gifted*, that he should attend *diligently*

1 Tim. 4. 13,
14, 15, 16.

diligently to those exercises, that his *profiting might appear*. We do not now expect fire from heaven with *Elias*, to come down upon our *sacrifices*; but we are glad to take the ordinary *coals of Gods altar*, which may, by his Word and Spirit going along with our pains and prayers, both enlighten our minds and kindle our hearts, so as to make us *burning and shining lights* in Gods house, which is *his Church*.

Truly those proud and poor *wretches*, who know no coals, but those of their own *chimney-corners*, may possibly have a *few embers* on their hearths, or in their *portheards*; they may, like *dark lanthorns*, have a bit of a *farthing-candle* in them, that shines with a little dim and dubious light on one side onely; as in the smatterings of some plain *primer-knowledge*, which they have gathered either by superficial reading the *Scriptures*, or by hearing some Sermons heretofore from the able Ministers of *England*, or by *gleaning* a little out of the plainest of their writings: but 'tis most apparent, that on three sides of them, (that is, for Grammaticall skill, historicall knowledge, and polemicall learning) they are so horridly *black and dark*, that they seem fitter implements to bring in such ignorance, irreverence, Atheism, superstition and confusion, as shall quite put out the Christian and Reformed Religion in this nation, (reducing all to pristine darkness, deformity and barbarity) than probable ever to be either propagators, purgators, or *preservers* of it; which had long ago been over-run with the rank weeds of Idolatry, Heresie, Schism and Apostasie in all the world, if God had not in the place of primitive *miracles* supplied the *Church* with such Ministers, both Bishops and Presbyters, whose admirable learning, undaunted courage, indisputable authority, uniform order, and constant succession, was beyond any miracle; which did at once both wonderfully attest and mightily preserve the *sanctity, mystery* and *majesty* of Christian Religion, from the subtilty of *persecutors*, the sophistry of Philosophers, the contumacy of Schismatics, and contumelies of Hereticks; being too hard (by Gods assistance) for the malice of men, and the wiles of Satan.

All which are then (under severall new notions and disguises) probable to prevaile over this or any Christian Church, when such *liberty* shall be used by vulgar spirits and inordinate minds, as shall not onely diminish and abate, but quite in time destroy and vacate the *divine reverence* and *inviolable sanctity* of *religious mysteries* and *holy ministrations*; which will inevitably follow, where the Catholick order and divine authority of Ministers derived through all ages, is not onely questioned and disputed, but denied, despised, varied, prostituted, usurped, by whosoever list to make himself a Minister in any new way; which cannot be *true* if *new*, nor *authentick* if it be *exotick*, unwonted in the Church of Christ, either broken off, or different from that primitive commission and constant exemplification, or *Catholick succession*, which was owned and observed in Bishops and Presbyters throughout all the *Christian world*.

For my part, I abhor all *intrusion* and *obtrusion* of dangerous Novel-
ties,

Si constet id
verius quod
prius, id prius
quod & ab ini-
tuo, id ab initio
quod ab Apo-
stolis; pariter
utique constabit
id esse ab Apo-
stolis traditum
quod apud Ec-
clesias Aposto-
lorum fuerit
sacrosanctum.
Tertull. adv.
Marc. l. 4. c. 5.

ties, both from *Papists* and *Separatists*, either in Doctrine, Discipline, or Government of the Church: and those I account dangerous, yea *detestable Novelties*, which not upon any plea of *ignorance* or *necessity*, but meerly out of wantonness and wilfulness, seek to alter the sacred streams and currents of *Ecclesiasticall power, authority and order*, from those fountains where Christ first broached it, and those conduits by which the Apostles derived it; which unquestionably was by *Bishops* and *Presbyters*.

I know, that the sacred office and *Angelick function* of the *Evangelicall Ministry*, as it is from my *Lord Jesus Christ*, and is in his name and stead; so it ought to be managed, revered, esteemed, transmitted, and undertaken among all true Christians, as a *visible supply* of Christs absence in body; as an authoritative *embassie* or delegation from Him; as a sacred *dispensation* of that *Ministry* to his Church, by chosen and duly *ordained* men; setting forth his History, his Precepts, Promises, Sacraments, and other holy Institutions, together with the Ministrations and Gifts of his holy Spirit, by which he promised to his *Apostles*, *to be with them to the end of the world*, in that holy work wherein he employed them and their lawfull successors, to be his witnesses *among all nations* whither he should send them.

So that every *true Minister* (as with the ancients Mr. *Calvin* observes) in his proper place and order (as Bishop or Presbyter) is first a *Prophet*, to teach and instruct in the truths of God, that part of Christs Church over which he is constituted: next, he is as a *Ruler*, Shepherd, and Governour over them in the Lord, to feed and guide them in that holy order and discipline, which becomes the lesser and the greater, the single and sociall parts of Christs *stock*, according as they are under their severall care and inspection: lastly, every true Minister is in his proper station to perform in *Christs stead* those offices of his Evangelicall *Priesthood*, which he hath assigned to be dispensed for his Churches good; as the solemn consecration and celebration of that *Eucharisticall memoriall* of the great oblation of *Christ* to his Father upon the Cross, for the redemption of the world, by which all mankind is put into a conditionall *capacity of salvation*, and upon their true faith and repentance, *Christs body and blood*, with all his *meritorious benefits*, are evidently set forth, signally confirmed, and personally exhibited, in that great *Sacrament* and most *venerable mystery*, to every worthy Receiver. He is further to offer up upon the *altar of Christs merits* the *spiritual sacrifices* of the Church, in prayers, praises, thanksgivings, alms and charities. Besides this, there is in the true Pastor or *Minister* of the Church of Christ, according to their proportion and degree, their line and measure (as Bishops and Presbyters) a power of *mission* and propagation, in order to maintain that *holy succession* of an *Evangelicall Priesthood* which Christ Jesus hath appointed; and which the *Apostles*, with their successors, the *Bishops* and *Pastors* of the Church, in all the world, have to this day continued, without any interruption, or any variation, as

2 Cor 5. 20.

Tota in Apostolos potestas Dominica reposita. Hilari. in Mat. c. 10.

Mat. 28. 20.

Verse 19.

Chrys. in Joh. 20. 21.

Heb. 13. 17.

Quia Christus visibili praesentia inter nos non habuit, hominum ministerium adhibet, quasi vicariam operam; non ad eos jus suum transferendo, sed ut per manus ipsorum suum ipse opus agat. Cal. Inst. l. 4. c. 3. sect. 1.

Rom. 12. 1.
Heb. 13. 10.
1 Pet. 2. 5.
Heb. 13. 15.Acts 14. 23.
1 Tim. 3.
& 5. 22.
Ti. 1. 5.

to the maine, of the power and practise of Ordination.

So then, as these *three offices* are eminently in Christ, as the great *Prophet, Prince and Priest of his Church*; to all which he was consecrated by the mission of his Father, by his own Blood-shed and Passion, also by the *anointing* of his eternall *Spirit*, which filled him with all divine Graces, ministeriall Gifts, and miraculous Power, necessary for so great a work: so the *Lord Christ* being absent in body, but present in his power and Spirit, had derived and committed the outward *ministeriall execution* of these his offices, to chosen and *ordained men*, as over-seers and workers together with Christ, of themselves but *earthen vessels*, yet the fittest instruments for the present dispensations of his Gospel and grace, which yet are to be carried on, according to the first appearance of *Christ in the flesh*, in such *darkness, weaknesse, and meannesse*, as may most set forth the present *excellency* of Gods gracious power, and set off the future manifestations of his glory to his *Church*; which even in this inferiority and obscurity of the Gospel, hath yet, as *three that bear witness* to its truth in heaven, the *wisdom* of the Father contriving, the *love* of the Son effecting, and the *power* of the holy Ghost applying *Evangelical mercies* to poor sinners; so it hath *three that bear witness on earth* to that glorious truth and mystery of the Gospel, the *water* of Baptism, which sprinkles to Regeneration, the *blood* of the *Lords Supper*, which feeds and refreshes believers, also the *Spirit* of ministeriall Power and Authority, which hath been, and still is, from Christ continued in all true Christian Churches. As the first three are one in an *essentiall unity* of divine nature, so these later three (as *S. John* tells us) agree in one, that is, in one Sovereign author *Jesus Christ*, and in one sacred order and office of Church-Ministry, or Evangelical dispensations, successively derived from the Apostles, Elders and Deacons, by a power and commission peculiar to those who are duly ordained to be Christs *Deputies, Lieutenants, and Vicegerents* in his Church, for those holy offices and divine ministrations; whereto they are severally appointed in an higher or lower *degree*, as Apostles or Elders, as Bishops or Presbyters, as Pastors or Teachers; either over-seeing, as Rulers and Guides, or attending, as Deacons and Servitors.

Act. 10. 18.

2 Cor. 6. 1.

2 Cor. 4. 7.

1 Cor. 2. 3.

1 John 5. 7, 8.

1 Tim. 3. 13.

Ephes. 4. 11.

CHAP. IX.

IN reference to which sacred & grand employments, St. Paul's modesty and humility asked with trembling that unanswerable question, *Who is sufficient for these things?* Whereas now in *Engl.* there are such insolent intruders; who act as asking quite contrary, *Who is not sufficient for these things?* as if forwardness, boldness and confidence were all the sufficiency required in a Minister of the Gospel: in which *plebeian and pretended sufficiencies* as these *novell intruders* do most abound; so I am sure there were really never more blunt and leaden *toolles* in any age applied to Church-work, than many, if not most of them, are: they come indeed with their *beetles* and *wedges*, their *swords* and *staves*, their *axes* and *hammers*, to beat down all the *carved work of Gods house*, rather than to prepare or polish the least stone or corner of that sacred building.

Of Ministerial
sufficiencies,
reall or pre-
tended.
2 Cor. 2. 16.

Psal. 74. 2.

Who being not a little conscious to themselves, that they are grossly defective in all those reall abilities of good learning; sound knowledge, sober judgement, orderly method, grave utterance, and weighty eloquence, which all wise and sober Christians expect should appear in every true Minister of the Church of Christ, in such a competent measure & evident manner, as they may be able comfortably to discern them, and usefully to enjoy them; these crafty Intruders do first cry down all those reall and visible abilities, as meerly naturall, humane, carnall, as enemies to the Cross, Grace, and Spirit of Christ: for (as the *apes* in the fable) these deceitfull workers having no tails themselves, they would fain perswade all other creatures which have that ornament, to cut them off, as burdens and superfluous. After this rude essay of craft and malice in vain attempted against the fruits of learned industry, wherein the Ministers of the Church of England have, and still do, so vastly exceed these *Mushrome Ministers* of the last and worst editions, they cunningly flie to the pretensions of *speciall callings*, extraordinary inspirations, illuminations, and graces ministeriall; which (they well know) are not easily to be discerned by any other but a mans self, even there where they may possibly be real. Who knows not that as to the point of inward *Graces*, they are far more easily pretended and voiced, than discerned and enjoyed in ones self: much less can they be so proved and manifested to others, as to satisfie their conscience in the points of anothers power and their own duty: I am sure, neither gifts nor graces ministeriall are by wise and sober Christians to be much supposed or expected there, where men evidently silly and weak, mean and vain, ignorant and arrogant, dare yet to disdain all that ancient order and uniform succession of the *Evangelicall Ministry*, which hath been visible in all Churches (as in this of England) for 1500. years: and to salve their credit, or gain reputation as Teachers;

chers, they bring for the satisfaction of their own and other mens conscience, in point of that office, duty, and power ministeriall, which they challenge and undertake, no other *signature* and character of their commission and investiture into that office, save onely what themselves pretend to be within them, of *secret impulses*, which being to mans judgement undiscernable, are utterly insignificant; nor ought they to bear any sway in the Church of Christ, where the power ministeriall was first declared by miraculous gifts and endowments, also by evident signs & wonders, sufficient to confirm its first commission, and to authorize its after-succession, from those onely with whom it was deposited, to be transmitted by them and their successors to the Churches of Christ in all ages, by such gifts and ordinary endowments as might be first duly tried and approved in men, before they were ordained to be Ministers in the Church of Christ.

But these Heteroclite Teachers, for the further corroboration of their dubious title and claim to the office of the Ministry, are content to accept of some appointment from that power which is meerly *military*, or civil and magistratick: which *powers* in Primitive Churches for 300. years were so far from making any Minister either Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon in the Church of Christ, that they sought by all means to persecute and destroy the whole profession of Christianity: yea, when the Empire became Christian, as in *Constantine the Great's* time, neither *He*, nor any Christian Emperour, Prince or Magistrate after him, was ever so impertinent as to imagine, that because they could derive civil and military power to others, they had also power to make Christian Ministers, or to invest them with the Ecclesiasticall power of holy orders; nor did they think they had any thing more to do with the Clergie by way of authority, save onely to take care for their due and comfortable discharge of that Ministry, to which they were by another principle and power ordained, according as the peace, honour and order of the Church required, which so conformed to the State and Commonwealth, that all Ministers were humbly subject to the Scepters of Princes, in the severall places and stations Ecclesiasticall to which they were applied. The Clergie owe to Princes the civil endowments of honour and revenue, given to them as the temporall reward of their spirituall work: but they are not the sources of their orders, nor can their broad seal confer that power of the holy Spirit, which onely makes a Minister of Jesus Christ; not by way of graces or gifts, so much as by way of mission and authority, flowing onely from the Spirit of Christ, as the chief Pastor, Bishop and Minister of his Church.

Others of these *new-modell'd Ministers*, in a way not more preposterous than ridiculous, seek to deduce their *ministerial power* from meer plebeian suffrages, from vulgar examinations, approbations and elections; which commonly are factiously begun, foolishly carried on, and schismatically concluded; having not less weakness, but less madness,

or

It was Constantine the Great's saying to the Nicene Bishops, *Vos intra ecclesiam, ego extra ecclesiam à Deo episcopus constitutus sum.* Euseb. vit. Const. l. 4. c. 24.

or possibly a little more seeming order, civility, or tameness, than those who pretend no other warrant or authority for their being *Ministers*, but what is to be had from their own blindness and boldness, their proud conceit and flattering confidence of themselves, which emboldens them by a self-ordination, to take this holy power to themselves, beyond what *Aaron*, or the true Prophets, or the Apostles, or *Christ himself* (as man) did, who were not *self-sent* or ordained, but chosen and appointed, solemnly consecrated and inaugurated to their office and Ministry, either by clear prophecies accomplished, or visible miracles wrought in the sight of the people, or by some such other signall token, ordinary or extraordinary, by word or work, as God was pleased to use for the manifestation of his will, and for the satisfaction of his Church, as to those persons which were to minister to the Lord, and to whom his Church was conscientiously to submit as to the Lord. Agreeably to which holy pattern, and as a full answer to all those clamours, envies and despites, which the enemies, rivals and extirpaters of the ancient Clergie and Ecclesiastick order in *England* can pretend, the true Ministers (Bishops and Presbyters) of this Christian and Reformed Church doe challenge, use and maintaine no other power, privilege, or authority Ecclesiasticall, than what they have duly and constantly received in the way of holy orders from their predecessors hands, who have descended from the very Apostles dayes.

Nor are they such *Monopolizers*, or appropriators of this power and office ministeriall to their own persons, or to such onely as are formall Academicks, professed Scholars, and *University Graduates*, as not willingly to admit into that holy Order and Fraternity, by the right and Catholick way of due *ordination*, not onely any worthy Gentlemen, of competent parts, pious affections, and orderly lives, whose hearts God shall move to so holy an ambition, to *desire so good a work*; but even those that are of plebeian proportions, of meaner parts, and less improved erudition; provided they be found, upon due trial, to have acquired such *competent abilities*, by Gods blessing upon their private industry and studious piety, as may render them meet for any place or work in *Christs husbandry*, where one may sow, another may water, a third may weed, a fourth may *sense* the Church and Vineyard, according to the severall gifts and dispensations ministred by the same Spirit and power of Christ; which ought to be dispensed and carried on, not in an arbitrary, rude and precarious *usurpation* and intrusion, but in an authoritative, orderly, and decent derivation & succession, for the honor, profit & peace of the Church of Christ. Certainly no worthy Minister or sober Christian can so undervalue and debase those *Evangelicall offices of Christ*, which are exercised by his *ordained Ministers*, as to think that every *self-flatterer* and obtruder is presently to officiate, without any due examination, approbation and ordination from those with whom that commission and power hath been ever deposited in a regular and visible suc-

Exod. 28. 1.
Heb. 4. 4. 5.
Mat. 3. 14.

1 Tim. 3. 1.

1 Cor. 3. 6.

1 Cor. 12. 4, 5.

Plane Episcopi
non de Dei vo-
luntate fiunt,
qui contra dis-
positionem (Do-
mini) & tradi-
tionem (eccle-
siae) fiunt. Cyp-
ep. 55.

succession from Christ the great exemplar or Original; which visible order, mission and delegation is as necessary for the outward unity, authority, solemnity and majesty of Christs militant Church and Ministry upon earth, as the *workings of his blessed Spirit* are for the inward operation and efficacie of true grace in mens hearts.

So that as no private and good Christian hath any cause to complain in this part of the *Bishops and Ministers of the Church of England*, who in dispensing of holy orders, or ministeriall power, acted after the Catholick pattern of Primitive Churches, no less than the particular constitutions of this Church, allowed by all estates and degrees of men; no more have any *secular Powers*, or *civil Magistrates*, who are or shall be professors of true Christian Religion, any cause to be jealous of the ancient Bishops and Ministers of the Church; nor shall they need either out of conscience, or reasons of state, to pervert and innovate that pristine course and regular succession of *ministeriall authority*: yea, as worthy Christians and wise Governours, they ought, both in piety and policy, in honour and conscience, to be no less exact in preserving this sacred order and divine authority from alteration, invasion and usurpation, than they are for their own civil power, and secular jurisdiction; which the renowned patterns of Christian Potentates, *Constantine, Theodosius*, and other great and godly Princes, were so far from arrogating to their *imperiall power*, that they humbly submitted themselves to the order and power Ecclesiasticall in the things of Christ, highly esteeming and venerating that Apostolick race of Bishops and Presbyters in the Church, as the great Luminaries of the world, the constant witnesses of Christs life and death, the celebraters of his mysterious sufferings, grace and glory, the ministerial Fathers and confirmers of Christians faith, as terrestiall Angels, as Gods gracious Ambassadors for pardon and peace, as Christs speciall commissioners appointed for to carry on the great work of *saving mens souls*.

Just and *generous Princes*, if they be truly Christian, cannot be so *partial*, as to forbid any man, under the highest pain and penalty of high treason and death it self, to challenge to himself any part of their civil or military power, without a due commission derived either from themselves immediately, or from those to whom they have deputed power for such ends and purposes; which order they permit no man to violate or usurp, however conceitedly or really able he may seem to be to himself or others for the managing of such power; and yet permit such persons as are for the most part *heady and high-minded, insolent and disorderly*, to intrude themselves, by a meer usurpation, upon that sacred office, authority and Ministry, which is Christs, without any due and solemn derivation of this power, in such a way as hath ever been Apostolick, Primitive, Catholick, and onely authentick in the Churches of Christ. Certainly, the rude innovation and usurpation upon this office and honour merits above any boldness (as *Nilus in Balsamon* expresth it) that black brand of the *last and perillous times*, when men shall be emphatically

tically Traytors, not onely to *men*, but to *Christ*, not onely to Common-weals, but to Churches; *disobedient to parents*, not onely naturall and politick, but also *spirituall* and *ecclesiastick*; violating and betraying, not onely the visible peace, order, uniformity, and successive *authority* of the Church, but the invisible comforts, quiet and grace of poor peoples souls: who must needs be at a great loss, in a very sad and shamefull case, as to their Religion, where their spirituall leaders and shepherds are usurpers, intruders, clamberers, not coming into the sheep-fold by the door of right ordination, but climbing some other way, as thieves and robbers; when their titular and intruding Pastors prove either *grievous wolves*, or *miserable asses*, as they commonly are found to be, who are not admitted by due *ordination*, but crowd into the Ministry by rude and novell obtrusions; so domineering over the flock of Christ, over whom not the *holy Ghost*, by an ordinary derived power and authority, but their own *unruly spirits* have made them, not so much *over-seers* of others, as either stark blind, or grossly over-seen in themselves.

2 Tim. 3. 4.

John 10. 1.

Aq. 10. 29.

Aq. 10. 18.

CHAP. X.



He sense of this *High Treason* against Christ, and of those sinfull disorders which men bring on themselves & the Church of Christ, by their intrusion, usurpation upon this *ministeriall power and office*, makes me here seriously suggest to You (*my honoured and beloved Country-men*) this *religious caution*,

What caution Christians ought to use, as to those Ministers with whom they intrust the care of their souls.

That it very much concerns you, for your own and your posterities souls good, to be very wary not to be imposed upon, and abused by vulgar pretensions of zeal and *Christian liberty* in this point of the *Ministry*; but to be vigilant with whom you intrust, as Ministers, your own, your childrens, or any other peoples souls, where you are Patrons of Livings. And since your own prudent abilities for learning, piety and experience, are so modest, as not rashly to adventure upon this sacred office, charge and ministration; how infinitely ought you to be ashamed and regretted, to see them *usurped* many times by the *dogs of your flocks*, by your hinds and foot-men, your grooms and serving-men, by threshers, weavers and coblers, by taylors, tinkers and tapsters, any mean and mechanick people, whose parts and spirits are onely fit for those trades to which their breeding and necessities have confined them? Not that I despise or reproch these honest, though mean, employments; but I highly blame their insolence, and other mens patience, to see these usurp upon the dignity of the Ministry. Certainly such proud & poor wretches may to some men possibly seem fittest Ministers in a disordered State, and de-

- decaying Church, as factors for Satan and Antichrist, setters for Ignorance and Superstition, turning Faith into Faction: but they will never prove (after that fashion of preparing and admitting) either able, or faithfull, or fruitfull Ministers of Christ or his Church; seeming themselves, and making others despisers of *Christ*, with the blasphemous Jews, while they so look upon him and treat him, as under the notion of *the Carpenters son*, as their equall or inferiour in some handicraft, forgetting his divine glory and majesty, as *the onely-begotten son of God*, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth; who hath executed this power most visibly in sending forth his Ministers to teach and baptize all nations, out of which to gather, and govern his Church in his name. They rudely flight Christs *ministerial authority*, in such as are truly excellent and duly ordained *Ministers*, that they may proudly challenge it to themselves, without any reason or Scripture, law or order, command or example, either from *Christ or his Church*. These men, who say they are *Apostles*, Prophets and Preachers, *and are not*, will be in the end (and already are) found *liars against God and their own souls, deceitfull workers, false Apostles, Mock-ministers, Pseudo-pastors, disorderly walkers*, authors of infinite scandall and confusion, of scorn and contempt to Christian and Reformed Religion, both here and elsewhere: many of them serving their *bellies*, and gratifying their carnall lusts and momentary wants, much more than designing to advance the glory of God, the *Kingdome of Christ*, or the eternall good of mens souls; which are not to be carried on, save in Gods way, that is, by *fit abilities*, and with *due authority*: both are required as necessary for a true Minister; the first (though *reall*) is not sufficient without the second. For as the meer outward *materiall action* cannot be a *divine, sacramentall, or ministerial transaction*, more than every killing of an Ox was a *sacrificing*; so nor are meer naturall or personall abilities sufficient to acquire any office or authority, much less this of the *Ministry* (which is divine, or none) any more than every able *Butcher* was presently enabled to be a Priest. Any mans ability fully to understand, or handsomely to relate the mind of his *Prince*, makes him not presently an *Embassador* or Minister of State, unless there be a *commission*, or letters of *credence* to authorize the person. The blessed Apostle *S. Paul*, who was extraordinarily converted, called, and sent of God, as a Christian, & a Minister or Apostle, yet we see did not take upon him the *exercise or office*, till first *Ananias* had by Gods speciall command laid his hands on him, and he became endowed with the ministerial gift or power of the holy Ghost: which were afterward (in like sort) solemnly confirmed and increased by the expresse command of God, when *Paul* and *Barnabas* were separated, and sent upon special service, with fasting, prayer, and laying on of the hands of some Prophets and Teachers in *Antioch*, where the Apostle had formerly preached in the Church a whole year among much people. This same Apostle oft blames (and bids Christians beware of) *false Apostles*, not onely false in their *doctrine*, but in their *ordination and mission*; as the Prophets
- Mat. 13. 55.
John 1. 14.
Mat. 28. 18.
Revelat. 2. 2.
2 Cor. 11. 13.
Rom. 16. 18.
A&S 9. 17.
A&S 11. 26.
2 Cor. 11. 13.

phets of the Lord did of old the false Prophets, whom God had not sent, yet they ran. Jer. 23. 21.

The Spirit of Christ commends the Angel of the Church of Ephesus (where, as Irenaeus and others tell us, S. John lived long, and left the most pregnant examples of Ecclesiasticall order; Episcopall power, and Ministeriall succession) for trying those that said they were Apostles and were not; for finding, esteeming, and declaring them as liars, no way listning and adhering to, or communicating with them, as being Falsaries and Impostors, enemies at once to the truth, order and peace of Christs Church. For 'tis seldome that a bastardly generation of Preachers doth not bring forth some false and base doctrines: for it is observable in this, as in civil Histories, that Bastards in nature, and so in office, are commonly most daring and adventurous spirits. Certainly the late illegitimate Ministers, or spurious Preachers of new and strange originals in England, have in less than fifteen years brought more monsters of opinions and factions in Religion, than have arose in so many hundred years before in any one Church. Rev. 2. 2.

I know some Christians are prone to gratifie their curiosity (as those do who sometime go to see monsters) in making some triall and essay of these pretended Preachers, that once knowing their ignorance and insolence, they may upon juster grounds ever after abhor them.

If this be tolerable for some persons of able and sober judgments, yet it is no better than a snare and dangerous temptation for others that are weak and unstable: nor may the venture be oft made by the more steddier Christians, lest they seem thereby to countenance and encourage so great a confusion, innovation, usurpation and scandal in the Church of Christ; besides the abetting of that high profanation of holy duties and mysteries, which ought not to be transacted, but in the name, power and authority of our God and Saviour. Certainly good Christians ought not at any hand to communicate with such usurping intruders in any sacramentall action; nor ought they to own any thing more of a Minister of Jesus Christ in them, than they would of a King or Magistrate in a Stage-player.

Doubtless, as no good Christian, so least of all those that profess to be Ministers of Christ, ought to live as sons of Belial, disorderly, refractory, unruly, after the arbitrary, rude and presumptuous dictates of their own wills. The spirit of true Ministers and Prophets will be subject, as it ought, to that rule, order and custome, which in all ages hath been the canon, measure and commission of all Evangelical Ministers and Pastors of Christs Church. As naturall and morall endowments are no plea to invest any man into any office, military or civil; much less into any power and authority Ecclesiastical. The pretences of new and extraordinary calls, of missions immediate from God, are not in any reason expectable, nor in Christian Religion credible, where the ordinary power and commission was continued; 1 Cor. 14. 32.

and might duly be had, as it was, and yet is in the *Church of England*: *Ravens* must not be hoped for to feed us, where Providence gives us opportunity to get our bread by *honest industry*.

Where then there are so many *intruders* and deceivers gone out, as *Ministers* of the Gospel, it is a matter of conscience as well as necessary prudence in all good Christians, to be cautious and inquisitive, whom they allow and follow as *Ministers*; to be first satisfied in that question which the Jews rationally asked of *Christ*, *By what power or authority dost thou these things?*

Mat. 21. 23.

No discreet person in civil affairs will obey any *warrant or order*, which hath no other authority than a private and *pragmatick activity*: and can it be piety or prudence in Christians, to be deluded by any pretenders in the great *concernments* of their souls; to have no more of *Sacraments*, or any other holy duties, than the meer sensible shell and husk of them? for the spiritual life and power of them is no where to be had but from such *dispensers* of them, as have the authority and power, the mission and commission of *Christ* rightly derived to them: which was evident first in *Christ*, after in his holy *Apostles* and their lawfull successors.

Mat. 7. 29. He taught them as one having authority. 1 Cor. 4. 19. Not the speech, but the power.

Certainly the cheat and falsity of such *mock-Ministers* and *Pseudo-pastors*, is of far greater danger and detriment than those of *spurious* and *supposititious* children, or of *embased coin*, and counterfeit money. Some people have been so wicked, as to change their own children, & steal others from their parents; but it was never heard that children of any discretion were so foolish and unnaturall, as to abdicate their *true Fathers* and *genuine mothers*, that they might adopt false parents, and superinduce upon themselves the Empire of *hastardly progenitors*. The mischief & abuse is not less in Churches than in Commonweales, in Christian Congregations than in families. Due respect of paternall care and filiall love, such as ought to be between Pastor and People, can never be mutually expected, where the relation is either *supposititious*, or *presumptuous*, or merely *imaginary*, or at best but arbitrary, which is inconsistent with humane, much more with divine Authority; the measure of which is not the pleasure of man, but the will of God, whose will is asserted by his power.

For my part, I firmly conclude, that as no true Christians may admit of any *Gospel*, or *Sacraments*, or holy Institutions, other than such as have been already *once delivered* to the *Catholick Church*, and preserved by her fidelity, against which the preaching of an *Angel from heaven*, is not to be received or believed, but accursed; so nor may any Church or good Christians either broach, invent, or admit any new *ministeriall power*, order, mission, or authority, beside or beyond that which the *Church of England* and the *Catholick Church of Christ* hath received, and transmitted in a *constant succession*. That sacred *ordination*, which began in *Christ*, and flowed from him as the effect of his *Melchisedechian*, *Evangelicall* and *eternall Priesthood*, must never be interrupted, innovated, or essentially

Jude 3. Nos iste semper in ecclesia viguit, ut quid quisque foret religioſus, & promptius novellis adinventionibus contraher. Vin. Lic. adv. hær. c. 9. * Gal. 1. 8.

entially altered, no not under any pretense of removing or reforming what corruptions may (possibly) be contracted by time and humane infirmities, which are but accidentall (as diseases to the body) to Catholick prescriptions founded upon divine institutions. Fields once sown with good corn must not be rooted up or fired, because tares may be sown by the enemy while men slept; Trees that are full of moss & misletoe through age, yet bearing good fruit, ought not to be cut down, but pruned and cleared. The decayes or dilapidations of the Temple before Hezekiah and Josiah repaired it, were no excuse for peoples neglect to frequent it, (much less were they justified) and to sacrifice other-where than there onely, as the place which the Lord had chosen to put his name there; nor did those pious Princes set that house of God on fire, because it was decayed, but duly repaired it with great cost and care.

Mar. 13. 30.

And such indeed was the excellent piety and prudence of the Church of England, such wisdom and moderation it observed, as in all other things, so in this of the ministeriall order and office: What injuries it (as other holy things) had suffered in the darknes of times, by the dulness of Presbyters, the negligence of Bishops, or insolence of Popes, it wisely reformed; not abrogating the authority, or breaking the Catholick succession of Bishops and Presbyters in this, as in all Churches; not broaching a new fountain; not obstructing (as Philistins) the wells their fathers had digged; not diverting the ancient course and conduits of the waters of life: but cleansing the fountains, and continuing the streams of primitive holy orders, in the constant descents, degrees and offices of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons. They did not raise up new Ministers, like Mushromes, out of every mole-hill, nor force them (like Muskmelons) out of the hot beds of popular zeal and novellizing faction, without any regard to the ancient stock and root of Ecclesiasticall power and Ministeriall authority; from which (as Irenaeus, Tertullian, S. Cyprian, and all the ancients clearly tell us) Bishops and Presbyters were ever derived, as slips and off-sets of the twelve Apostles and seventy Disciples. No time ever did, or ever shall render that Primitive plant and root of Evangelicall Ministry so dry, dead and barren, that they may or ought to be quite stubbed up, or new ones set in their room. No, they are only to be pruned and trimmed, that so they may be worthy of that honor which indeed they have, to be by an uninterrupted succession derived and descended from the blessed Apostles, whom Christ first planted by his own hands; nor may any mans presumption undertake to pul up that holy plantation, as those design to do, who endeavour to destroy the derivation and succession of the power Ministeriall.

2 Chron 29. 5.
Sanctifie the
house of the
Lord, and carry
forth the filthi-
ness out of the
holy place.

Surculi & pro-
pignes Aposto-
lorum fidei tra-
duces. Tert. de
præf. c. 32.

The truth, sanctity and validity of which, as to the Ministry of the Church of England (by its Bishops and Presbyters) hath been fully and clearly asserted by able pens, against both Papists on the one side, and Novellists on the other. The one confining all Episcopal and Ministeriall power to one head and origin, the Bishop of Rome, as if

there had not been twelve fountains and foundations of prime Apostles, but onely one, *S. Peter*, appointed by our Lord Jesus Christ; the other levidly scattering that sacred office and divine authority, even among vulgar and plebeian hands, that every man may scramble for it as he list, according as he fancies that his abilities and liberty in these times may extend.

Jer. 2. 13.

The putid and pernicious effects of which, in their present usurpations, divisions, confusions, debasements, & discouragements upon the *Clergie* and *Church of England*, as I shall afterward in the third Book more fully set them forth; so I cannot here but justly condemn those partiall, unreasonable and irreligious principles, from whence so *pragmatick* an itch, or thirst of novelty, in so grand a concernment of Religion, must needs arise; that fond men should be so eager to stop up the ancient fountains of living waters, which they digged not, that they might dig to themselves broken *Cisterns*, which can hold little or no water. And this they delight to do, not onely against those daily instances, which miserable and manifest experience gives them of the sad and decayed condition of the Christian and *Reformed Religion* in this *Ch. of Engl.* since these new Ministers have intruded and divided; but contrary also to all those pregnant testimonies & undeniable demonstrations, which both our pious fore-fathers in *Engl.* and all other *Christian Churches* in all ages have afforded us in the practises and writings of the Fathers, & testimonies of all *Church-historians*, who with one mouth every where unanimously tell us, what was the Apostolick, ancient, true, and onely beginning of the Ministeriall order, what the holy and happy way of its descent, derivation and succession, by duly consecrated Bishops and ordained Presbyters. Contrary to all which plain and perpetual remonstrances (for nothing is in them dubious or dark) I am amazed (I confess) to see, not the giddy and *heady vulgar* ungratefully engaged, who are alwaies like tinder, ready to take fire at any sparks of innovations, diminutions, and extirpations especially of their laws and governours; but I find some men of worth, yea and Ministers of good learning, and seeming ingenuity, either so over-awed by the vulgar, or over-biassed by their own private interests, inclinations and passions, that after so much light of Scripture and antiquity, shining both in the divine Originals, and the Ecclesiastick copies of Ministeriall order and succession, after their own former solemn approbations and subscriptions, after their late experience of the sad consequences already too much felt in this Church, as fruits of those innovations and usurpations made upon that unity, power and authority of the Evangelicall Ministry: yet I grieve, and am ashamed to see that such men should still pitifully comply with, consent to, yea and promote those dangerous alterations, and desperate extirpations which are designed by the enemies of this Church; whose aim is to baffle and deprive this Reformed Church in so main a point and hinge of Religion, as the ancient sacred orders, the constant Ecclesiastickall methods of the Evangelicall Ministry must needs be

which;

which, what they ever have been in this and all Catholick Churches, no man of moderate learning, humble piety, and honest principles, can be ignorant of.

CHAP. XI.



HOSE new, unwonted, and exotick fashions, which some men have studied of late to introduce or encourage in *England*, as to this point of *Ministeriall* office and power, besides that they are all of them new, some of them monstrous to this and all ancient Churches, they plainly favour more of *humane* faction than of *Christian* faith;

Of late new models for making Ministers of the Gospel.

else they would not, they could not in any conscience or charity be so mischievously bent, and malapertly spitefull against those worthy Bishops, and other excellent Ministers, who still adhere to the Ancient and Catholick order of the *Church of England*; nor yet could they be so mis-shapen, multiform, and many-headed in themselves, changing every day almost (as Proteus) by an innate principle of mutability, which follows the fancies and interests of new and present projectors, but not the judgement and grave example of our ancient and impartial predecessors.

And however some of these *new ways*, not of successive procreating, but new creating *Ministers*, may seem first brewed by domestick discontents, next broached by a forreign sword, at length fostered by a partiall and over-awed *Assembly*, at last fomented for a season by scattered and divided houses, *Parlements*, in very broken, touchy and bloody times, (when every new thing was made triall of, which might (as toys and bables) best please the peevish and petulant parties of people in *England*;) however others have further challenged to themselves a particular liberty and arbitrary authority, such as best likes them, in this point of the *Ministry* (which no man of any wisdom, piety, or gravity can allow, under any pretensions of gifts or graces ministeriall in any man:) Yet all these novell inventions, whatever title they pretend from God or man, from policy or necessity, may not in any reason or Religion, in any honour or conscience, in any piety or prudence, be put into the *balance* with (much less be thought fit to out-vie) that clear primitive pattern; that Catholick constant succession, that Apostolick and divine prescription; which do (all) preponderate for the Ministry of the *Church of England*, in the true scale of regular and authentick ordination of Ministers, who are never so completely and indisputably invested with that power, as when by the *imposition* of hands solemnly done by *Episcopall Presidents*, and *Presbyterian Assistants*; who after due

examination, and serious monition, and fervent supplication, do in prescript words commit that *ministeriall power, spirit, and authority of Christ*, which ought to be rightly imparted to those that undertake *Evangelical ministrations* in Christs name, to any part of his Church, if they desire to avoid the sin and scandall of being intruders, traitours, usurpers, and counterfeiterers of Christs ministeriall dignity and authority.

Secular or civil powers, which are but the *products of the sword*, and managed chiefly by the policy and arm of flesh, may (indeed) confer what honour, office and authority they please on any man in civil things; yea they may and ought in conscience to take care of, and regulate the exercise of *Ecclesiastical power* in reference to Gods glory, and the publick good both of Church and State: but they cannot (as from themselves) by any naturall, morall, or civil capacity, confer holy orders, or bestow *Ministerial authority* on any man; much less may they (or as Christian Magistrates will they) make a new broad Seal of Christianity, or commence any new way of ministeriall authority; nor may they in conscience cancel or abrogate the good old way, no nor yet alter in any materiall part the Catholick way of its right derivation and succession, which was by the hands of those who had first received that holy deposition; which certainly is of as much higher nature, orb and sphere, beyond any naturall, moral, or secular power, as the celestial light of sun and stars is above that which is from candles, or that holy fire on Gods altar was above that which is but culinary.

All good Christians agree, that its originall is in Christ, its commission from Christ, its first delegation to the twelve Apostles and the seventy Disciples: from the Apostles we read its transmission to others in the Apostolicall Acts and Epistles. How it was afterward continued, and by what means derived to an uninterrupted Catholick succession in all Churches for 1500 years, is not indeed to be learned, & so not decided by Scripture; whose records (except the *Apocalyps*) extend not above 28 or 30 years after Christs ascension: but being a thing now of late so hotly disputed in this and some other Churches, there is no rationall satisfaction to be had (as to matter of fact) but by the *after-histories* of the Church; which I am sure give all the seeing world in this point so clear, so perfect, so full a light, and so uniform a testimony, that no learned, impartiall, and conscientious Christian can desire more; nor can they but acquiesce in these, unless they dare to doubt and deny the veracity and fidelity of all authors that have given us account of any Ecclesiasticall Catholick affairs and customes since the Apostles times: in all which no one point or practise hath less doubt or dispute, less variation or diversity, than this of Ecclesiasticall order, both as to the Ministry and government of the Church.

What the ignorant vulgar (who are the bran and courser sort of people) may endlessly fancy and affect, or what others of better parts, but as base passions, may cunningly pretend, I know not; the better
to

to bring in their new modelings of Ministers and Churches: but I am sure it will very ill become you (O noble Gentlemen) who are the best and *finest flower*, the beauty and honour, the strength and stability of this English Nation, who are the choice and chiefest sons of the *Church of England*, it ill becomes you to suspect all those burning and shining lights, both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, *Fathers* and *Historians*, single and sociall, in their *Closets* and in their *Councils*, even in the first innocent ages, when the *Church* was most pure and persecuted; as if they had all been either grossly ignorant of, or supinely negligent in following the *mind* of *Christ*, and *methods* of the *blest Apostles*, as to these great affairs of the Church; which were openly, uniformly & universally both preached and practised by the *Apostles*, also delivered to and received by their successors, as in other things, so most indisputably in this which so much concerned not onely the right ordering and well-being and polity of the estate of the Church militant, but its very being and Essence, in Doctrine, Ministry, Duties, Discipline and Government. Can it (I beseech you) without great uncharitableness and *pervicacy* (unworthy of any ingenuous soul) be imagined, that from the beginning, during the life of some *Apostles* and their scholars, the whole Church, and the most eminent persons in it, Ministers, Martyrs and Confessors, did all conspire to delude themselves, and to deceive all posterity, in so clear, great, and sacred *concernments*, as those of the Churches Ministry and Polity were ever esteemed?

The incomparable and unanswerable Mr. *Rich: Hooker* (who is not to be read without admiration, nor named without veneration) long ago urged this Absurdity against the then more modest *Sticklers* for their Disciplinary Innovations in the Ministry and Polity of the *Church of England*. "Sure (saith he) it were a very strange thing, that such a *Discipline* (meaning the Presbyterian) as ye speak of, should be taught by *Christ* and his *Apostles* in the Word of God, and no Church hath ever found it out, nor received it till this present time: or contrariwise, that the Government (of the Church) against which you bend your selves, should be observed every where through all generations and ages of the Christian world, and no Church ever perceive it to be against the word of God. We require you to find out but *one Church* upon the face of the earth, that hath been ordered by your *Discipline*, or that hath not been ordered by ours, that is, Episcopall government (for ordination and jurisdiction) since the times that the blessed *Apostles* were conversant upon earth. This unanswered challenge did that excellent person heretofore make, in order to prevent (if possible) these innovations and mischiefs which are now grassant in *England*, to the hazard of quite overthrowing all that *ancient Order*, *Ministry*, *succession* and *Government*, which had been conserved in this Church, conform to all parts of the Catholick Church.

If your other employments and studies have hindred you from being so well acquainted with the authentick works, and authoritative

Christiani veteres, & recentiores, ab Apostolorum & Apostolicorum vivorum disciplina, eorum præscripta & intelligebant melius, & perfectius implebant.
Glor. de jur. bel & pac. l. 4. c. 4. sect. 7.

Mr. R. Hooker's
pref. to his Eccl.
pol. pag. 16.

Venerable
Bede, Hist. Eccl.
The Primate of
Armagh, his De
primordiis eccl.
Britan.
Sir H. Spelman.
B. Godwin, &
others.

* tive testimonies of the ancientest writers of *Church-affairs*, as those grand Authors deserve, and your ingenuity cannot but desire; yet far be it from your prudence, piety and charity, to derogate from the honour and credit of your own *Country-men*, who have in the *Histories of England* (both Civil and Ecclesiasticall, to which you cannot well be strangers) sufficiently shewed from the originall of these *British Churches*, what Ministry and Orders they had.

If you are yet strangers to those eldest ages, times and authors of your own, and so cannot maturely ground your judgements upon their testimony; yet what think you of the learning, piety, honesty and courage of those later, and reall, and renowned *Reformers* of this Church, whether *Clergie* or *Lay-men*, who lived in your fathers memories, whose blood and ashes, as Martyrs and Confessors, against Papall innovations and corruptions, is still warm and precious? These did not lay new foundations of a Christian Church, a true Religion, or an authentick *Ministry* here in *England*; but they onely repaired the decayes of the old, and lightned them of those either erroneous or dangerous superstructures, with which long ignorance and superstition had over-laded them, and not so much built upon them, as almost quite buried them. These *Heroes*, these worthy men (I say) who were worthy of the name of Christians, English-men and Reformers, did not ever design, or go about to broach new fountains, nor to cut new channels, nor to lay new pipes, by which to convey the Ecclesiasticall order and Ministeriall authority here in *England*; but they cleansed the foulness, they removed the obstructions, they sodered the ruptures of the former Catholick way, which was very good, as well as very old: yet not the *antiquity*, but the *veracity* and *divinity* of it, attested both by Scriptures and by the Catholick *usage* of all Churches, made those blessed *Reformers* (now an hundred years ago) cheerfully subscribe to that polity, Ministry, and authority Ecclesiasticall, which they mended, but changed not: these they recommended to all estates in this nation; by whose Parliamentary votes and sanction they were established, as the best means to preserve this Church both Christian and Reformed.

After these famous *Fathers of England's* happy *Reformation*, whose judgement is manifest in the point of *ministeriall power* and holy order, to be carried on by Bishops and Presbyters, can you suspect that their later *successors*, in office and judgement, I mean all those learned, grave and godly Ministers of *England*, whom your eyes have seen, and your ears have heard heretofore with great respect, love and admiration, dispensing the word of God and holy mysteries to you; who till the divisions and deformities of these last and worst dayes, have *baptized, instructed and guided*, both you and your hopefull posterity in the way to heaven and happiness, in truth and peace, in faith and repentance, in humility and holiness, in all graces, vertues and good works, powerfully set forth to you by their excellent Sermons and fervent Prayers, by the blessed Sacraments and worthy

Examples

Examples they have communicated to you ; can you (I say) suspect that all these, together with the Bishops and Presbyters of the Catholick Church, the East and West, the old and new, the Greeks and Latines, the Roman and Reformed, that all these have conspired to erre so great, so universall, so constant an *error* themselves, and to mis-guide you, me, and all the Christian world, in such wayes of receiving and conferring *Ecclesiastick order*, Evangelicall Ministry, & Church-government, as were *unchristian*, yea *Antichristian*, diverse from Christs mind, yea contrary to it, offensive to the godly, & odious to God himself, as some men have lewdly declamed: whose tongues I judge to be no slander, since they appear persons of so *little conscience*, and less forehead; either grossly ignorant of the practise and platform of *Antiquity*, or most uncharitably impudent, in branding so many thousands of godly Bishops and other gracious Ministers, both in *England* and all other places (who were justly famous in their generations for their learning and piety) as if they were either so many blind guides, or so many bold intruders, meer usurpers, juglers, impostors & hypocrites; as if, to gratifie their own private ambitions, they had from the very beginning, in the sight and in despite of S. *John* and other Apostolick Pastors, perverted the *way of Christ*, as to that Ministeriall power & Church-order which he had appointed, setting up of their own heads a patenall presidency or Episcopall eminency, instead of these newly discovered wayes of either a *Presbyterian* parity, or a popular *Independency*, by which Presbyters and people in common challenge to themselves the sole possession, dispensation and managery of all Ecclesiasticall office, power and authority: inventions so pragmatick, so turbulent, so contrariant to one another, as well as to the ancient orders of the Church, that we in *England* were happily unacquainted with them till of late years, as were all other Churches in the world, till this last century, who cannot be thought in all former ages to have wanted such Pastors and Teachers, such Rulers and Governours as were after Gods own heart, to carry on his great work of saving souls, in the preserving and propagating of his Church by the Ministers of it.

If the great cloud of ancient and *Catholick witnesses*, who ever owned all Ecclesiastick power to be magisterially (indeed) and primarily in Christ, but ministerially and secondarily in the Apostles and their successors, as to all Church-ministration, ordination and jurisdiction; which power resided chiefly in Bishops, and from them was regularly derived to Presbyters: if these (I say) can fall under your hard censure, as either *deceived*, or deceivers, yet truly their error in this point may be the more veniall, because the case was not so much as once doubted or disputed for three hundred years, in those best and first ages of the Church. It will be more charity in their censurers, to suspect they wanted ability to see the light of Christs mind and the Apostles examples, than honesty to follow them.

But for *my self*, and other Ministers, my Fathers and Brethren of
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the *Church of England*, who after so high contests about the Ministry of the Church, both as to ordination and jurisdiction (in which we have examined all Scriptures, and rifled all Antiquity) if we do still (*bona fide*) humbly, honestly and conscientiously chuse to follow what seems to us Christian, Catholick and uniform *antiquity*, rather than any partiall and divided wayes of *novelty*; I hope we are excusable to you, if not commendable; how ignorant or obstinate soever we seem to others, who think we ought to be confounded, if we will not be converted (or rather perverted) by them. But if you do indeed judge, that after so clear *demonstrations* and potent *convictions* from Scripture and Antiquity, which either *Geneva*, or *Edenburgh*, or *Amsterdam*, or *New-England* have alledged, we do still persist in our Primitive opinions and Catholick Errours, touching the office, power and derivation of the *Evangelicall* Ministry and Authority, such as was established in this *Church of England*, meerly out of either passion, pertinacy and obstinacy, or for private interests, sinister ends, and secular policies; if you can think us so base and false, such sots and beasts, so unworthy of the names of *Ministers*, *Christians*, *Englishmen*, or men; if this be your sense of us, truly you and the whole State shall do but an act of *high Justice*, speedily to cast us all out, as well *Presbyters* as *Bishops*, for *unsavoury salt*; to expose us yet more upon the *dunghill* of vulgar contempt and worldly poverty, which some *Satyrick* tongues and pens have earnestly importuned, and petulantly endeavoured, against all the ancient Ministers and orderly Clergie of *England*, under the name of *Prelaticks* and *Episcopall*.

If the bitter and bold invectives of spitefull Papists and fierce Separatists, of rash Presbyterians and rude Independents, of Erastians and Anabaptists, if these have been or can be made good to you against the Ministry and ordination of the *Church of England*, against all its Bishops and Presbyters; both in office and exercise; as if we had not, either before or since the Reformation, any due ministeriall office or authority, no true ordination or succession, little of ministeriall gifts, and less of graces; no sound doctrine faithfully preached, no Sacraments rightly consecrated, no holy mysteries lawfully celebrated, no Church-discipline dispensed, no right government constituted, no true Ministry, or authoritative *Ministers* any way deserving either love or honour from you and your posterity:

If all your and our *faith*, *repentance*, *charity*, and other graces, be in vain; if your Christian peace and hopes be all but imaginary; if neither we are made true *Ministers* of Christ, nor you true Members or Disciples of Christ; if all your and your fore-fathers piety, devotion, charity, Christianity, hath been onely a *fantastick pageantry*, a *mummery* and *mockery* of Religion, Christianity and Reformation; if hitherto you have onely been deluded and abused in so high concerns of your consciences and souls to eternity: truly 'tis but high time for you and your new Common-weale, to offer up the
wretched

wretched remnant of those *Bishops* and *Presbyters* (who have yet survived the calamities and contempts of these times, and who yet retain their former judgement, ministeriall office, and holy orders, conformably to the *Church of England*) to be an acceptable Sacrifice, a welcome Holocaust, or much longed-for *Burnt-offering*, to the malice of their adversaries and persecutors, both *Gog* and *Magog*: first to the more secret, but implacable despite of *Papists*, who have infinitely longed, and no less rejoyce to see poverty, obscurity, silence, scorn, division, confusion, extirpation, to be the portion of the *English Clergie*, whom they heretofore either envied or dreaded, beyond the Ministry of any Christian or *Reformed Church* in all the world: next, you shall in so doing highly gratifie the bitter and bold enemy, the *fouler-mouth'd* fury of all other sharp-tongu'd, brazen-fac'd and heavy-handed *Schismatics*, who have a long time grudged at the *Clergie of England*, envying both *Bishops* and *Presbyters* their honours, liberties, livelihoods and lives, prompted hereto partly by their own pride, covetousness, and other discontented lusts, and partly by *Jesuitick* arts and Papall policies, whose joynt aims are (at this day) to extirpate the whole race (*root and branch*) of the *Reformed, Catholick, Christian Church* and *Ministry* in *England*. They conspire nothing more, than that they may serve both the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* of *England*, as *Elias* and *Jehu* did *Baals Priests*: for this is the sense some men have of us; and this is the sentence they have passed, and seek to execute upon us, as upon so many *Cretians*, not *Christians*, as if we were onely *liars*, *evil beasts*, and *slow-bellies*, either imperious masters or unprofitable servants to the Church; that so these new Masters may on all sides freely enjoy those superstitious and *fanatick liberties*, which they have designed for their divided parties, who despaired to prevail in *England*, untill they had brought the *English Clergie* to undergo all manner of indignities and injuries.

2 Kings 10. 25.

C H A P. XII.

The false and foolish pretensions urged against the Ministry of Engl.



LI which *Tragedies* that the people of *England* might behold and bear with the greater patience and stupidity, they must by popular orators be perswaded, 1. That all Bishops, or presidentiall Fathers and Over-seers among the Clergie, such as the Apostles and their immediate Successors first were, are *Antichristian*; truly so are *Fathers* in families, Magistrates in cities, and Chieftains in armies. 2. That the ordaining of *Presbyters* by *Bishops* is meerly *Popish*; so is the celebrating of Baptisme, or the Lords Supper, or the Lords day. 3. That Christs Ministry appropriated to one order of men, is a *monopoly*, or a taking too much upon mens selves, when others of the congregation may be as holy and able; so is all order, office and authority, civil and military, a meer monopoly, when others may be as able and wise as the best Magistrates and Commanders. 4. That all humane Learning is not onely superfluous, but pernicious in the Ministers of the Gospel; so is all skill, industry and ability in all other workmen. 5. That Ministers maintenance by *Tithes*, *Glebe-lands*, and other *Oblations*, is *Jewish*; so is all justice and gratitude in paying labourers their wages. 6. That the distinction of *Clergie* and *Lay* is arrogant and supercilious; so are the titles of *Master* and *Scholar*, *Teacher* and *Disciple*, *Priest* and *People*, *Minister* and *ministred*. 7. That it was proud and insolent for any Clergie-men to be invested with honour, to be stiled and respected as *Lords*. Truly, if it be no dishonour to any temporall Lord to become a Minister of Christs glorious Gospel, nor doth he thereby lose his civil *Lordship* and dignity; no more is it misbecoming learned, grave and venerable Ministers of the Gospel, the chief Fathers and governours of the Church, to be adorned with honours, and to enjoy, as the favours of Christian Princes and States, both the *Titles* and Revenues of their temporall *Baronies* and *Lordships*, which they might (for ought I could ever see) as well deserve and use as any other *Lords*, who had their *Lordships* by birth, by purchase, or by favour: nor did Honour less become Ecclesiastick Rulers, than it doth those *military Commanders*, who, I see, can endure themselves to be called & treated as *Lords*. I confesse (under favour) I do not understand how Church-government should be less capable of degrees and distinction in Governours, than those which are civil or military, since order and subordination must be in them all: nor do I more understand how such chief *Governours of the Church-militant*, as Bishops were, and ought to be, might not as well both merit and manage such honours and estates, as any men, who by far less abilities or pains do get to be Major-generals, or Colonels and chief Commanders in an Army over poor Souldiers. Sure the saving of souls is every way as hard and honourable a *work*, as the killing

ling of mens bodies, which is the worst of a souldiers work; or as the saving of mens temporall lives and estates, which is the best of that employment: nor is it less of true valour, vigilance and resolution in learned and good Scholars, to fight with, and overcome the ignorance, errors and barbarity of mankind, than it is fortitude in good souldiers to suppress the rapines and injustice of mens extravagant actions.

But these, and such like, are the envious *cobwebs*, the thin and ridiculous sophistries formerly used by some men of evil eyes and worse hearts, out of *principles* full of ignorance, or envy, or covetousness, or licentiousness, or Atheism, whereby to perswade *silly people* to follow these novell, easie, and more *thrifty methods* of saving souls, which some *swelling Libertines* propound, who have the confidence earnestly to invite this noble *Nation* to commit the whole managery of *Christian Religion*, and of their souls eternall salvation, to such new, cheap, and *bold undertakers*, who adventure to minister in *Christs name*, without any such character, commission or conscience of *divine authority*, which (as *Irenæus* and all the Ancients tell us) were ever in a solemn, visible and orderly manner derived by the hands of Bishops to the Presbyters, or lawful *Ministers* of the Church, as from Christ and the Apostles, in an undoubted and uninterrupted succession; of which *Tertullian* gives so excellent an account in his Book of prescription against Hereticks.

Their ostentations of naturall liberty, of civil indulgence, of rationall abilities, of speciall gifts and undiscernable graces, or (which is most incredible) of extraordinary calls from God; All, or any of these (if they were really true) yet will not be allowed as a justifiable ground for any mans usurpation or intrusion into any office military or civil, without a visible commission derived from the supreme power in both: much less are they sufficient pleas for any man to officiate in the Ministry Ecclesiasticall, whose Supreme Authority is confessedly in Christ; and the derivation or deduction of it in all ages is so visible, constant and uniform, that no man honestly learned can be ignorant where it resided, or how it was derived. Certainly it never was dispensed by the hands or power of Emperours, Kings, Protectors, Princes, or any civil Magistrates; whose duty (I conceive) if they will act as Christians, is not to alter or innovate this sacred authority and method used by Christ, the Apostles and the Catholick

Church, but to preserve it as sacred and inviolable: much less was it left to the spontaneous confidence, the passionate suffrages, and confused petulancies of common people, who are the great and infallible prostrators of all Religion, vertue, honour, order, peace, civility and humanity, if left to themselves; but it was divinely settled by Christ in the Apostles, and by the Apostles in their successors, the ordained Bishops and Presbyters of the Catholick Church, in its severall branches and combinations; who ever have been, and ought to be (under Christ) the great Conservators, the onely complete and regular Distributers of this holy ministeriall power, as they have

Presbyteris qui sunt in Ecclesia abundare oportet, qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, & cum successionis charismata veritatis. Iren. l. 3. c. 40. & l. 4. c. 43.

Vid. Tert. de pref. adv. Her. c. 27. & 32. & c.

Vid. Aubert. Mirai. Notitia Episc. & politica Ecclesiastica per omnes Ecclesias.

been to this day, in this and all other orderly Churches of Christ, without any controversie or contradiction, without dispute or doubt, till of later years.

CHAP. XIII.

An impartial
balancing of
the old and
new Minister.



He late *licentious Invasions* made upon this Church of England, the Reformed Religion, the Ministerial Order, Office, and Succession established in it, through all ages since the Nation was Christian, were yet something tolerable & justifiable, if those Ministers who profess to be of the *ordination* and communion of the *Ch. of Engl.* either wanted *ability* or *industry*, skill or will to serve God, and to deserve well of you (*O worthy Gentlemen*) and all their Countrey-men: or if you and the rest of the nation were already *better provided*, in order to your souls good, by any new generation of Preachers, better learned, more rarely gifted, more spiritually extracted, or more regularly consecrated and duly ordained; if these *new-minted Ministers*, these self-intruding Teachers, did afford you *weightier Sermons*, *warmer Prayers*, more *solemn Sacraments*, more *sacred Examples*, more *usefull writings*; if they brought you (with all this *bustling and parado*) a better God, a better Saviour, a better Gospel, better Scriptures, or a better Spirit than those were, which the excellent Bishops, and other Ministers of the Church of England, set before you and this nation, many wayes, for many years, with mighty successes (while they were countenanced, encouraged, and ingenuously treated;) if the advantages of Religion, as *Christian and Reformed*, or of your and your posterities souls, were either reall or probable, by these *new intruders*, we might well bear with your and the common peoples pious inconstancy, when it should tend to the *improvement and happinesse of your souls*.

2 Cor. II. 4.

But these great and good interests of *your souls*, for my part, as I have not yet found any where in any new wayes, so I do not think that any wise and honest-hearted Christian can by any one instance prove, that those *Libertines* (who are *Levellers* of the Ministeriall duty and dignity) either have been hitherto able, or will ever be probable to advance them in the least kind or degree, beyond, or equall, or any way comparable to what the former *Clergy of England* have done, and are still both able and willing to do.

1 Tim 3 6.

As for these new *Rabbies*, you shall have commonly their best at first: by *soft*, and (as they think) *saintly insinuations*, they first creep into houses, next into bosoms, at last into pulpits. The small and light bundle of the *gifts* they have picked up, are soon set on fire by the least sparks of popular desire and applause; then (as squibs
or

or granadoes) they flie off amain, with more extravagant motion, panick terrour, thick smoke, foul stench and vapour, than with any great or good execution done against Sin, or Satan, or the World. After a few godly *prefacings* about the Spirit, Grace, Christ and the new Covenant, together with some *gallantries*, or light *skirmishings* with some starveling *errors* and useles *sins*, you shall know the utmost of their sufficiencies; which is, with *egregious impudence*, to scorn what they cannot attain, that is, all good learning, and the manners of their betters. When they have loudly rattled at, more than confuted, any thing which they list to call an *Error*, when they have huddled together, *wrested* & distorted a great many *places of Scripture*, without any regard to the *Grammaticall* and genuine sense of the words, or to the propriety of phrases, or to the main scope of the place, or to the clear Analogie of faith; after all these flourishings, you shall see the bottom and dregs of their *hearts* poured forth in vile and uncomely railings, scurrilous and odious *rantings* against all Bishops and Ministers, against the whole Hierarchie, Ministry and Church of England. At last, with equall *vociferation* and *emptinesse*, without any principles of reason, or grounds of Religion, without proof or plausibility, with more lungs than brains, they cry up their own *new lights*, their *rare discoveries*, their *excellent Reformatiōs*, and *pure Ordinances* of Jesus Christ: all which are as much beyond all former dispensations and ministrations in this or any Church, as the deceits of *Mountebanks* excell all that *Fernelius*, *Galen*, or *Hippocrates*, could ever use or invent; especially when these are (in a new *Paracelsian* way) applied and dispensed, not by the old Empiricks, the Papall and Episcopall Clergy, but by new-called and ordained Preachers, by specially-inspired Prophets, by *precious men*, extraordinarily qualified, and sent, either by the inward and unknown *impulses* of Gods Spirit, or by the call and election of some godly select people; who casting off all ancient Christian Communion with this *Nationall* or the *Catholick* Church, do first body themselves to a new way of *Church-fellowship*, then they assume to themselves some *Brother* and *Member* (as they can agree) to be their *spirituall Pastor*, him they invest by their bare suffrages with all *ministerial power and authority*, as from Jesus Christ himself.

Such a kind of confused noise doe these *land-floods*, these *popular torrents*, these *turbulent Teachers* make, where once they have found a vent and course for their *liberty*, to break through all bounds of *law* and *order*, being indeed very muddy, shallow, fatuous and feeble in all things, divine and humane, for the most part; onely they have a strong high conceit of themselves, and a perfect Antipathy against those Ministers in the *Church of England*, to whom they owe all they have of Knowledge and Religion which is worth owning. Do but look near to their *new doctrines* and opinions, and you will easily see how loose, how false, how futile, how fanaticke they are: look to their *speech* and *writing*,
how

how rude, how improper, how incoherent, how insignificant, how full of barbarismes, solœcismes and absurdities: mark their whole form of *preaching*, how raw, how rambling, how immethodicall, how incongruous, how obscure, impertinent: consider their *Prayers*, how are they farced with odde expressions, with forced, affected, confused, dull, dead and insipid repetitions: weigh their *lives* and *actions*; how pragmatick, licentious, injurious, sacrilegious, spitefull, uncharitable, pernicious, scandalous are they to many sober and quiet men, and specially to such as they have most cause to suspect to be much their betters, and their most accurate censurers. Last of all, look to all their *novell principles*, and you shall see how various, versatile, ambiguous, temporizing and dangerous they are; while much of their *Divinity* depends upon *Diurnalls*; their Religion is most what calculated by the *Almanack* or *Ephemeris* of their hopes and feares, their interests and lusts, their prevalences and advantages, measured not by Scriptures, but by Providences.

Jude 13.

Rev. 3. 1.

These distempers evidently appearing (as they daily do in your new Teachers) must not *you* and all *sober Christians* confesse, that these *Comets*, these blazing and *wandering stars*, mostly made up of gross, vulgar and earthy *exhalations*, full of portentous *malignity* to this *Reformed Church*, are infinitely short of that *benign light*, and that divine, sweet and heavenly influence, which heretofore shined from the *fixed stars* of this *Church*, which were in the right hand of Christ, the godly Bishops and other Ministers, to the great honour and unspeakable happiness of this *Nation*, to the flourishing of the Christian and Reformed Religion; when men knew what it was to have and to honour *Gods Ministers*, and to be *good Christians*, that is, judicious, humble, honest, charitable, orderly and constant in the true Religion?

CHAP. XIV.



U^t suppose (in very deed) it were true, that you, the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of England, did find an irreparable decay and dotage now grown upon the ancient Clergie; and that you might now be cheaper and better served by these new-sprung Gourds which are but of yesterday, like Mushromes, the sons of a night: yet since the ancient race and stock of Apostolick Bishops and Presbyters, is not onely of so venerable an age as 1600 years in the Catholick and this Church of Christ (which is a great plea of priority, honour and prepossession, against any novell intruders and pretenders;) since they and their predecessors, both before and since the Reformation, even from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, have done their best to deserve well of you and your fore-fathers, who, this last century especially, in your own memory, greatly rejoyced in the lustre of these * burning and shining lights; justly and gratefully esteeming the learned ability, industry and piety of the English Clergie, a great crown, honour and rejoycing to this Nation; since they have thus far premerited of you in their former age, strength and vigour; truly it must needs be, not more their grief and misery, than your shame and eternall dishonour, if you should use your ancient Clergie and Ministers, as you would your old dogs and harraased horses, casting them off to seek new masters, or turning them into the high wayes, to graze upon what alms they can pick up among their timorous and ungratefull friends, or their supercilious and disdainfull enemies.

Surely it were but charity and humanity in you, to provide rather some Almes-houses and Hospitalls for your cast and decayed Ministers, as well as you do for your veterane and unserviceable Souldiers, who have in their time and station been valiant, faithfull and orderly; that at least the prouder Jesuits, and the les charitable Papiests (besides other pestilent enemies of the peace and piety of England) may not too much triumph, to see so many, so venerable Bishops, and other worthy Ministers of this Reformed and sometimes flourishing Church of England, either begging or starving: which if it be not (as I fear it is) I am sure it would be the sad fate of many of them, if God did not stir up some mercifull Obadiah to relieve them; not that they want ability or industry, but either such liberty, or such opportunity as their adversaries presume to enjoy.

But against all this that I plead of Justice and Mercy for the English Clergie, some mealy-mouth'd and hen-hearted men are prone secretly to object; Alas! there is now no hope to recover the pristine honour (either as to reputation, reverence, or revenue) of the Ministry of England, neither to Bishops nor Presbyters. Alas! they have been, and still are, so vulgarly slighted and abased. We see

A charitable plea for the ancient Clergie of the Church of England, against the ingratitude and indifferency of some men.

Ordo Episcoporum ita per successiones ab initio decurrens, ut primus in qualibet Ecclesia Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis; aut Apostolicis vivis, habuit autorem & antecessorem. Tert. de prescat. Hæc.

c. 32.
* Joh. 5. 35.

Object.

these new Teachers have most-what got the upper hand; they are brisk and bold young men, who have disgraced, displaced, and baffled many of the old stock; they have decried, affronted and overawed in a manner all of them: the new-fashioned Ministers ride on the *fore-horse*, and are fancied by many wary and wise men to be most useful, advantageous and conform to the present state of civil interests and affairs; so that men are prone to think they had better rest satisfied with these *new Preachers* upon any account, if they be but tolerable speakers and livers, rather than go about to restore, much less to prefer the former *Ministers* and Ministry, which grow daily more antiquated and exautorated, both as to their persons and pretensions, among the common sort of people: besides many others, who are their friends, yet look upon the very names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, of *ordination* and *succession*, as terms extremely unpopular, unpleasing, and growing out of *fashion in England*.

Answ.

Phil. I. 16,
& 18.

Well, much good may these *new Ministers* do to these new-fashioned Christians, these wary men and their posterity. 'Tis well however, if Christ be preached; whether of envy or good will, whether in truth or in pretence onely.

I Tim. I. 11.

Yet I cannot forbear (in an honest and Christian freedome) to offer this to the judgement of *you* and other *Gentlemen*, who are of more noble minds, and more prudent spirits: Do but foresee and consider, I beseech you, what *pitifull Ministellos*, what *pygmy Presbyters*, what *plebeian Preachers* this Nation in after-ages is like to have, if the *Ministers of the glorious Gospel of F. Christ your Saviour* must ever grow up, & live under such vulgar scamlings, contempts, insolencies, obloquies, molestations, intrusions, confusions, which are, and ever will be as so many *nipping frosts* and *horrid discouragements*, to all able, ingenious, grave and godly men; when they shall see, under the pretence of *Novelty* and *Christian liberty*, not only themselves very much impoverished, curbed, despised, and depressed, as to that order, dignity, office and authority which they claim and exercise upon *grounds Divine, Catholick and Ecclesiasticall*; but they shall further behold all *sacred, solemn and venerable mysteries*, as well as *offices* of the *Evangelicall Ministry* and *Christian Religion*, exposed to such plebeian insolencies, such *petulant extravagancies*, such *fanatick fancies*, such *fulsome affectations*, such *empty pretensions*, such *uncharitable janglings*, such *miserable manglings*, and such *proud usurpations*, under any notions and pretensions which common people please to call their *Christian Liberties*.

C H A P. XV.



High are indeed little else than *novell vanities*, opposing pious *Antiquity*; *weaknesse* vaunting it self against *strength*; ignorance, darkness and confusion boasting against sound knowledge, true light, and holy order; folly crying it self up for wisdom; the *rapes* and *stratagems* of Religion styling themselves rare *Reformations*: *melancholy* ravings are cried up for divine Revelations; schismatick conventicles voted for the onely pure and organized Churches of Christ; being *bodies* (as *Tertullian* accurately observes) so homogeneous, similiary and inorganick, that it is hard to discern which is the head or tail, hand or foot, Pastor or people: like *earth-worms* they crawl with either end forward; all are Prophets & inspired, all grow Seers, Teachers, Elders and Rulers of the Church. If they can but light on some new notions, some strange fancies, some odde and unwonted expressions, they are presently set forth for rare and spiritfull discoveries; when (indeed) they are but old and rotten *errors*, pro- trite and putid opinions of the ancient *Gnosticks*, or *Valentinians*, or *Manichees*, or *Montanists*, or *Circumcellians*, or *Donatists*, who affected either to invent poetick fancies, or to darken and bury plain and wholsome *Truths*, by words without understanding.

And such are, for ought that ever I could discern, those *Seraphick*, *Anabaptistick*, & *Familistick* Hyperboles, those *proud swelling words of vanity* and novelty, with which those men use to deceive the simple and credulous sort of people, who are set up by them as the great *rivals* and *Antagonists* of the Ancient, Catholick and Apostolick Ministers of Christ, and Vastators of the whole frame of the *Church of England*.

Can you (O worthy Gentlemen) or any sober Christians, who are not strangers to the prayings, preachings and writings heretofore brought forth by the worthy Ministers, Bishops and Presbyters of the *Church of England*; can you think, that either the godly *Ministers*, or the Christian people in *England* were ignorant of, or strangers to those *spirituall influences*, those inward powers and secret experiences of Religion, till these *new Pedlers* of piety began to open their *packs*, or till these *rare Rabbies* turned their *shops* into *Synagogues*, and their Conventicles into the onely true spiritualized Churches of Christ? Did we never know before these new *Illuminates* and *Spiritaties* rose up, what belonged to the humble seeking, the happy finding, and holy acquaintance with God, by the union and communion of *Gods Spirit*, working and witnessing with ours? Had we neither the *root* nor the *fruit* of true Religion till these new planters sprung up? Were we utterly strangers to Faith, Repentance, Charity and good works, or to that *joy, love, peace*, blef-

The best of the new Teachers compared with the Ministers of England.

Tert. de præf. c. 41. & 42. Quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est; pariter audiunt, pariter orant, &c.

Job 38.2.

2 Pet. 2.18.

Rom. 8. 16.

Maxima gratia
est minime sui
contentatrix.
Bern.

Pfal. 25. 14.
Prov. 3. 32.
Cant. 1. 2.

* Incidi in ho-
mines superbe
delirantes, car-
nales nimis &
sequaces in quo-
rum ore laquei
Diaboli, & vi-
scum confectum
commisioe syl-
labarum, nomi-
nis tui (i.e. Dei)
& Jesu Christi,
& paracleti,
Spiritus Sancti:
hæc enim nomi-
na non recede-
bant de ore eo-
rum; sed sono re-
nus & strepitu
linguarum; cæ-
terum cor inane
veri. Dicebant
veritas veritas
mibi; sed nus-
quam erat in
iis, qui falsè lo-
quebantur. Aug.
conf. l. 3. c. 6.
de Manicheis.
a 2 Pet. 1. 4.
b Phil. 3.

sed hopes, sweet satisfactions, evident sealings, sincere sanctifyings, and undoubted assurances of the holy Ghost, which are wrought by, and conform to the Word of God; first casting the Christian into that holy mould, and then filling him with such comforts as are unspeakable and glorious; whose nature is rather to be humbly enjoyed, modestly owned, and tenderly treated in a gracious soul, than vulgarly discovered, and vapouringly ostentated in a rude and vain-glorious fashion. The brightest lustre of Gods Jewels is rarely shewn, and hardly seen, being most glorious within: the richest wares are least set upon the stalls or shop-boards.

These (*Arcana, magnalia, sublimia Dei*) secrets of the Lord, these whisperings of the blessed Spirit, these (*oscula Christi*) kisses of Christ, as S. Bernard calls them, these (*aromata gratia*) perfumes of his soft breath, these glowings of grace in the heart, these holy fervours and heavenly raptures, of humble, devout, meditative, fervent souls, who the more they believe, the more they love, and the more they love, the better they live, more humanely and more divinely, more justly, more charitably and more orderly; these real preguistations of glory, and anticipations of heaven, blessed be God, were long ago known, and experimentally set forth in the Prayers, Sermons, writings and actions of thousands of good Christians, both Ministers and others, long before these novell and exoticick masters began to lisp out the Sibolths of fine phrases; before they dared to assault, and not onely cry, but beat down this and all National Churches, all Clergie of the ancient and right order, all Universities and Nurseries of good learning together, all Tithes, all Liturgies, all studied Sermons and premeditated prayers, all wholesome forms and sober compendiums of religious duties and devotion; as if all these were meerly carnall, literall, formall and superficial, naturall and papall, meer husks and shells, the rind and out-side of Religion. Yea, we had the comfort, and God the glory of his grace in the Ch. of Eng. long before either Anabaptists, or Familists, or Seekers, or Quakers, or Ranters, or any other spawn of Libertinism and Independency, of Schism and Separation, had amused the silly vulgar (as * S. Austin tells us, by his own experience, the subtil, but sordid, Manichees were wont to do) with their new notions and strange expressions of being Godded with God, Christed with Christ, Spirited with the Spirit, and the like affectations; which are either barbarities and simplicities, or blasphemies, insolencies and impossibilities of speaking: for no sober Christian ever did, or in Religion ought, or in true reasoning can understand, that by a believers being a partaker of a diviner nature through Christ, he is presently Deified, that is, personally invested, and plenarily possessed with all the infinite Attributes, essence and glory of God, which are incomprehensible by any finite understanding, and personally incommunicable to any creature, excepting Christ Jesus, the (*Deus deus* or *Immanuel*) God Incarnate, who onely may without robbery be equall with God, esteemed, called, and adored as God.

So

So that they can religiously mean no more by all this pomp of their words, than what was long ago far better understood, and expressed in more humble, wholsom and intelligible words; also better enjoyed by sober, meek, just and quiet-spirited Christians, who well knew the glorious priviledges of every gracious and sincere Christian, which is to see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; to whom being related by faith, they are in some sense united to God. As the eye that sees the suns light and glory by its beams, is in some sense truly enlightened by it, united to it, & partaker of it; not as to the vastnesse of its Globe, essentiall glory, which is far too big and too bright for the eyes small capacity, but as to its pleasing influences: in like manner, the Christian that is illuminate and regenerate by Baptism, instructed by the Word of God, and sanctified by the Spirit of God, is so drawn to Christ, by the sweet attractions of the cords of his love, and engrafted in him, that he is not now his own, but Christs; not enslaved to his own sinfull and depraved nature, but endued with the new powers and principles of an holy and heavenly nature, which is truly and soberly that divine nature of which S. Peter speaks; which while we behold by true faith and obedience, we are changed into the same image from Glory to Glory.

2 Cor. 4. 6.

1 Cor. 6. 19.

2 Cor. 3. 18.

CHAP. XVI.



Then a wise and serious Christian, who is not so idle or impudent as to play with Religion, to trifle in holy things, or to mock with God; if such an one will lose so much time as to sift all that these new masters vent, that these vapouring Prophets say or write, as rare and precious, spirituall and heavenly, beyond all the fleshly forms, learned ignorance, and litterall darknesse, under which, they say, we other Christians and Ministers in England have lain long, and laboured all night in vain; if he will do himself and them so much right, as to winnow away the chaff of their affected language, their bumbast tearms, their insolent expressions; drive them from the refuge and confidence they have in the sillinesse of their Auditors, the easinesse of their Disciples, and the sequaciousnesse of their followers (who most admire, when they least understand:) this done, he shall find, that either nothing remains that is wholsome and good in their swollen heaps of new notions and expressions (which are many times the gildings of some of their pills, the palliations of their poisonous opinions, the daring-glasses or decoyes to bring men into the inares of their dangerous or damnable doctrines;) or (at best) all this froth and swelling, this noise and ratling of their Novellizings, is reducible into a few drops, a little proportion of plain, easie and well-known truths, which

A farther sifting of these new Teachers.

Dogmatum tormenta, & terribilia verborum. Hier.

which neither needs nor desires such *Gnostick disguises*, such vapourings and vampings of *uncouth language*, such *muddy*, rather than *mysterious*, clouds of words; which rather signifie a *crackt brain*, a *fanatick spirit*, or an *affected hypocrite* (who either knows not, or cares not what they say or do) than any such blessed *broachings* of rarities, as they set forth their pageantries of *new-drest Divinity* to be, with the *emphasis* of *Gospel-truths*, *precious sparks*, *spirituall manifestations*, *rare discoveries*, *unheard-of emanations*, the *Saints anointing*, the *uncarnating of a Christian*, the *pryings of Gods children* into their *fathers glory*, their rising and reigning with Christ, their *deification* with God. With these and such like, either *torments* of opinions, or *terriculaments* of expressions, do these new sort of *Preachers* seek, not to edifie in the most holy faith, but to scare and terrifie their silly sectators out of their *sober senses* and mother-wits; by which (God knows) they are onely capable, as *babes*, of *milk* (things and words easie to be understood) but not of such hard and *strong meat* as these men proffer them, which are indeed *stones* rather than *bread*, and many times *serpents* more than *fishes*; dry and *bare bones*, or rotten and noy-some *carriion*, rather than *savoury* and wholsom *nourishments* of sound and Christian Doctrine.

But if any of these rare *Master-cooks* of *Christianity*, whose art is to new dress and disguise *old Divinity*, when they have first learned themselves, then taught others to despise those plain and practick methods of Faith and Repentance, of Piety and Charity, which were wont to be commended to good Christians, by the learned, orderly and excellent Ministers of the *Church of England*; if these *mysterious Mountebanks* do by chance hit upon some new notions and odde expressions, either by reading some of the *Speculatists* of the Roman party, as *Harpinus*, *Nubergensis*, *Thomas de Kempis*, *Martin d'Espilla*, *Teresa*, or the like; if they can spell out *Theologia Germanica*, or conne by heart the religious *Rhodemontado's* of *H. N.* if they can (as *Heracitus* his ass) feed upon the tall thistles of *Jacob Behmen*, *Vanbelmont*, or some such piece of *Familistick nonsense*, and *Seraphick curiosity*; if they have naturally a chimerick fancy, a stroke of *Evans* or *Gosfelowes* crowing brains; if in many odde *ravings* they perchance light upon something that seems *truish* and *newish*, gay and glistering in Religion, beyond what was heretofore known by themselves, or usuall to the common people, because neglected and despised by grave and sober Ministers:

March. 3.

Yet (still) all this their glory and invention amounts commonly to no more than the *Devils setting Christ on the pinnacle of the Temple*, not to exalt him, but to tempt him: the end and aim is, that from the *precipice* of pride and presumption he may cast them down and destroy them. After much bigness, they bring forth (perhaps) some *Scholastick subtilty*, some *Sceptick nicety*, or *Seraphick sublimity*, which onely serves to *puff up*, but not at all to feed either themselves or their *windy Disciples*: much after the rate that *Origen* did, when he decayed or doted, when from a learned Catechist at *Alexandria*,
from

from a grave and admired *interpreter* of Scripture, he turned *Chymist* in Divinity, & *Allegorist* in Religion; for leaving the fruitfull valleys and plain paths of necessary Christian *verities*, he fancied nothing but high-flying curiosities, and far-fetch'd fancies: of which (as *Tertullian* speaks) good Christians have no need, and so no desire, since the excellency of the knowledge of *Jesus Christ* is sufficiently and plainly revealed to them in the Scripture: although even *Tertullian* himself (as a man of an enormous wit and transcendent fancy, too big for it self) was hardly able afterward to keep within those sober bounds which sometime he prescribed to others, after the good rule of *S. Paul* (ὡς ὑπερθερνεῖν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ θερνεῖν, ἀλλὰ θερνεῖν ἐν τῷ σω-
θερνεῖν.) to be soberly wise, or wise with sobriety; but He, even He turned Enthusiast, and driven by envy, disdain and anger, beyond the bounds of Reason and Religion, he forsook the Catholick Communion of the Church (not in Doctrine so much as Discipline) to comply with some fanaticks, who fitted his sharp and melancholy humour, which was prone to severities of conversation and extasies of speculation. Not onely great wits, as *Origen* and *Tertullian*, so *Nestorius* and *Apollinaris*, &c. but lesser ones, as *Montanus*, and *Manes*, and *Arius*, whom *Saint Jerome* calls *Demonium meridianum*, are many times prone to adventure on the brinks of hell; their itch and petulancy are not satisfied, till their bold fancies and heterodox opinions have an *hant-goust* of blasphemy; till they so far advance upon the suburbs of error, heresie, and damnable Doctrine, that they can hardly be fetched off by any *salvoes* of cunning sophistries, with pretended inspirations, or nice and subtil distinctions, which are like *high-tasted sauces* made with *garlick* or *onions*, purposely applied to tainted meats, to make their putridness less perceptible, or more passable with grosser palates. As dead carcases, so are the corrupt minds and doctrines of men, the more putrid, by how much the more swell'd in the pomp of words.

Take their raptures, rarities and novelties of our new Masters at their best, they have ever much more in the shew than substance of Religion; like *Hérons* and *Estriches*, they are more in the wing and feather than in the body and substance: they are such precious discoveries as are justly nauseous to a gracious spirit, and of which a good Christian may safely be ignorant. If any simple souls do perchance light on any of their jingling notions, and be taken with their new-founding Divinity, like the noyse of tinkling Cymbals, or bag-pipes, or Jewes-trumps, compared to that grave Church-musick which was made of the ancient harmony of Catholick Doctrine; yet I see no cause for either the authors or followers of those novell niceties, to be puffed up, & swelled so excessively in themselves, nor yet to despise (as they do) all those grave Divines and godly Christians, whose rack is not so high, but their manger may be as full; who can be content with *manna*, though they have no *quails* wherewith to gratifie their wanton appetites. Truly I could never yet esteem these vapouring Seraphicks, these new Gnosticks, to be other

Nobis post christum curiositate opus non est, nec revelationis post Evangelium.

De præf.

Hoc prius credimus, ultra scripturas non licet esse quod credimus. Id.

Rom. 1:3.

Iservienti ingenio nihil periculosius aut bonis moribus aut sanctæ religioni. Eras.

Ut cadavere, sic hæreticorum dogmata, quod magis putida, et magis inflata, suaque tæbe tumescunt.

Tolerabilius est Deo quempiam cum ignorantia in humilitate jacere, quam cum elatione alta sapere. Greg. Moral.

2 Tim. 2. 20.
Col. 2. 18.
2 Cor. 11. 10.
2 Cor. 11. 3.

other than a kind of *Gipsy-Christians*, or a race of Circulators, Tumblers and Juglers in the Church, who have more of little apish tricks and feats, than of solid ability, industry, or honesty: they impose upon the vulgar by a kind of *legerdemain*, by a juggling and canting way in Religion: much shifting up and down, much capering and vaulting they use, but they advance not at all in any vertue, grace, or knowledge. They are a sort of (*funambulones*) dancers upon the ropes in Religion, whose affected height and daring curiosity in their notions and motions, doth not countervail the danger of their *audacity*, or the impertinency of their *activity*; nor have they any cause to despise those who walk more lowly and soberly on the *firm ground*, less indeed to vulgar admiration, but more to their own safety and others benefit. S. Paul seriously reprehendeth the vanity of *knowledge falsely so called*, when men intrude themselves into things they understand not, being puffed up (as those primitive Gnosticks) in their fleshly minds, not holding the Truths as they are in Jesus, nor content with the simplicity of the Gospel, as it hath been delivered, received, understood, believed and practised by the Catholick Church of Christ: this check the Apostle gave to humane curiosities and Satanic subtilties, even then, when speciall gifts and revelations were at the highest tide.

CHAP. XVII.

The modesty, gravity, sanctity and solidity of true Ministers, &c.

Sanctam inscientiam & doctam ignorantiam. Praestat per Deum nescire, quia non revelaverit, quam per hominem scire, quia ipse praesumpserit. Tert. de An. cap. 1.

* Deut. 29. 29. Si propter eos solos Christus mortuus est qui certa intelligentia possunt ista (sublimia) discernere, penè frustra in ecclesia laboramus. Aug. ep. 101. * Rom. 11. 33.



He better learned and more humble Ministers of the Church of England, (both Bishops and Presbyters) ever professed, with S. Austin and the renowned Ancients, an *holy nescience*, or *modest ignorance* in many things; no less becoming the best Christians, the acutest Scholars, and profoundest Divines, than their (otherwayes) vast knowledge and accurate diligence to search the Scriptures, and find out things * *revealed by God which belong to the Church*. The modesty and gravity of their learning commends the vastness and variety of it; as dark shadowes and deep grounds set off the lustre of fair pictures to the greater height. They were not ashamed to subscribe to Saint * Paul's (p. 230) unfathomable depth, the *divine Abyss* of unsearchable wisdom and knowledge: they were not curious to pry into things above them, or to stretch their wits and fancies beyond that line and measure of truth, which God had set forth to his Church in his written Word, and in those Catholick summaries thence extracted, as the rule of Christian Faith, Manners and Devotion, whereto the spirits of all good Christians, great and small, learned and idiots, were willingly confined of old,

old (as *Irenaeus* tells us :) they never boasted of *raptures, revelations, new lights, visions, inspirations, special missions* and *secret impulses* from Gods Spirit, beyond or contrary to Gods Word, and the good order of his Church, thereby to exercise their supposed liberties and presumptuous abilities; that is, indeed, to satisfy their lusts, disorders and extravagances in things civil and sacred, to discover their immodesties and impudicities, like the *Cainites, Ophites, Judaites* and *Adamites*, to gratify their luxuries and injuries, their sacrilegges and oppressions, their cruelties against man, and blasphemies against God, their separations, divisions and desolations intended against this Church.

Neg; qui valde potens est in dicendo ex ecclesiæ prædictis alia ab his dicit; neque qui debilis est in dicendo hanc traditionem imminuit. Iren. l. i. cap. 3. de Symbol.

The godly Pastors and people of Christs flock never professed any such *impudent piety*, or *pious impudence*, because they were evidently contrary to sound Doctrine and holy Discipline, beyond and against the sacred precepts and excellent patterns of true Ministers, sincere Saints, and upright Christians, whose everlasting limits are the *holy Scriptures*, sufficient to make the man of God and Minister of Christ perfect to salvation. They were not (like children) taken with any of these *odde maskings* and *mummeries of the Devil*, who is an old master of these arts, in *false Prophets* and *false Apostles*, with their followers, whose craft ever sought to advance their *credits* against the *Orthodox Bishops, Presbyters, and professors* of true Religion, by such ostentations of *novelties* and unheard-of *curiosities* in Religion, which never, of old or late, made any man more honest, holy, humble, or heavenly: they never advanced Christians comforts, solitary or sociall, living or dying; but kept both their Masters and Disciples in perpetual inquietudes, perplexities and presumptions, which usually ended in villanies, outrages and despairs. Nor will these new Masters late discoveries prove much better (whereof they boast with so insolent and loud an *Eggonia*) for all their rarities are but *dead carcases*, which are become *mummy* by being long dried in the sands, or wrapped up in *searcloths*; they are not less dead, though they seem less putrified, to those whose simplicity or *curiosity* tempts them thus to rake into the skulls and sepulchres of *old Hereticks & idle Ecstasicks*, such as the very *primitive times* were infinitely pestred withal: but, blessed be God, they were all long ago either extinct of themselves, and gone down to the *pit*, or crucified, dead, buried, and descended into hell, by the just censures, Anathemas and condemnations passed against them by the godly Bishops and Ministers of the Church in those ages. Nor have these *Spectres* ever much appeared in this *Church of England* till these later years, in which, by the ruines and rendings of this Church, they have gained a *rotten kind of resurrection*; not to their glory, but to their renewed shame and eternall infamy, I trust, in Gods due time, when once the honour of the true Christian and Reformed Religion (once happily settled and professed in the *Church of England*) shall be again worthily asserted and re-established by your piety and prudence (my noble and religious Countrey-men) who have been, and I hope ever

will be, the chief professors and constant Patrons of it, under your God and your pious Governours.

Your prudence and piety, your justice and generosity is best able to see through all those *transports*, which are so *transparent*, those specious pretences, those artificiall mists and vapours, which are used by some *novel Teachers* to abuse the common people; that engaging them into eternall parties, animosities and factions, they may more easily, by many mouths and hands, not onely cry, but utterly pull down this Reformed Church of England, in its sound Doctrine, wholesome Discipline, Catholick Ministry, sacred Order, solemn Worship, and Apostolick Government. All which must now be represented to the world by these new Remonstrants, as *poor* and *pittifull*, *carnall* and *common*, meer empty forms and *beggarly elements*, fit to be cast out with scorn, as reaching no further than *Christ in the letter*, *Iesus in the flesh*, *Truth in the outward court*, *Religion in the story or legend*: but (they say) the Ministers and other Christians of *Old England* are not come *within the vaille*, to the *Spirit* and *Mystery*; they have not that light within, which far out-shines the *paper-lantern* of Gods word without them.

CHAP. XVIII.

The designs & ends of fanatic Libertines farall to the Reformed Religion.



Hese, and such like, are the uncouth expressions used to *usher in*, under the names of *liberty*, *curiosity*, *sublimity*, nothing but *ignorance*, *idleness*, *Atheisme*, *barbarity*, *irreligion*, and *utter confusion* in this Church: or, at best, (as I shall afterward more fully demonstrate) they are but vancouriers or agitators for *Romish superstitions* and *Papall usurpations*; the end of all this gibberish is, *Venient Romani*.

Put all these *fine fancies* and affected phrases together, with all those strange phantasms in Religion, which of late have *haunted* this Church, like so many unquiet vermin, or unclean spirits; truly they spell nothing but, first, popular extravagances, which are the embasings and embroylings of all true and Reformed Religion; next, they portend *Popish* interests and policies prevailing against this Church and State, whose future advantages are cunningly, but notably, *wrapped up* in these *plebeian* furies and fondnesses, as *grocery wares* are in *brown paper*. Be confident, the *spirit of Rome* (which is very vigilant and active) doth then move most potently upon the *face of our English waters*, when there is to be seen nothing but a *sea of confusion*, a meer *Chaos* of the *Christian and Reformed Religion*.

Which feared deluge, and (by wise men foreseen) *devastation* of the

the *Reformed Religion* (once wisely established, honourably maintained, and mightily prospered in the *Church of England*) is already much spread and prevalent among many people, under the plea and colour of I know not what *liberty*, to own any or no Minister, any or no Religion, any, none, or many Churches in *England*. The visible decays and debasings of the true and Reformed Religion in *England*, as to piety, equity, unity and charity, as to the authority of its Ministry and solemnity of its Ministrations, are so palpable, both in the outward peace and profession, also in the inward warmth and perswasion, that it is high time for all sober and wise men, that love God, Religion and their Countrey, mightily to importune the mercies of God, that breathing upon us with a spirit of meeknesse and wisdom, truth and love, humility and honesty, he would (at length) assuage that deluge of contempt and confusion, the troubled and bitter waters of wrath and contention, which have over-whelmed the highest mountains of this Church; over-topping by their salt waves and aspersions, the gravest, wisest, most learned and religious, both Preachers and professors, of the Reformed Religion in this Church and Nation.

Which licentious insolencies have made all sober Christians so sick, weary and ashamed of them, that they cannot but be infinitely grieved to see and foresee the *low ebbe*, to which the Reformed Religion, in its purity and power, must in time fall in *England*, while the pristine dignity and authority of the *Evangelicall Ministry* is so invaded, baffled and despised; while the authentick derivation, and Catholick succession of that *holy power*, is so interrupted, innovated, divided, destroyed; while the reverence of primitive customs and examples is so slighted, abated, by *fanatick innovators*; while the cords of Christian harmony and Church-polity are so loosened and ravelled on every side; while the just honour and encouragements of learning and learned men are so much damped and exhausted; while the *Ecclesiastick Glory* of this Nation, which was its chiefest (in being and owning it self as a true and Reformed Church of Christ) is so much eclipsed; to the great reproch of this present age, and the infinite hazard of posterity; which will hardly ever recover the honour, order, beauty and unity of Christian and Reformed Religion formerly enjoyed in this Church and Nation, when once the Jewels of it, the learned, ordained, orderly and authoritative Ministers of the Gospel, with all their Ministry and Ministrations, come to be either trampled under feet by Schismaticall fury, or invaded and usurped by vulgar insolency; which in time will rake them all up, and bury them in the dunghill of Romish superstitions and Papal usurpations.

CHAP. XIX.

An humble & earnest expostulation in the behalf of the people and Church of England.



How far in humane policy or reason of State this popular liberty (or rather insolency, usurpation, and anarchy in Religion) is to be indulged, I know not, as not pretending to any of those depths of secular wisdom, which will be found shallow at last, if Gods glory and the good of mens souls be not in the bottom of them.

But thus far I conceive I may (after so many years sad experience, which all sober Christians have had of the retrogradations of the Reformed Religion in England) appeal, as to you, who are the most generous and judicious persons in this Nation, so to all prudent and well-advised persons, of all sizes and conditions, who are capable to weigh the true interests and future concernments of their Countrey and Posterity, both as to Piety and Peace, Honour and Happinefs, by way of an humble and earnest expostulation.

Hath not (I beseech you) this English world, Prince and peasant, Pastors and people, great and small, had enough, both in cities and in villages, of these late *Hasshes, Olives, and Quackshoes* of Religion; in the mixture and dressing of which every foul hand must have a finger? Do you not perceive a different face of Christian and Reformed Religion, from what was heretofore in England, when it had less experience of vulgar licentiousness, but more true Christian liberty; when, in my memory & most of yours, Engl. was so full and flourishing, with excellent Christians of all sorts, young and old, plain and polite, learned and illiterate, noble and ignoble, in the *Nobility, Gentry, Yeomanry and Peasantry*, whose settled & judicious piety was the fruit of the labours, cares, counsels and inspection of those learned, grave and godly Ministers, both Bishops and Presbyters, with whom you were blessed? Have not all of you had enough, and too much of these *new flashes, these fluttering squibs, these erratick Planets, these wandering Stars, these pretenders to rarities, novelties, superfluities, super-reformings, raptures, revelations, and Enthusiasmes in Religion*? To all which you may easily see, that a fancifull invention, a melancholy pride, a popular itching, a profane spirit, a loose temper, and a glib tongue, are very prone to betray men (being as sufficient to furnish them in those trades, as a little stock will go far to make up a pedlars pack:) yet have they so great confidence of themselves, as if they exceeded not onely all former Christians, all Ministers, all Councils, all Churches; but even all holy Scriptures themselves, whose darkness or incompleteness must (as some men say) be cleared and supplied by their speciall illuminations: an old artifice of the Devil, most used by those men, and in those times, which being most destitute of true reason,

reason, good learning and Religion, did most vapour of their visions and revelations, their traditions and superstitions: witness those *Gimmerian Centuries*, or blinder ages of these Western Churches, in which there were as many *visions, revelations* and *miracles* daily obtruded on the credulous vulgar, as there were *Monasteries* and *Nunneries*, which in stead of Seminaries and Nurseries became dark dungeons, wherein Christian Religion and Devotion were for many ages sadly confined, and almost smothered with superstition, idleness and luxury.

Have we not had enough & too much of vulgar playings with piety, of triflings with Christian and Reformed Religion, of baffling, abusing and abusing the Christian Ministry, of buffeting of Christ, of mockings of God, by impudent pratings and insolent intrudings, by confused *rhapsodies* and *shuffling sanctities*, by endless janglings and refined blasphemies, vented in some mens writings, preachings, prayings, & practisings, so far from the light, weight and height, the sobriety, sanctity and majesty of true Religion, that they are (most-whar) void of ordinary reason and common sense, of equity and modesty, of humanity and civility; being little else but the froth of futile and fanatick spirits, who blind poor people to enlighten them, captivate them to make them free, and ruine them, under pretense of building them after new wayes and models of Religion, sanctity, salvation?

Have we not had enough of passionate transports, popular zelotries, Anarchicall furies, deformed reformings, and desperate hypocrisies; by which some men have, like very foul chimneys, not onely taken fire themselves, according as their own lusts kindled them, but they have sought to set this whole house of God, the Reformed Church of England, on fire, under pretence (forsooth) of cleansing the soile and foot of it; which appear now to have been more in their own hearts, than any where else?

Have we not had enough of insolent railings, bitter calumnies, odious indignities, and endless divisions, brought upon this Reformed Church of England, upon its Apostolick Ministry, and all its Evangelical Ministrations, as invalid, superstitious, Popish, Antichristian, abominable? Besides the tragick depressions and undoings of many sober Ministers, in their persons, credits and estates, who were justly esteemed by good Christians for very pious, painfull and peaceable men; yet have the storms of times not onely fallen heavily upon them, during the *paroxysme of our civil wars*, but even since that tempest hath been allayed, many poor Ministers (beyond all other men) have been afflicted with the *strifes of tongues*, with schismatical despites, with opinionative and disputative (besides operative) persecutions, so far, that many a grave and godly Minister hath not known whither to flie, not so much for employment, as for his safety, or quiet; that he might in any corner or cottage of the land be free from the molestations of those importune wasps, those ill-natur'd Factionists, who are his eternall An-

Ep Joh. 3. 10.

Exod 13. 18.

‘ragonists; who first separating from him, at length they preach (or
 ‘*prate*) against him, against his office, orders and function, counting
 ‘themselves as a new swarm of Teachers sent of God, to be to the
 ‘former stock of Preachers like the *hornets* sent against the Canaan-
 ‘nites, that driving all the ancient, orthodox, duly ordained, and well-
 ‘learned Ministers out of the employment and communion of the
 ‘Church, this *Canaan of England*, this *good land*, this *famous Church*,
 ‘may wholly be in their possession.

‘Have we not had enough and too much of *petulant practises*,
 ‘scurrilous expressions, and blasphemous insolencies, cast even upon
 ‘that *God*, that *Saviour*, that *holy Spirit*, that *blessed Trinity*, whom
 ‘we adore and admire; besides the neglects, contempts and profa-
 ‘nations cast upon our *Sacraments*, our *Sermons*, our *Prayers*? I need
 ‘not to adde and repeat the diminutions and indignities under
 ‘which many worthy *Ministers*, both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, do lie,
 ‘together with that whole *Evangelical* order and office, which
 ‘planted, preserved and reformed this *Church of England*.
 ‘How many have questioned, others derided, a third sort divided
 ‘from, and not a few have utterly denied, and (as much as in them
 ‘lies) destroyed them all? Hence many are grown to esteem all
 ‘our *Religion*, all our *Reformation*, all *Christian duties*, all *Wor-*
 ‘ship and *Devotion*, no better than meer politick frauds, specious fa-
 ‘bles, popular fallacies, cunning captivities, witty mockeries and
 ‘delusions of the people.

‘Yea, that nothing might be wanting which malice can invent
 ‘or act, there are some so fierce and cunning enemies of the *Church*
 ‘of *England*, that (to bring our *Reformation* into further defiance
 ‘and disgrace among *Papists*, *Atheists* and profane livers) they dare
 ‘to impute even their most putid errours, their most extravagant
 ‘fancies, their most factious and flagitious practises, either to refor-
 ‘ming principles, or to Gods Spirit and divine impulses. O what *asto-*
 ‘nishment, what *stupor*, what a *lethargie*, what a *dumbnesse*, what *sea-*
 ‘rednesse, what *deadnesse* must needs possess the *Spirit* of any Nation
 ‘(so *Christian*, so *Retormed*, so knowing and enlightened as the
 ‘people of *England* sometime was) to hear with patience, yea with
 ‘silence, yea with connivence, yea with smiles and seeming appro-
 ‘bation, such *insolencies*, such extravagancies imputed to their *Re-*
 ‘ligion, yea to their *Reformation*, nay to the Spirit of their God and
 ‘Saviour, horrid and black enormities, which deserve to be expia-
 ‘ted with *teares of blood*, as *Gregory Nazianzen* speaks of some abuses
 ‘of Religion in his times. O blessed God, stir up such a pious shame,
 ‘sorrow and abhorrence in the generality of the people, that these
 ‘fedities may not become the sins of the nation.

‘Have we not had enough and too much of *scepticall disputes* and
 ‘unedifying contests, of unhealing questions and uncharitable quar-
 ‘rellings, of bitter strifes and bloody contradictions, of evil
 ‘eyes and envious emulations, prevailing like *gangrenes* or cance-
 ‘rous distempers, even among those that profess to be godly, and
 con-

' contend for the superiority of *Sanctity*? By all which (as *S. Hilary*
 ' passionately complains, after the *Arian* fury had poysoned the
 ' Church in his times) not onely unkind distances, but mutuall de-
 ' fyances and damnings, the Christian Reformed Religion, some-
 ' time settled, uniform, and flourishing with verity, charity, decency,
 ' divine authority and publick majesty in the *Church of England*, is
 ' now made * an *annual, mensuall and diurnall* Faith or Religion, as
 ' *S. Hilary* aptly deplores. All things are either so snarled and in-
 ' tangled by infinite doubts and scruples, or so wire-drawn by popu-
 ' lar and petty disputes, or so broken in sunder by factious divisions,
 ' or so horrid, by reciprocall Anathemas, like thunder-bolts, cast on
 ' all sides in each others faces, that the common sort of people know
 ' not what to make of *Christian* or *Reformed Religion*, nor to what
 ' Ministers or Ministry to apply themselves with comfort and consci-
 ' ence. The *solid masse of pure gold*, which was the highest riches and
 ' honour of this *nation*, the true and invaluable treasure of your
 ' souls (while Religion, as Christian and Reformed, was carefully
 ' preserved as a precious and holy *depositum*;) this *well-refined* gold is
 ' now so dim and embased with dross, or so malleated and beaten
 ' thin by perverse disputations, that most men use Religion onely as
 ' *leaf-gold*, to tip their tongues, or gild over the superficies of their
 ' conversation withall, or to set off (as *S. Austin* observed of old in
 ' the *crafty Manichees* and others, both *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, of
 ' his time) with the shew and lustre of *Christian Religion*; all the
 ' new fancies, projects, policies and opinions of severall parties,
 ' which are presently by their authors and abettors cryed up as the
 ' *pure Ordinances of Jesus Christ*, the *perfect mind of the Spirit*, the
 ' *true meaning of the Scripture*, *Gospel-truths*, *hidden treasures*, *Evan-*
 ' *gelick rarities*: yea, that nothing might be thought to have been
 ' *Christian, Catholick, clear and constant*, settled and indisputable, as to
 ' Religion, in this or any other *Church* of any other frame and fashion;
 ' some men have sought, not onely to shake and batter, but to de-
 ' molish and utterly overthrow, the whole *house of wisdom*, beating
 ' down all the grand and goodly *pillars*, on the one side, of *faith, repen-*
 ' *tance, charity, good works*; on the other side, of *Scriptures, Ministry,*
 ' *Worship, and Sacramentall Mysteries*, as to the validity, authori-
 ' ty, majesty, sanctity, solemnity, and saving efficacy of them all:
 ' Upon which the *Catholick Church* was every where anciently built,
 ' even then, when it was by the *hands of the Apostles & their successors*
 ' (the *Primitive Bishops & Presbyters, Martyrs & Confessors*) hewn out of
 ' the rock of *heathenish barbarity & idolatry*, polished by heavy & sharp
 ' persecutions, fixed by the solidity and patience, honoured by the
 ' charity and constancy of Christian people: even all these solid sup-
 ' ports of Religion are sought by some men to be either sawn in
 ' sunder, or to be cut into chips and shavings, by their infinite scrupu-
 ' losities, by their importune longing after novelties, by their affe-
 ' ctations of Schisms, and separations, and usurpations.

' Alas! how many poor souls, rather *weak* than *wicked*, of easie
 ' heads,

Post Nicenam
 Synodum, nihil
 aliud quam si-
 dem scribimus,
 dum in verbis
 pugna est, dum
 de novitatibus
 quaestio est, dum
 de ambiguis
 querela est; dum
 alter alteri A-
 nathema esse co-
 pit, propè jam
 nemo est Christi.
 Eò processu est,
 ut nihil sanctu,
 nihil inviolabi-
 le perseveret;
 invicem mor-
 dentes penè ab-
 sumpti sumus.
 Hilar. vita.
 * Annuas atque
 mensuarias de
 Deo fides decer-
 nimus. Hilar.

Insanas & sa-
 crilegas fabulas
 suas Christiani
 nominis pallio
 velare contem-
 dunt. Aug. cont.
 Fau. l. 22. c. 15.

'heads, yet honest hearts, have (in these later years, since the vertigo
 'of Religion befell this Nation) ravelled out their time and ended
 'their dayes in *Obs* and *Sols*, in cavilling and contending, in shifting
 'their sides and parties, in seeking and shaking, in ranting and raving,
 'in quarrelling and jangling about their Religion? What new mo-
 'dels of Churches, what new methods of worshipping God, what
 'new forms for Ministry and Ministers have distracted and distorted
 'them, while they have been picking and chusing what way they
 'could best fancy, and with most advantages follow? Thus poor mor-
 'tals (who have infinite sins to be pardoned, and infinite wants to
 'be supplied, who have precious and immortal souls to be saved,
 'by the happy improvement of their short uncertain moment)
 'are by a *pragmatick vanity*, continually itching and scratching,
 'while they should be cleansing and healing; sceptically and mile-
 'rably disputing and doubting, while they are decaying and dying,
 'while they should, in all piety and prudence, by sound faith and seri-
 'ous repentance, be doing that great work which is evidently set forth
 'in the Word of God, and faithfully delivered unto them by the
 'Ministers of his Church. Behold the terrours of death prevent them;
 'Eternity presseth upon them, before they are resolved what side to
 'take, when to begin, where to fix, what to hold fast: the flower
 'of age passeth, gray hairs are here and there, giddiness in their
 'heads, stupor in their minds, hardness in their hearts, searedness in
 'their conscience, a Manichean dotage and delirancy seiseth upon
 'them, before ever they are resolved whether the Scriptures be the
 'true, onely and sufficient revelation of the Word and will of God;
 'whether it be their duty to live righteously, soberly and holily in this
 'present world toward all men; whether this Church of England,
 'and all the Churches of Christ in all ages, have not till now chea-
 'ted them and all the world; whether there be any Ministers in the
 'Church of England that are duly set over Christian people in the Lord,
 'to whom they owe double honour; whether they may not in some
 'cases follow their own fallacious fancies, and other mens flattering
 'suggestions, rather than the Scriptures plain and pregnant precepts,
 'in order to carry on the covetous, ambitious, factious, fanatick and
 'novell designs of such as call themselves godly; whether they may
 'not in some junctures of times and things (when opportunity suits
 'with their lusts and worldly interests) dispense with Gods revealed
 'will in his word, that they may fulfill his secret will, hinted, as they
 'suppose, by his providences; whether in order to advance the glo-
 'ry of God, men may not sometimes break his expresse commands,
 'presuming that then they please God best, when they most please
 'or profit themselves, as the onely people of God. These strange
 'scrupulosities, or extravagancies (rather) in Religion, do ordinarily
 'not onely intangle, but debauch the minds of common people, when
 'once they please themselves with inordinate liberties and ram-
 'blings in Religion, which fill their heads and hearts with such snar-
 'lings and intrigues, as resemble those deformed knots of burres
 'which

which colts get upon their manes and tails, when they run loose upon heaths or commons; they are easily got on, but very hardly shaken off, or cleared: mens interests, lusts and passions, once leavening their Religion, and blinding no less than biasing their judgments, it is not imaginable what sport the Devil makes with them; and with what compasses and fetches of godliness he plays his game by them.

Have we not enough and too much hitherto in *England*, of verball sanctity and titular Saints; not after the Catholick Christian account, which was Scripturall and orderly, unblamable and charitable, most imitable and honourable in an uniform and constant holiness, full of equity and charity, purity and sincerity; but upon new notions, names and factions? We have sects of self-canonizing Saints, as well as self-ordaining Ministers: every petty Schismatick, every solitary Seeker, every extatick Quaker, every Independent Noveller, every Presbyterian temporiser, each of these have learned of late to tip their tongues, & crown the heads of their parties with these precious names; (which are the ambition of Angels; the beauties of heaven, and glory of God himself.) And this they do not in a way of charitable communion and Christian emulation, as allowing others with them an interest in that honour, which I have the charity to believe some of the soberest in most of those sects may deserve; but peculiarly and exclusively, as if none that had, or still have communion with the *Church of Engl.* either as Bishops, or Presbyters, or people, ever had, or have any right or claim to be called or esteemed Saints: yea, some of the most noysome weeds of late grown up in the garden of this Church, the most vile, polluted and profane wretches, affect to style themselves the only herbs of grace; hereby causing the silly people to mistake hemlock for parsley, and to gather hen-bane for hearts-ease.

Thus while either with great superstition many men scruple, or with great pride they disdain to give the name & honor of Saints, to those holy men and women, whom the judgement of the Catholick Church, or the Scripture-Records, have ever counted and called Saints; yet they very superciliously and Pharisaically arrogate, nay some monopolize these Titles to themselves and their comrades, as absolutely and magisterially, as Popes have done that of His Holinesse, though they be never so black and abominable, as some Popes, even by Roman writers, are reported to have been, in the darkness and degeneracy of times, very monsters of men, and prodigies of all impiety, such as Guicciardine* describes Pope Alexan. the sixth, a Father worthier of such a Son, as *Cesar Borgia*, or the Duke of *Valentinus* was, than to enjoy so high a place of paternal presidency in the Church of Christ.

For what (I pray) can be more unsaintly, than to desire; yea, delight and glory, as some in *England* now do, in most unjust and uncharitable actions, in immoderate revenges, in the poverties, dis-

* A Serpent, who with his immoderate ambition & poisoned infidelity, together with all the horrible examples of cruelty, luxury and monstrous covetousness, had infected the world. Guicciard. n. l. 6. p. 308.

Contra hoc con-
cilium nostrum
rebellatur, &
omnis sacerdo-
talis auctoritas
falsis conspira-
tionibus de-
struitur. Cyp.
ep. 40. ad pleb.

Malac. 3. 8.

2 Cor. 12. 7.

'graces and dejections of their lawfull Pastors, in the divisions, di-
'stractions and destructions of that nobly Christian and Reformed
'Church, in whose bosome they were duly baptized and instructed,
'legitimately begotten, wholsomely nourished, and carefully educa-
'ted, as Christians, and as Reformed, to all excellent proportions of
'piety? What is less *Saintly* than for Christians to mutiny, nay re-
'bell (as S. Cyprian calls it) against those reverend Fathers, ortho-
'dox and godly Bishops, and other worthy, yea excellent Ministers,
'to whom they and their fore-fathers do really owe themselves, as
'S. Paul tells *Philemon*, as to whatever they can rightly pretend
'of the true honour, privilege and power of Christianity?

'What is less *Saintly* than to cry up novell, partiall and factious
'Reformations, to magnifie uncouth and exotick wayes of Ministry
'and Christianity, Church-fellowship and Communion; while in
'the mean time they ungratefully despise and cruelly crucifie their
'proper Mother, the Church of England, together with those whom
'they sometime justly esteemed as their Fathers in God, and bre-
'thren in Christ? What is less *Saintly* than to endeavour to rob God
'in a land of peace and plenty, to expose his servants and service
'(after the order of Christs Evangelicall Priesthood) to as great con-
'tempts, deformities and diminutions in all points, both for order
'and authority, learning and maintenance, as ever *Julian the Apo-*
'*state* did design? with great impudence crying down the rare and
'(indeed) incomparable Ministers of the Church of England, who
'had been liberally treated and honourably maintained, that they
'may, with vulgar easiness and credulity, by a penurious, covetous
'and sacrilegious sophistry, cry up some cheap new-fashioned
'Teachers, as rare Angels, that had no stomachs, and would preach
'gratis; who, I believe, are found in many places, as greedy and vor-
'acious as *Bel* and the *Dragon* in the *Apocrypha*. Nor can I think them
'other than *Apocryphall Preachers*, so far from Angels of light sent
'from God to comfort the Reformed Religion in its bloody
'sweat and agonies, that they seem rather as *Messengers of Satan*
'sent to buffet this Reformed Church and the renowned Clergie of
'England; whose fame and flourishing, whose piety and prosperity,
'whose honour and unity, whose Catholick order and authority,
'heretofore was so conspicuous, by the rare indulgence of Gods pro-
'vidence, by the generous munificence of pious Princes, and by the
'moderation of wise and worthy Parliaments, that God (it seems)
'saw it in danger (as S. Paul) to be exalted above measure, by reason
'of those excellent endowments and enjoyments, both spirituall
'and temporall, which were bestowed upon it. All which are prone
'to threaten themselves by their excess; the usuall temper of hu-
'mane frailty being such, that it is never so fixed, sweetened and
'seasoned by any temporall blessings in the best of men, but it is
'subject to warp, to fowre, or to putrifie, if it stand too long in the
'warm sun of prosperity.

'However it becomes all holy and humble Ministers to bless God,
'with

with holy *Job*, though he take what he once gave: it is his mercy that he chuseth rather by impoverishing of us to correct us, than to leave us wholly to that *crookedness* and putrefaction, which we were ready of our selves in peace and plenty to contract: it is better for any Church, any Clergie, any Christians, to be healed by the sharpness of Gods corrosives and vinegar, than too much softened by the suppleness of his oyles and lenitives. I hope the health and soundness of the Church and Clergie of England are Gods last designs; that his blessings to both shall in due time be restored and enjoyed again, when being better prepared to use and value them, we shall be less subject to abuse and loose them.

CHAP. XX.



MEAN time, while many grave and excellent Ministers are faine patiently to hang their *harps upon the willowes*, while they and other sober Christians daily weep over the waters of *Babylon* (our sad confusions;) a generall astonishment hath seized upon all sober and serious, wise and worthy men, true lovers of this Church

The rudeness & irreverence expressed by some in religious duties, as a part of their Liberty.

and Nation, who, with sad hearts and moistened eyes, do hear and see the more then *childish petulancies*, the rude insolencies, the impudent familiarities, the irreverent behaviours, which in many places the common sort of people are grown to affect, and presume to use, even in our religious duties and sacred assemblies; expressing less outward respect or reverence in the presence of God, when his Ministers and his people assemble to worship him, than they are wont to use, either for fear, or civility, or shame, before the *Steward* and Jury of a Court Leet, or the meanest *Justice of Peace* and his Clark in the countrey.

From the rude examples and daring indulgences of some men, (whose years and education might have taught them better manners) there daily growes up a numerous generation, a rustick, heady and impudent fry of *younger people*, who carry no more regard to any duties of Religion, or respect to the Ministers of them, than the *fourty children* did to the Prophet *Elisha*, when they mocked him; and were for their ill breeding and irreligious rudeness * torn in pieces by the she-Bears; to teach both parents and children better manners towards Gods Prophets, as was of old observed. Yea there are some grown so *clownish* and *Cyclopick* Christians, that their very Religion consists (not a little) in their morose, undecent, uncivil, untractable spirits and demeanour: if others have their heads reverently uncovered in the presence and service of God, these must have their hats on; not to relieve the tenderness and

* 2 King. 2. 24.
τῇ ἀναρχίᾳ
τῶν παιδῶν
ἐμαρτύρα
τὸς γοναίς, ἔ-
να μᾶλλον μὴ
ἀτιμᾶζειν
περὶ τὰς, ὅ
δι' αὐτῶν τὸν
θεόν. Quest.
& Resp. ad Or-
thod. in ep. Just.
Mar. Ref. 80.

infirmity of their heads, but to shew the liberty and furliness of their wills and spirits.

If others testify their *inward veneration* of the divine Majesty by their outward comely gestures, as either standing or kneeling, according to the variety of duties; these by all means affect to sit or loll, after such a lazy and neglective fashion, that easily discovers and openly proclaims, neither much *fear of God*, nor *reverence of man*: yea, some people are not satisfied thus to express their sullen tempers by their churlish and unconformable gestures, as to our religious duties and decencies (in case they vouchsafe to be present;) but they must be railing and reviling, *prating* and opposing, cavilling and disputing in publick.

What care, not *wholly uncircumcised*, can bear the *vain babblings*, the unprofitable, unpleasing and profane janglings of such sophisters, the unharmonious *noise* of such *Low-bells*, whose sound is neither with verity, certainty, harmony, nor gravity: yet do they, every where, seek to drown or confound the sacred *concert of Aarons bells*, and that sweet musick which was wont to be in *Gods sanctuary*, in our Churches here in *England*, when good Christians did orderly and reverently meet together with their *lawfull Ministers* in *one place*, with *one accord*, with *one heart*, *one mind*, *one mouth*, to *serve the Lord*, and to *edifie one another* in truth and love, with all modesty, humility, decency and solemnity.

CHAP. XXI.

The sad exchange people make of their old Religion for new Raptures.



High comfort & honour, solemnity and blessing of Religion, formerly enjoyed in most *Congregations of the Church of England*, how many of later yeares have dared, not more with rudeness than profaneness, to exchange for a kind of *Sibylline ravings*, *Bacchinal raptures*: They obtrude upon poor people sudden correptions, *licentious rantings*, *ridiculous quakings*, *fanatick ravings*, *senselesse vapourings*, and such like *ralleries* or *gallantries in Religion*, which seek to turn Christianity to a kind of *buffoonery*. If these corrupt & corrupt extasies, or extravagancies, be not permitted to such fanatick triflers, troublers of Religion (which no sober Christian can tolerate in their publick and religious meetings) they presently meditate the most desperate *separations*; they instantly fall to set up new Churches and Pastors *after their own heart*; their full revenge must be had, not onely by dividing themselves, but by seducing and poysoning other *silly people*, as much as may be, withdrawing them from that good esteem they had, and respect they formerly bare to the *Church of England* and their *lawfull Ministers*. Then the followers of these pragmatick Preachers

Preachers are taught to bear with patience (as horses are the noise of *drummes* and *trumpets*) all manner of scurrilous railings against the *Church and Clergie of England*. At last they are by troops brought up in *front*, to charge them with such insolency of speech and behaviour, of writing and acting, as sufficiently discovers their evil hearts to be like *mines* or *Petars*, full fraught and charged with all kinds of bitterness, contempt and animosity against them, in order to destroy them utterly, as soon as they have power and opportunity to do it.

In the room of whose orderly beauty, learned gravity, sober sanctity, and *exemplary piety*, so famous, conspicuous and prosperous heretofore, these bold extirpators and bitter Antagonists have hitherto produced (as the eruptions of *Aetna*, and earth-quakes are wont, with much swelling, noise and terrour) nothing but darkness, smoke and thick vapours, full of sulphureous obfuscations. Sure their executions and conclusions must be full of *mischiefs*, subversions, confusions, desolations, to the *Reformed Religion*; because there is not one dramme or *iota* (that ever I could observe) of sound knowledge, of usefull piety, of gracious effects, of holy patterns, of Christian principles, to be found in them, any way comparable to those proportions of wisdom and good understanding, of justice and charity, of meekness and moderation, with all which the English world was heretofore well acquainted, by the learned industry and exemplary piety of its *reverend Bishops*, and other *godly Ministers*; who were ever highly honoured, passionately loved, and worthily treated by *pious Princes*, *peacefull Parliaments*, and *unpassionate people*, long before either *tumultuary rabbles*, or *schismatick agitators*, or the *Scotch sword*, or the *Smectymnuan juncto*, or a lifted sequacious Assembly, or covenanting Houses, or *Committee-Consistories*, or *Military Superintendents*, undertook (by an unwonted authority and severity) not onely to *catechise*, but to *chastise* the *Church and Clergie of England*, even all the *Bishops*, and most of the *Presbyters*; among whom many one *person* might be found, whose learning and worth (every way) might *modestly* be put into the balance against all that any or all those parties can pretend to, or ever yet discovered to the wiser and better world, who have been, and are, the most rigid exactors, severest censurers, and forest enemies to the *Reformed Clergie and Church of England*.

Whose more crafty rivalls and cruellest persecutors, finding themselves (as heretofore, so still) vastly exceeded, and infinitely out-done, as to all reall *endowments*, commendable *practises*, and visible *sufficiences*, for learning, knowledge, utterance, prudence, for praying, preaching, writing and living, they are (now of late, after the way of those old fanatics, who called themselves the pure, elect, inspired and spirituall ones) flown to the retreats and refuges of their inward graces, to more secret and spiritual perceptions, to hidden and unseen acquaintances with God. Which are (as I formerly touched) the old *αἰνουμενα* of elect Manichees, and paraclete

*Vid. Aug. de
Heres. Manich.*

Monta-

Mat. 5. 16.

1 Cor. 2. 11.

Rev. 2. 17.

John 5. 30.

Montanists, meer shifts and sleights, blinds and evasions, where the light of mens works and gifts shines not to the glory of God, as our Saviour speaks: for these are (*a nemo scit*) as easily denied as they are rashly affirmed, being indiscoverable and incommunicable to any but Gods and a mans own spirit. The *hidden manna*, the *white stone*, the *new name*, which none can read but he that hath it, these (if meant of Graces) are best asserted, or most confuted, by mens works. No man is of God, who doth not the *will and works of God*, as they are revealed in his Word, in all righteousness and holiness, with meekness and humility, with sobriety and good order: in all which, if any (the best) of these *Novellers* do at any time come neer to the parts, graces and merits of those that were, and are, dutifull sons and servants to the *Church of England*; yet I am sure they cannot, without intolerable impudence, pretend to exceed them so far, that no fair quarter may be allowed to the former Preachers and Professors in this Church; that no place or naile should be left them in *Gods sanctuary* here in *England*.

CHAP. XXII.

The foul mistakes & abuses of Christian liberty in vulgar spirits.



Into which (as I have by many instances evinced) some mens folly or fury hath (of later years) sought to bring so much *filth and confusion*, that they have almost made this Church an *Augcan stable*; so that it is an *Herculean* work to cleanse it of all those *deborments* and *debasements* fallen upon Christian Religion, of those fedities and deformities brought upon its reformed profession, of those disorders and undecencies which have invaded Ecclesiastick duties and mysteries: all which necessarily follow the invasions and usurpations of popular *libertie in Religion*; which (though already full of squallor and sordidness, yet) are still eagerly challenged, loudly clamoured, and fiercely asserted by the common people and their parasites, the most *plebeian spirits*.

Acts 19. 32.

Who not capable to comprehend, or not willing to *understand* the gracious beauty, the holy modesty, and divine majesty of *true Christian liberty* (which most excludes all base *licenciousnesse*, as the brightest light doth all darkness, and the perfectest health all sickness) have excessively doted in later years upon this *Image of imaginary liberty*, as if it had newly come down from heaven in a *whirlwind* of Civil war and Schisme; whereas (in good earnest) the most *vociferant vulgar*, who most cry up this their *Diana*, like the riotous rabble at *Ephesus*, do least know what the *matter* is, nor what *true Christian liberty* means: which undoubtedly puts the severest restraints that may be *upon it self*, as to doing any thing *offensive to God*, or *injuri-*

ous to its neighbour, in private and single, much more in publick and social respects; in civil, much more in religious relations, which as men and Christians we bear to one another.

True *Christian liberty* is as far as heaven from hell, from any thing that looks like incivility, rudeness, barbarity, inhumanity, frenzy, fedit, disorder, deformity. Rationall and religious liberty is not the freedom of an untamed heifer, of an unbridled horse, of a mad dog, or an unyoked hog, which will ramble and wallow, and bite and root up where they list; which seeks to subvert, not whole houses onely, Titus 1. 11. but famous Churches, to infect as many as they can, with the plague and contagion of mens own evil hearts.

It is not *Christian liberty*, but an earthly, sensuall and devillish laziness, or licentiousness, for men and women that have been baptised in the name of Christ, and so dedicated to his worship and service (as well publick and social, as private and solitary) to sleep and laze in their chimney corners on the Lords day, rather than go to Church, as many hundreds do. It is no part of *Christian liberty*, to come seldom or never to the Lords Supper, to despise Baptisme; to forsake those publick assemblies where the true God is truly and sincerely worshipped, according to his Word, with soundness, holiness, order, decency and sincerity; to rail at, and separate from all those Bishops and Ministers of so well a reformed and wisely settled Nationall Church, who are evidently furnished with good ability, and invested with most undeniable & due authority, to dispense sacred mysteries. It is no part of *Christian liberty*, for men to speak, and act, and behave themselves in Religion, as seems good in their own eyes; which are easily blinded with passion, pride, prejudice, covetousness, ambition, revenge. It is no part of *Christian liberty*, for men to have no regard to that order, peace, charity, duty and subordination which God requires, and which every Christian owes, as to the civil, so to that Ecclesiastick polity and Society in which God hath placed him, as by his birth and habitation, so by his baptism and profession; which are the holy ties of Religion, by which, as members of Christs body in the judgement of charity (his visible Church) we are bound to him as the head, and to each other as members, in the severall places and proportions where God hath set us; either in a coordination and community, as to brethren, or in subordination and superiority, as to Fathers, guides, Pastors, Governours, Teachers; to whom, as sons, Heb. 13. 7, 17. or scholars, we owe the duties of love, gratitude, reverence, submission and obedience for the Lords sake, and for their work sake. If it be a 1 Thes. 5. 13. great sin, and deserving the ponderous milstone of Gods heavy judgement (as our Saviour tells us) to offend causelessly, uncharitably and maliciously, one of Christs little ones; how much greater and more intolerable must the condemnation of those be, who wantonly and presumptuously offend, yea, seek to wound and destroy, those that are duly and deservedly the Bishops and Presbyters, the chief heads and Fathers, Officers and Stewards, Guides and Governours, even in Christs stead, and by his authority, over his house and family, his Temple

Temple and Body, which is his Church, in the several parts and proportions of it, according to the Catholick order and custome used in his Church?

Of which riotously to *make havock*, to rend, to strip, and waste all things of good order, Catholick custome, comely honour, authority, decency and solemnity, to the overthrowing of Christian unity and charity, to the dissolving, deforming and discountenancing even of that truth, those gifts and graces, which were in such a Church as this of *England* was, must without all peradventure be no less sin and crime, than it is a sacrilege and scandall (in *S. Austins* judgement;) agreeable to the sense of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who in his Epistle, so famed, tels *Novatus* as much, who was a primitive Schismatick, or a *Saintly Separatist*, from the Catholick custome, judgement and communion of Christs Church. For which practice in any case, a man must have very great and *pregnant grounds* (as *S. Cyprian* & *S. Austin* oft observe) either in point of gross errors, or immoralities, obruded upon a *believer* (in case he will keep communion) whereby to justifie his desertion, division, or *separation*, which upon small and trifling accounts, or upon spiteful and malicious principles, or for covetous and vain-glorious interests, or upon meer jealousies and surmises to violate, was ever esteemed, by the soundest and soberest Christians in all ages, a sin *much* of the nature and size of *Korah's*, *Dathan's* and *Abiram's* transgression or *rebellion*, as *S. Cyprian* observes, applying that History to some such *mutinous* distempers and unquiet spirits, as haunted the Church in his dayes and *Diocese*; That their popular and *parasitick crying up of* *all the Lords people to be holy*, *their rude reproaching of Moses and Aaron*, as taking *too much upon them*, these specious pleas did not serve their turn, when Gods searching severity, and not *vulgar levity*, *credulity* or *ingratitude*, was their judge: all their plausible pretensions of *sanctity* and *liberty* before the people, were not able to defend them from those *horrid chasins*, and unheard-of *gapings of the earth*, which by a *new way of death*, swallowed up (even quick, and yet alive) these *mutinous novellers* and *levelling rebels* into the black and dreadfull *Abyssus of eternall death and darknes*; whose names and memory (yet) the *Cainites* did venerate, as the commendable asserters of popular liberty, and the Princes or *Protoplasts* of Schisme, as *S. Austin* observes.

Nor is the usuall fate of such like insolent and popular perturbers of Christs Church much different or disproportionate at last: for either they fall (*when their pride and folly is manifest*) into the *pit of vulgar hatred, contempt and abhorrence*; or they are swallowed up with *carnall lusts*, with *earthly, sensuall and devilish* passions, affections and actions; or being at last justly abandoned and abhorred of all sober and good Christians, they are (by Gods utter forsaking of them) plunged into the gulf of their own polluted, seared and despairing consciences.

If those were in the primitive times esteemed as given over to the
will

*Sacrilegium
schismaticis om-
nia scelera su-
pergreditur.
l. i. c. 4. conc.
ep. Parmen.*

*Vid. Cyp. lib.
ad Novatian.
Hæret. & ep.
ad Magn. 76.*

*Quis non trepi-
dat, Christi Ec-
clesia derelicta,
ratione cæca, a-
pud temerarios
illos schismaticum
Duces & dissen-
sionis autores
convertit? Cyp.
ad Nov.
a Numb. 16.*

*Cyp. ep. ad Ro-
gat. l. 3. ep. 9.
& ep. ad Felice
ep. 78.*

Hæret. 18.

2 Tim. 3. 9.

will and power of Satan, who were justly excommunicated from the communion of the true Church of Christ; which sentence (as Tertullian tells us) every good Christian did dread, next to that doom of (*Ite maledicti*) *Goe ye cursed*, as a dreadful pre-judging before the last and fatal judgement; how must they needs lie down in darkness and sorrow, who upon no just cause, do not onely excommunicate themselves from any one Churches communion (in which they were) out of a fancy of I know not what liberty, but (out of an excessive pride, arrogancy and boldness of spirit) they dare excommunicate even whole National Churches, yea, such a famous Reformed Church as England; nay they exclude the very Catholic Church of Christ in all ages and places, from any communion with themselves (which certainly is no small height of uncharitableness) yea, and from all communion with Christ himself, which is a strange pitch of Luciferian pride.

1 Cor. 5. 5.
1 Tim. 5. 20.

*Summum fueri
iudicium. Tert.
Apol. c. 39.*

It is no news for the patient, but just and righteous God, to keep those men and women at a great distance, even from himself, and from the sweet communion of his holy Spirit, who proudly or peevishly despise the communion of any part of his Church, in the holy ministrations of the Word, Prayer and Sacraments. They that hope to kindle to themselves strange fires, and light new sparks by their violent strikings and novell agitations in any sound and well-ordered Church; God (commonly) beats the smoky brands ends about their own heads; and kindles a fire of displeasure in their own breasts, because they cared not to set whole Churches on fire, in order to roast their new-laid eggs; the best of which are of no great worth, and most of them are quite addle or rotten.

CHAP. XXIII.



Although I have thus far and thus long insisted (most honoured and beloved Countrey-men) upon the mischiefs of abused Liberty, as the first and chief cause (I conceive) of the greatly lapsed and decaying estate of the Church of England and the Reformed Religion (which was heretofore so settled, so sound, so prospered, so approved by God and good men;) yet I cannot forbear a further search into this Ulcer or Fistula: for indeed her hurt is not now a green wound lately made, either by the malice of open enemies, or by the wantonness of those friends, who love to be always pickeering and skirmishing in Religion; but it is now by a long continuance of ill humours in people, grown a venomous and inveterate sore, contumacious to any ordinary Medicines, opprobrious to the best Physitians, contagious to the remaining parts of this Civil and Ecclesiastical body, which have any thing in them sound and sincere;

A further discovery of mischiefs from abused liberty in Religion.

F f

many

Exod. 16. 10.

many of which, especially among the common people, being weak, are less able to resist that petulant poyson; and spreading *itch of liberty*, which is so bewitching a name to the *populacy*; a temptation and infection which few vulgar spirits are able to resist, or willing to remedy. And indeed the mischief feising (like Mercury, or Quick-silver) upon the spirits and brains of men that are *rash, easie, & heady*, it makes them presently suspect, and shortly to hate, all those, as their enemies, who go about to curb or cure so *welcome and flattering a disease*: which is not less dangerous, because delightfull, for commonly all those things that are most agreeable to naturall men and carnall minds (who love to be licentious) prove grievous to *Gods Spirit*, scandalous to the name of Christ, and pernicious to his Churches purity or peace. Liberty, if it be in ill keeping, soon putrifies to licentiousness, as the *manna* did, which turned to worms.

Not that I am any way against that *nationall, ingenuus, modest, inoffensive, charitable and conscientious liberty*, which is the only true *Christian liberty* to be desired and enjoyed, either in private or in publick; such I mean as is neither *touchy*, nor *turbulent*, but carries an equall *tenderneffe* to other mens honest and harmlesse freedom, as to its own, seeking onely by lawfull means, either to remove those impediments of its well-being, and doing, that are really *sub* or *remora* in its way to heaven, or else to obtain those holy allowed advantages which may most promote its *communion* with God, with Christ, and his blessed Spirit: which holy freedoms and happy advantages are surest to be met withall (as I conceive) in those high wayes and plain paths, which Christs Catholick Church in its nobler parts and ampler combinations hath constantly kept, after the *primitive* proportions, & Apostolicall distributions of Churches, wherein the *majesty of Christ*, & the harmony of Christians, which is the honour of Christian Religion, are infinitely more to be seen, and safely preserved, than in any of those by-ways or diverticles, which Schismatick liberty affects to chuse and follow; which will at length make any *Nationall, Christian and Reformed Church*, that was heretofore grounded in truth, guided with order, united in love, conspicuous with beauty, fortified with its joynt power, uniform in its solemn ministrations, and orderly in all its holy motions (like an army well ordered disciplin'd, and bravely marshall'd) to be like the routed parties and ragged regiments of a scattered and divided army.

It is an observation never failing, That the *sanctity* of Christian Martyrs, the honour and prevalency of that Religion which recommends the *crucified Lord Jesus*, as a Saviour and preserver, not a destroyer of mankind, these are best preserved in any nation or society of men, there where *least liberty or license* is permitted to private spirits publickly to innovate or alter, dispute or deny, contemn or subvert, those Catholick Truths and Doctrines, or those comely constitutions and customes, which are once well & wisely settled by publick counsel and authority, which carried due regard

gard to the glory of God, to the rule of his Word, to the Catholick precedents, and to the common good of that particular Nation or polity. All experience, and our own as bad as any, teacheth us, that liberty, in the vulgar sense and use, is like a sweet and rank kind of Clover-grass, with which the *beast of the people* will soon surfeit, even till they burst themselves, if they be not moderated, and restrained from over-feeding by their wise Governours in Church and State.

The Histories of *Sleidanus* and others sufficiently shew you, in the last Century, how wild the Boores of Germany grew, even to a kind of a *Lycanthropy*, by such liberties as their teachers first indulged, and themselves afterward usurped; how quickly this charm (like *Circe's*) turns men and women into dogs and wolves; how abused liberty having once seized upon the thatch and straw, the petulancy and insolency of common people, as most combustible matter, like a masterless and unbridled fire, it will devour more in a few dayes, by the pragmatick folly of some extravagant heads and hands, than the wisdom, piety and gravity of *your forefathers* could erect, or *your posterity* will be able to repair, in many years or ages: for no fires burn with more fury & pertinacy, than those which maintain their unquenchable flames by the oyl of *Religion* and *Liberty*, with which they are least to be trusted, who most love to play with it, as children do with fire and gun-powder. Common people, like *young heirs*, who have more wealth than wit, are of so profuse an humour, and so lavish of their liberty, both civil and religious, when once they think themselves masters of it, that they will presently be undone, if they have not some wiser men to be their *Guardians*, who will be better husbands for them than they would be for themselves; nor are they ever more *desperately prodigall*, or more *certainly miserable*, than when (like mad-men) they have by insolency or importunity extorted from their *Governours* and the Laws, such a portion of liberty, either civil or religious, as they least know how to use, and will be sure to abuse.

Let those men that are the greatest Tribunes of the people, the seeming Patrons of their liberties (but reall parasites of their *licentious humours*) in Religion, let them, I say, make but one years triall, with how much good nature, reason, justice and modesty, these people will use their *civil* and *naturall liberty*; in which, being absolved from all restraint of laws and fears, of power and of punishment, they shall have leave, with the bridle on their necks, to covet, challenge, contend, invade, usurp, and take every man to himself such women, such houses, such goods, such lands, such offices, such power and such honours, as each of them most fancies himself capable to deserve or enjoy: in a few dayes they will soon see how severe a revenge such folly will take of it self, both as to the actors and permitters.

If such *inordinate liberty* (which naturally men affect, and which imposeth on mankind the necessity of having publick laws and magistratick

1 Cor. 3. 4.

Heb. 2. 13.

2 Cor. 12. 20.

Jam. 3. 16.

gistratick powers above all private mens fancies) if it be so pestilent in civil and secular regards, that the indulgence of it is no more to be permitted by wise and good men, for one *moneth*, or one day, than a fire may be left to its *freedom* for one hour in any private cabin or chamber, to the endangering of the whole *ship* and *house*; how (I beseech you) can it be convenient or profitable to the common *interests of Religion*, or the honour of any *Nation* that desires to be called Christian, to let every man pick and chuse their severall *doctrines, opinions, forms and fashions of Religion*, as they best fancy; or to suffer them to set up to themselves what Prophets, Pastors, or Preachers, what Churches, Congregations & Conventicles they most affect; one being of *Paul*, another of *Apollos*, a third of *Cephus*; one Episcopall, another Presbyterian, a third Independent, a fourth owning no Ministers, no Religion at all? Specious names and godly pretensions may be very pernicious to the peace of the Church, the honour of Christ, and the good of mens souls, as the blessed Apostle there observes, through the folly and factiousness of people. Better the most *deserving names*, how much more the most *flattering Novellers* in the world, should be buried in eternal oblivion, than they should be set up in the Church of Christ, as so many *apples of contention*, so many wedges of division, so many *rivals* to the glory of Christ, so many moths to religious unity and the Churches beauty, so many *Molechs* or *Idols*, through whose fires *your posterity*, as Christians (that are not yours onely, but Gods children, and, as it were, Christs seed and off-spring) should be forced to pass with *popular noises* and incondite acclamations of *liberty*, onely to drown the sad cries of those *poor* souls who are to be tormented in those *flames*, those Tophets of *uncharitable novelties* and factious liberties.

Christian liberty, as vulgar spirits commonly use it, is but a *corroding salve* spread on a *silk plaister*; it is a confection of carnal projects, wrought up with spirituall mixtures; it is poyson presented in a *gilt cup*, the *Devils rats-bane* mingled with sugar. The sad effects already upon us in *England*, and further threatening us, do promise nothing upon this account, but *envies, wraths, strifes, jealousies, animosities, whisperings, swellings, tumults, seditions, oppressions, and mutual persecutions*, with every evil work among us, as men and Christians.

CHAP. XXVI.



Or are these mischiefs only rise among *Lay-men*, or ordinary people (whose ignorance, meanness and discontent, are prone to tempt them to any thing) but even among those who desire to be called the *Ministers, Teachers, Pastors & leaders of the people*; for even these, in many places, either mis-led by the people, or sadly misleading them, are very much bitten and infected with this epidemicall disease, of mistaken, corrupted and abused liberties in matters of Religion; both as to Doctrine and Worship, as to Ecclesiasticall order and Ministeriall authority: many of these (otherwise men of worth, for soundness and integrity, no way unfit for the work, or unworthy to have the honour of being *Ministers of the Gospel*) yet are miserably tainted with these divisions, distractions and deformities, even among themselves.

Which contagion (among the *Pastors* as well as the *Flocks*) as a farther sad and evident instance of the grand causes or occasions of this Churches present miseries, and of the great *decays* of the *Reformed Religion*, I crave leave, without offence to any of my worthy and deserving *Brethren* in the *Ministry* (of what name or title, of what stamp or metall soever they are) a little to insist upon; that I may, by further *discovering* the rise and progress of our mischiefs, the better make way for such *remedies* as *your wisdom* (O my noble Countrey-men) shall see fittest for the recovery of health, strength and beauty, to this *deformed Church*, and the remainants of *Reformed Religion* in it.

As all experience tells us *poor mortalls*; that our greatest enemies are many times nearest to us, and oft lie in our own bosoms; so the greatest mischiefs that have, or can befall the *Christian Reformed Religion* in *England*, do chiefly arise from some *Preachers*, or such as would be accounted the Ministers of Christs Church, under severall notions and formations. Vulgar reproches, *plebeian contempts*, the injuries of *Lay-men*, yea the persecutions of great and mighty men, the *Clergie*, or true Ministers of Christs Church in *England*, might possibly have borne with patience, constancy, comfort and honour, (though much to their outward *diminution*) if they had had the *grace, wisdom and understanding*, to have kept among themselves that *harmony, constancy and integrity*, in judgements, practise and affections, which became men that should be both *wise and warm*, prudent as *serpents*, and *innocent as doves*; if they had (as *Christs Disciples*) loved one another, though the world hated them: if they had (as one man) held together, like a well-turn'd *Arch*, surely they might at once have upheld themselves, and easily sustained any pressures laid upon them by the levity, violence and ingratitude of other men: the

The contagion of abused or mistaken Liberty spread among Ministers, to the dividing, debasing and destroying of them.

Mat. 10. 16.

Clergie

Clergie being as the *cable* and *anchor* of Religion, which firmly twisted together, and fraternally combined in truth and love, will in time bring the people to *quiet* and *calmness* in Religion; however they may have their *storms* and *tosings* sometime, partly by *innate fluctuancy*, as the rollings and tidings of the sea, and partly by outward winds and tempests.

What Nation hath there been so barbarous, what heathens so truculent, what persecutors so inhumane, whom godly Bishops and other Ministers have not by their exemplary faith, patience, unity and charity, with Gods blessing, in time softened and sweetened, convinced and converted to be Christians; while they all *spake the same things*, & carried on the *same interests* of Christ, as it were with *one shoulder*? These once broken in their orderly and uniform methods, varied in their Catholick succession and authority, divided in their fraternall concord and harmony, the peoples minds soon grow distracted, and are violently driven, as *ships* from their *anchors* and *cables*, upon a thousand dangers. When primitive Pastors and people were most cordially united, though they were most cruelly persecuted, yet Christianity spread and prospered; what the fury of men pull'd down, that the care and charity of their *Ministers* built up, twisting what others ravelled, either as *Idolaters*, *Hereticks* or *Schismatics*: which reparations of Religion were easily effected, while the *sheep* knew their true *shepherds*, following them, or flying to them in case of any danger; when the people knew their proper Presbyters, and orderly Presbyters owned those Bishops to whom they were duly subordinate; when all ranks and *orders* in the Church of Christ, as *parts in the body*, kept their stations and ranks, their orders and *correspondencies*, their proportions and duties, either in *filiall subjection* or fatherly inspection; when no good Christian was to seek what Pastors, what Preachers he should apply to, nor any *Deacon* or *Presbyter* did doubt to what *Bishop* he owed a respect, as to his *Superiour*, in Ecclesiastick eminency, order and authority.

This, this blessed harmony, this Catholick (and in primitive times undoubted, as well as uniform and constant) *order*, did then keep up, or recover, by *Gods blessing*, the majesty of *Christian Religion*, the love, together with the honour and authority, of the *Evangelical ministry*, amidst the heaviest distractions and *persecutions*; and so, no doubt, it would have done in *England*, amidst all plebeian insolencies and popular prostitutions.

But (alas!) though all this evil be come upon us Ministers of all sorts and sizes, from without, from civil warres, and unhappy publick differences in secular interests (which spare no men) as also from the private covetousness, inconstancy, malice, revenge, impatience, ambition and ingratitude of some vulgar people (not onely to the great *injuring* of many *Ministers* persons, credit and estates, but to the menacing of an utter *subversion*, even to the whole *tribe*, *office* and *function*, as it was founded on Divine *Institution*, built up by Apostolical Tradition, and preserved by Catholick Succession:) yet in our
distrel-

distresses and afflictions many Ministers (as *Ahaz*) have *sinned more and more*: and as if it were a small matter that plebeian spite and petulancy could ambitiously inflict upon Ministers, themselves have added much fuel to their fires, encouraging their malice by wretched complying with them, & flattering of them, in the very abuses of their liberties, in their rude arrogatings, and usurpations upon the Ministry, infinitely to the disgrace of their holy calling, to the disparagement of their own judgements, and to the prostrating of their due authority, which is (as I have proved) divine, or none at all: that I mention not Ministers betraying of their own honest interests and enjoyments as to this world, in point of profit, honour and reputation. All which the gulf of secular avarice, and the Abyss of Lay-mens sacrilege, daily gapes to devour, after the pattern which some *Achans* and *Ananias*es of the Clergie have set them: the poor remainders of which, as they are already forfeited, by the sordid and shamefull debasing of themselves, to the humouring of people in their lusts and licentiousness, so they will in a few years be utterly lost and confiscated, by the advantages which will be given to peoples covetous cruelty, through those mutuall animosities, jealousies, distances and varieties, which are now justly maintained by the severall sides and sorts of Ministers in *England*, all pretending to be *Preachers of the Gospel*, under reformed and *super-reforming* names.

What infinite swellings, disdain, envies and pertinacities, are open to all mens observations, even among those men who would be thought grave, wise, learned, holy, and every way able to teach and rule the vulgar: How have their innovations, mutations, levities and divisions, so clearly manifested their *weakness, folly and factionness*, that as it cannot be hid from *vulgar eyes and censures*, so it is already many wayes confuted and sorely punished, not onely by the palpable frustratings of some of their novell designs, but by their being generally debased far below their former station, and extremely worsted in all points, as to that handsome, if not honourable condition, which they might in unity and order (as heretofore) have enjoyed in *England*: If once the Ministers of any Church (who are as the walls and sea-banks) do make cracks and breaches upon themselves, or suffer the moles and water-rats of the people so to do, no wonder if the high tides of vulgar insolency and rapine soon break in upon them, & make their ruins not more deplorable than irreparable.

Qui jam alios
quæta consilia
siqui persuas-
dunt, quando
vos (sacerdotes
Dni) tam hostili-
ter arma sumitis
& inter vos de-
pugnatis?
Niceph. l. 8. c.
16. orat. Const.
m. ad Epif.

CHAP. XXV.

Unavoidable
contentions a-
mong Ministers
of different or-
dinations,



Et after all this sharp and sad experience, which hath rendred the profession of Ministers on all hands contemptible, their ordination disputable, their enjoyments miserable, their necessities irreparable, their dependences poor, plebeian, & almost sordid, by their mutuall and unhappy divisions; yet still many, who glory to be called Ministers, (of whatever odde *ordination* or new *edition* they are) do fancy it a great part of their piety, to be *pertinacious* in those new opinions, wayes and factions, which they have adopted; yea much of their sanctity is made to consist in their scorning all *antiquity*, and of all *Reformation* heretofore in the *Church of England*. If they can find nothing else to quarrel at in the old *Clergie of England* (whose doctrine was sound, whose ordination most *Catholick*, *valid* and unquestionable by *Bishops*, whose learning and lives were most commendable) yet they must find fault with their very clothes; and rather than not differ, they must disguise themselves from the gravity of Gowns and Cassocks, of black caps and black clothes, to military clokes, to *Scotch jumps*, to white caps, and all mechanick colours: in which posture being as Preachers once got into a Pulpit, then both they and the silly people fancy they see *great Reformations* of Religion, more looking at the gay and strange colours of a foolish bird, than minding how it speaks: especially if these new Ministers do gratifie the plebs of the Laity and the plebs of the Clergie with any influence or stroke in their ordination, and consecration to the office of the Ministry; if they have highly cried up popular rights and liberties in making and marring, in electing and rejecting, in ordaining and deposing their Pastors; if they have gently condescended to such popular transports and real novellizings in *England*, as are contrary to all practises of ancient and best Churches; O what an high mountain do these new Masters and their new Disciples fancy they are ascended! to what a glorious *transfiguration* do they imagine themselves to be changed! what a *new heaven* and *new earth* do some of them, either more silly, or more subtile than others, glory they have created, in their godly corporations, their rare associations, and blest ordinations! how strange, novell and disorderly soever they are, as to all ancient customes of this and all Churches.

Nor do they think it worth considering, how much they deviate from all *Antiquity*, how much they desert, yea & reproch the wisdom of this *Church* and all *estates in this Nation*, ever since it was either *Christian* or *Reformed*; how much they go beyond the duty they owed to the civil peace of this Nation, as also that modesty, humility, ingenuity, reverence and subjection, which by the *lawes of God and man*, by all sanctions, civil and Ecclesiasticall, they owed to the gover;

Governours and guides, Pastors and Preachers, the peace and well-fare of this *Church of England*; besides that prudence and policy which they ought to maintain, in order to the honour and respect, which is indeed due to their calling and authority, when it is truly ministeriall and authentick.

What sober and impartial man doth not see, how the despites, arrogancies and insolencies, first expressed in tumultuary heats and furies, against all Bishops whatsoever (though never so learned, grave, godly and industrious men, fit to govern, and apt to teach the Church of Christ,) are still maintained and repeated daily; yea raked up and increased by the *popular oratory* of some novel Ministers, so far as to raise eternall prejudices and antipathies, even against all those *Presbyters* which were, or are, of *Episcopall ordination*. And the better to justify these Novelties and Schisms in the *Church of England*, (which some were so eager and easie to begin, so loth and unwilling to retract) they still entertain their nauseous, credulous and itching Disciples, with all those odious, stale and envious *Crambes*, which are most welcome to vulgar ears and sacrilegious aims: as how unfit it was for the Ministers of Jesus Christ, who was the great pattern of piety and poverty, to have great revenues, state-ly *Palaces*, and noble *Lordships*, which more godly men do want; for Preachers to have any titles of honour and respect, as *Lords*, to have any part of *civil power*, or indeed of *Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction*.

All which honest employments and enjoyments, I conceive, (under favour) the excellent Bishops, and other deserving Clergie-men in *England*, were as worthy to enjoy, and as able to use, with honour, conscience and charity, as any of those men, either military or civil, who were most zealous to deprive, to debase, and to destroy the Hierarchy, or just honour of the Ecclesiastick state in *England*. Nor do I think it was any way displeasing God, or in the least kind unbecoming the name of Christ, for Bishops and other Ministers of his Church to have such ample estates and honourable preferments for their *double honour*, in so plentiful a land as *England* was: this I am sure, it was far less befitting any good Christian to repine at them, and unjustly to deprive them of them.

If this envious vein of popular oratory grow at length fullsome, vile and ridiculous (as it is now to all sober and judicious auditors;) then the *Anti-episcopall* parties of *Ministers* devoutly rip up, and sadly repeat whatever they have heard, or others invented, of any *Bishops faults*, or the *Episcopall Clergies* past infirmities: whatever they can they rake up, though long ago buried, as it ought to be, in the charitable forgetfulness of all good men, who either consider their own frailties, or remember how many holy *Bishops* were Martyrs and Confessors in all ages of persecution; how learned, how diligent, how commendable, how admirable, how useful they were to this Church, for their preaching, writing and living, in times of persecution as well as peace, even here in *England*. All good Bishops and other Clergie (as I have formerly expressed) confess

themselves, as men, to be subject to infirmities and temptations; the best Bishops and Ministers least deny this truth, being every day most vigilant to resist the one, and amend the other. These allegations then (like the *Devils quoting of Scripture*) though they may have some squint-ey'd truth in them, yet they are spitefully, partially, and most impertinently alledged against all Bishops, especially by those fierce Presbyterians, or other implacable Preachers, who have now liberally taught the *English world*, that however the riches, pomp and honours of Presbyterian or Independent, or other Preachers, are (much against their wills) far less than those which God and man, reason and Religion, order and polity, devotion and gratitude, Law and Gospel, allowed to Bishops and Presbyters heretofore (that the eminency of their office and place in the Church might have something of *honourable splendour and hospitable magnificence*, proportionable to its *venerable authority and great antiquity*;) yet men are not so blinded by that *popular dust*, stirred up against the faults and *names of Bishops*, as not to see that the pride, covetousness and imperiousness of the most furious and factious *Anti-episcopall Ministers*, come not one jot behind any of those Bishops, whom they look upon and represent with the most malignant aspect. O how magisterial are many new masters in their opinions! how authoritative in their decisions! how supercilious in their conversations! how severe in their censures! how inexorable in their passions! how implacable in their wrath! how inflexible in their factions! how irrevocable in their transports, though never so rash, heady, plebeian and unsuccessfull! by which they (at once) forsook their *duties to others*, and their *own mercies*. And this many of them did to please others or themselves, contrary to their former judgements, their sworn and *avowed subjection* to Bishops for many years, when they paid that respect to those Fathers and Governors of this Church, which the laws of God and man required, long before either *Presbytery* was hatched, or *Independency* gendered in *England*.

The sharp *severities* and early *rigours* of both which parties and their *Consecratories*, grew quickly both remarkable and intolerable to sober Christians: for as they were bred and born (like *Pallas*) armed, full of anger, revenge and ambitious fierceness; so they have acted, even in their *infancy* and *minority*, far beyond what regular, sober, and true *Episcopacy* ever did in its greatest age and procerity here in *England*; yea its greatest passion and transports did not exceed the aims of these new masters, both Ecclesiastical & civil, which was either to rule all, or to ruine all. *Bishops* commonly justified their reall or seeming severities by those *lawes*, either civil or Ecclesiasticall, which were in force against all such as did not conform to them. Hence were occasioned (much, I am confident, to the grief, and against the desire of the most grave and godly Bishops) sometimes those so oft declaimed against, and aggravated persecutions of some unconformable, yet otherwayes *godly Ministers*, by silencings,

lencings, suspensions, deprivations, &c. which sometimes were but just and necessary exercises of Discipline (as I conceive) if men will maintain any order and government in any Church or State; sometimes, it may be, some Bishops pressed too much upon the strictness and rigour of law, aggravated by their private passions, beyond what might with charity and moderation safely have been indulged to some able and peaceable Ministers, though in some things dissenters, yet, as to the main, good and usefull to the Church.

Yet all these old Almanacks, these stale and posthumous calculations of *Episcopall severities*, did not upon true account, no not in one hundred years, equal the number and measure of those pressures and miseries, which have been acted or designed in one *fifteen years*, by such as now profess *Presbyterian* and *Independent* principles, against all *Bishops*, and all those *Ministers* which are of the *Episcopal* persuasion. I think it may, without any stroke of *Rhetorick* or *Hyperbole*, be said with sober truth, that the little finger of *Presbytery* and *Independency*, with the warts and wens of other factions growing upon them, hath been heavier upon the *Episcopal*, which was the only legal *Clergie of England* of late years, than the loins of any sober and godly Bishops ever were for any one *century*, yea, and equal to the *burdens* of the most passionate and immoderate Bishops whatsoever in any age, who commonly were most imperious when the Church had most peace and civil prosperity; but the *Presbyterian thunder* and *Independent lightning*, urged most upon all *Bishops*, and all *Episcopall Ministers*, then when they were most scared, pillaged and harraled by a civil war, when most tossed by those sad storms, and almost overwhelmed by the impressions of those sad dissensions. Then, then was it that *Bishops* and other *Episcopall Ministers*, (whose consciences were guided in their judgements by the wisdom of this Church and Nation, together with all other Christian Churches in all ages) having lost their *clokes* in the wars, must be deprived of their *coats* also; chiefly for their innocent opinion, and honest adherency to *Catholick Episcopacy*: then was it, that where *Episcopacy* had at any time, and that by special command from their Governours, silenced or *sequestred* refractory or turbulent Ministers, by tens or hundreds, possibly *Presbytery* and *Independency* inflicted either those mulcts, or terrours at least, upon *thousands of Ministers* dissenting from them, not as to the Religion established, or Laws in force in *England*, but meerly as to their private opinions and principles about Church-government. Hence so many learned, pious and painful Preachers, since the civil *digladiations* ceased, had been condemned to chains of everlasting darkness, to remediless distresses, both they and their families, if there had not been some more generous mercy and connivence shewed, than those mens spirits intended, or can well bear. Through which miseries and terrours, many Ministers gray hairs have been brought down with sorrow to their graves.

After all which dreadful severities, either intended or executed,

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against

against the *Episcopall Clergie*, yet, as far as I can see, the condition of any sort of *Ministers* now in *England* is not any whit better, as to the generality, nor comparable to what the Clergie enjoyed in former times, who in my judgement might well have born the yoke of *Episcopacy*, with as little disparagement, and with as much ease and honour, every way, as they have for some years done the examination and inspection, the rebukes and frowns, the terrours and jurisdictions of *Major Generals*, or *Countray Committees*, not onely in secular and military, but even in religious respects: among which few, I believe, were to be found equal, or exceeding such Bishops and other grave Divines as *England* afforded, both able Preachers and excellent Governours; much more fitted in all respects (except their swords) to be the *superintendents of Ministers*, being of the same education, office and calling, than most of those men can be, who are (generally) so much (*Heteroclitites*) different from learned men, both in their breeding, learning, studies and course of living, that even from hence they have sometimes *secret Antipathies* even against all Ministers or Clergy-men, as persons of another genius, of more refined minds, and, if men were impartially weighed, of greater worth and merits.

As then I cannot find that *Ministers* of any new name, form, title and extractions whatsoever, have much mended their condition, by that great alteration they have made or sought in this Church and State; so, I am sure, their mutual enmities and divisions do very much heighten their common afflictions, and add exceedingly to that general darkness and diminution, in all respects, civil and sacred, which is come or coming upon them, as upon wicked men, in the strict account of Gods justice; or as weak men, in the vulgar process of mans severity.

Indeed the worst of *Ministers* miseries they generally owe to themselves, who in piety and prudence, above all men, should by united counsels and cares avoid them; because it is sport to the most and worst of men, to see those men *together by the ears*, hating, despising, biting and devouring one another, who are esteemed the severe censurers of other mens sins and follies, sharp curbs to the childish, petulant and *licentious humours* of people. *Ministers* scuffling and contests with one another, is beyond any *Cock-fighting* or *Bear-baiting* to the vulgar envy, malice, profaneness and petulancy.

1 Kings 8.38.

In the midst of all which sufferings, first from *Divine Justice*, (which calls upon every one to examine the plague of his own heart,) next from *humane ingratitude and insolency*, though every sober and prudent Minister cannot but see that precipice and gulph of irreligion, irreverence and contempt, to which the *Reformed Religion* and the whole office of the *Ministry* is now falling in *England*, through the endless capricious and extravagances chiefly of some Ministers; though most Ministers on all sides, that have any learning, worth or abilities for that office, do generally agree in the same Scriptures and

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Sacraments, in the same *Faith* and *Salvation*, in the same *God* and *Saviour*, in the same *Graces* and *Vertues*, in the same *Doftrine* for morals and *Myfteries*, in the same *Precepts* and *Promifes*, in the same *holy duties* and *blessed hopes*; yet even these *Minifters* (which is a thoufand pities) are fharply, and for ought I can fee (unlefs God work miracles upon fome of their fpirits and tempers) refolutely and eternally divided by thofe wedges of *differences*, touching external Church-order and Difcipline, the manner of worfhip, and power of managing of Church-government: fo that the way of *peace* few have known; nor are they patient to learn, contrary to their pre-fumptions. To recant their errors they are afhamed; remit their rigour they muft not, left they abate their parties and followers; exchange their animofities as men, for moderations becoming brethren and Chriftians, they will not, left their credit decay, and their factions abate, left thofe fhews and fhadows of popular empire vanish, which they have feemed or fancied themfelves to enjoy, upon thefe accounts of rare inventions, and new models of Reformation, Miniftry, &c. All which muft by fome men be kept up, though all things elfe do fall to the ground: though the *Church of England* lies languifhing and fighing, weeping and bleeding; though the Reformed Religion is deformed, decaying, dying; though both piety and fincerity be much difpirited; though they cannot but fee *Ichabod* wrote upon all their foreheads; though all Miniftrial order, office, employment and authority, as to mens inward refpect and confciences, no lefs than in their outward reverence and obedience, is infinitely slackned, and in many places (as well as in many hearts) quite diffolved; though the *Catholick Character*, or Chrifts cognizance of Chriftians, which is *fincere charity*, be much defaced, & the *Devils badges* of factious confederacies be much worn; though the purity and fimplicity, the warmth and worth, the words and works of *true Religion* be much out of fafhion, giving way to *fanatick follies* and impudent vanities, daily vented in every place; though the beauty & ferenity of the *true Chriftian Religion*, as of old, and of the *well-reformed Religion*, as it was of later years well eftablifhed in *Engl.* be much hidden, defaced, difguifed by many hypocritical masks & new drefses; though the palpable cunning of fome men hath taught them to abufe this credulous age, by fhaving off the hair & primitive ornament of this Church, which was very good & graceful (having the honour of *ancient, venerable* and *gray-headed Epifcopacy* upon it) that they might the better induce Chriftianity, which is now above 1500 years old, to put on and wear (*a la mode*) the new *peruques* either of *young Presbytery*, or younger *Independency* (rather than Religion fhould go quite bald, and be ridiculous by its deformity and confufion); though the priftine polity, peace, purity, majefty, feverity, fanctity and folemnity of Religion, as *Chriftian and Reformed in England*, be infinitely baffled and abafed by the petulancy of thofe that affect licentious liberties and *unfaintly extravagances*; though all thefe evils (as *Damones meridiani*) are pregnant, and

and every day proclaimed by the loud *Herauld of Experience*, which *themselves* declaim against and deplore, as well as other men: Yet many Ministers (in other respects not to be despised, or much blamed) do still, as to the point of *Church-order, discipline, government and polity*, (which is the outward centre of unity, and visible band of peace) passionately desire and solicitously endeavour, that those *wild oats* and tares, which some men have of late years sown, watered and cherished (while the Nation and Church were not aware, as being engaged in war and blood, during whose heats great wounds of Religion are little felt) might for ever grow up, spread and shed abroad (like *thistle-down*) yea and succeed to *after-generations in this nation*; that so *England* might be more famous for variety of parties and opinions in Religion, than either *Poland* is or *Amsterdam*.

How few nominal or real *Ministers*, that have been either Authors, or great sticklers and abettors, not of any modest, just and sober Reformation, but of needless, endless innovations, schisms, deformities and defections in the *Church of England*, can yet find in their hearts meekly to retreat by any humble, ingenuous and happy wayes of Christian meekness and wisdom, to a sweet accord, from their first *heady extravagances* and *unhappy transports*: in which the heat and passion of mens spirits (as is usual in all quarrels) made, even at first, the differences, jealousies and offences far greater than the real *injury* or inconvenience indeed was: which is most clearly evident now, not onely by our comparing the former happy estate of this Church, and of the Reformed Religion here, besides those comforts which the generality of all good Ministers and sober Christians in former times enjoyed in *England* under Episcopacy; but further, by our serious considering those fair offers, those great moderations, those self-denials and Christian condescensions, with which all worthy and wise Bishops, with all Episcopal Ministers, were, and are, ready to gratifie the peace of this *Church*, and the desires of all good *Christians*, even of those who have been most their enemies and destroyers; whom they forgive the more readily, because they believe most of them, as the crucifiers of Christ, did it *ignorantly*; ignorant of the laws of this Nation, and of the good constitutions of this Church, ignorant of the customes, practise and judgement of all ancient *Catholick Churches*, ignorant of that equity and charity which they owed to others, ignorant of that honest policy and discretion which they owed to themselves and their order, lastly, ignorant of that pious, grateful and prudent regard they should have had of the honour, peace and prosperity of this Church, both at present and in after-ages.

But however the exorbitancies of some ignorant men at first might be so far venial, as they were led on by the pious and specious pretences of others, rather than their own principles; yet they are less excusable (now) since the *sad events* have so fully confuted all those prejudices and preterensions, since popular looseness, avarice
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and madness, hath, as a rude broom, swept away all the fine-spun and speciously spread *cobwebs of Reformation*, either as to the state of this Church, or the Reformed Religion professed here in *England*, or as to the promised amendment of the Ministerial order and office, either for ability, duty, authority, or maintenance. Ministers first tearings and rendings of themselves asunder are not yet sewed together; yea Religion it self is faln to rags, and preachers are become as so many pie-bald *patches*, of several colours and antick figures: which wretched division and fundamental deformity in Religion cannot but daily grow, as a Gangrene, to greater, maladies, mischiefs and miseries, which will be *bitterness in the later end*.

For as no City, so no Church can prosper, that is divided against it self: neither grace nor peace can advance, where *Preachers* of Religion are *mutual persecutors*; where, while Ministers teach people to believe, to love and to live *Christ crucified*, they are daily *crucifying* one another. It is a deplorable and desperate state of any *Church*, where (as in *Babels* building) the builders tongues, heads, hands and hearts are divided, yea the very builders are self-destroyers, mutually ruining themselves under pretence of zeal to build, or repaire the Church of Christ: what one rears with the *right* hand, another pulls down with the *left*; when they frequently leave their trowels, and fall to their pick-axes and ponyards; when they sling lime and sand in one anothers eyes; when they build, or dawb rather, with untempered mortar, when every one is ambitious to be a *Master-builder*, a new modeller of Religion, of Churches, of Ministers and of Ministry, contrary to the wisdom and piety of such a Church and Nation as *England* was. Mar. 3. 24.

Leaving poor people (mean while) infinitely *amazed*, jealous, unsatisfied, perplexed, as to Religion. Some are sadly grieved, others are quite confounded: many are zealous for the *newest fashion*, others are for the good old way, a third sort is glad of the occasion to cast off all *Religion*, while they see those Ministers cut the Catholick cords of charity and unity in sunder, in order to bind Christians up to new parties and factions, or to private interests and opinions, which, like *Sampsons* withs, will not serve to bind the lusts or consciences of men to their good behaviour.

These, these are the sad effects which follow those *deformities* of *Preachers* turning *Pioneers*, of Ministers being underminers and demolishers of one another, and their Mother-Church; when those that should be *Gods Ambassadors* (forgetting the majesty of their mission, and sanctity of their errand) fall to railing and reproching, calumniating and declaiming against one another (like so many eager Baristers and mercenary *Lawyers*, who are resolved (being once fee'd) to defend their cause and their client, whatever the merits of them be, because they have once undertaken them) without any regard to that justice, honour, wisdom, gravity, charity, meekness, harmony, joynt counsel and ingenuous correspondency, which ought to be preserved in all fraternities and honest callings or mysteries: but chiefly

ly among the Ministers of Christs glorious Gospel; Preachers should be of the highest form of *Christs Disciples*, the most exemplary in all piety, meekness and prudence, in all gravity, equity and charity; for want of which, even as to matters of outward polity, order, civility and ministration, they are (and ever will be) the more blamable before God and man, by how much nearer they profess to come to one another in the *harmonies of faith*, and *confessions of the same reformed and true doctrine*, which would soon unite their hearts and studies, if they had (on all sides) less of easiness, credulity, popularity, peevishness, obstinacy, small ambitions and juvenilities. The removing of which distempers from all *Ministers*, new and old, and from my self as well as any other, is one of my *chief designs* and endeavours to be carried on in the *fourth and last Book of this discourse*.

At present it sufficeth to have shewed (as an evil branch of abused *Liberty* in Religion) this to be none of the least *causes or occasions* of the *Church of Englands distempers, decays and miseries*, that *Ministers* are (after Mundane and machiavellian methods) so *sharply divided* from, and eagerly opposite against one another; so hardly perswaded by any retreats and principles, of piety, charity, prudence, which honest policy, publick necessity, self-preservation, or care of future succession invite them to; which may make for an happy close and Christian accommodation.

Upon some *Ministers* pride and peevishness, not any one, nay not all these considerations together, can so far prevail (I fear) as to induce them to any terms or treaty of equable accord; but they still carry themselves as young men; high in their own conceits, coy and elate in their parties, opinions, presumptions, prejudices, animosities and disdains, especially against the former *Ministry of England*, which was not more *Episcopal* than *Catholick*, Primitive, Apostolicall and truly Christian. Few novell Ministers ever lay their hand on their heart, and ask, what *evil have I acted, occasioned, or not hindred to this Church of England?*

CHAP. XXVI.



Hat I may a little further open the eyes of all my Brethren, such as either are, or deserve, or desire to be *Ministers of the Gospel*, and of all other my *Countrey-men*, both as to their own private interests as *Ministers*, and as to the publick concerns of the *Christian Reformed Religion* in this Nation, I shall yet more particularly, and as pa-

thetically as I can, endeavour to shew them the true state and posture in which their persons, their livelihoods, their credits, their worldly comforts, their calling at present, and their succession for the future (now) seem to stand in *England*: what scratch'd faces, what deformed aspects, how deplorable conditions all of them either feel, or may justly fear and expect, by reason of that *inordinate liberty* which people in *England* have lately carried on to such intolerable petulancies, insolencies and *licentiousness* against Ministers; whereto they have been highly animated and encouraged, not more by their own lusts and *malapertness*, than by those unkind, indiscreet and unchristian dissensions, which have broke out among *Ministers* themselves against one another, while forgetting that gravity, constancy, modesty and equanimity, which they owed to themselves and to each other, they either *rowed down*, or suffered themselves to be *carried down* this foul stream and torrent of *vulgar liberty*, out of principles of *facility* or *faction*, popularity or pride, covetousness or cowardise, ignorance or sequaciousness; which have so blinded some *Ministers*, otherwise of very good abilities, that (like men drowned over head and ears in water) they cannot suddenly or easily see what *deformities* are upon them, what dangers threaten them, both as men, and as *Ministers*. Whatever title, order, original, badge, or discriminating character of their Ministry they bear and wear in the world, whatever principles they profess, whatever party they patronize, adhere to, or adopt, new or old; this I am sure, if they be not *purely plebeian* praters, of the very *scumme, lees and dregs of people* (which have no sense of sin, shame, or honour) if they are persons of any *learned latitude*, of any ingenious capacities and abilities, of any tenderness in honour or conscience, if they be painful, *pious* or *prudent* men in any degree, they cannot but see, that *no mens condition in England*; or almost under heaven, of whatever calling and quality they are, is more mean and miserable, more tattered and scrambling, less honourable, or less comfortable; no profession, order, or fraternity of men, is more divided, dubious, distressed, forlorn, despicable, as to all civil and secular *interests*, for profit, peace, respect and reputation, both for the encouragement of their present ministration, and for the hopes of an able future succession: none of

The folly and factions of Ministers evidently seen and punished in their common calamities.

which things wise and worthy Ministers ought supinely, sordidly, sluggishly, or simply to neglect.

Their own and all mens eyes that are open and clear, may easily see the sad prospects of *Ministers dejections*, diminutions, debasements, distresses in all those points: all of them are under the scorn of some *opposite party* or other; most of them live in a *low and mean estate*; many of them (to my knowledge) contend with extreme *difficulties*, and all manner of *necessities*; not a few of them, which I have been oft an eye-witness of, have been, and are reduced to a *morsel of bread*, and are driven even to beg alms for the support of themselves and their distressed families. How many of their cries have I heard? how many of their tears have I seen? with what pal-
lor and dejection, with what squallor and horror, with what astonishment and despair, do many of them wander from one village, city, and countrey to another for relief, untill being weary and wasted, sunk and oppressed by their daily distresses and *remediless tragedies*, they go to their graves with sorrow, to the shame and sin (I believe) of the Age in which they have thus lived and died *Ministers of the Gospel*, and very worthy ones too, if it be any merit to have constantly deserved well of the *Church of England*, by their godly preaching and living: over whose sad ruines I know the enemies of this Church and the *Reformed Religion*, both at home and abroad, do infinitely triumph and seriously rejoyce.

Nor is this *hard fate* befalln those *Ministers* onely, who were, and are of the Episcopal persuasion, and most constant to the love and duty they owe to the *Church of England*; but even those Ministers have been shrewdly singled, who most eagerly sought to heat the *fiery furnace of popular wrath and revenge against all Bishops*, and the *Episcopall Clergie*: the thumbs and toes of many of those great *Adonibezeks* have been cropt off, who most joyed in the like *executions* done by *popular revenge and vulgar fiercenesse* against all of the *Episcopall* order and ordination; even those *Preachers* who filled their sails most with the *peoples breath*, are now either *becalmed*, or come *aground*, or very leaky, or quite dashed in pieces, as to their former great influence and reputation among the people: nor have they made either such a fair port, or such a prosperous voyage, as might any way answer their former presumptions, their high ostentations, and their flattering expectations. This I am sure, that the ambitious *wantonnesse* of many Ministers lusting to tast of the *forbidden fruit of government*, beyond their share, proportion and capacity, hath now (if not altogether) almost quite driven *themselves*, and all others of that calling, name and profession, out of that *paradise of peace, plenty and respect*, which they did heretofore, as Ministers, enjoy in *England*, and still might have done, if they had used such modesty, prudence and piety, as best became wise and worthy men, who had been masters of any prudence and providence.

But now (alas) who ever professeth to be a *Minister of the Gospel* in *England* (not as an *interloper* or *mungrel*, who *ekes out* his other

mechanick trade, by putting the new patch of a plebeian *Preacher* to that old garment (for these wretches are deservedly despicable to all conscientious, sober and ingenuous men) but even those who have destinated and confined themselves wholly to the *Ministeriall* work and function, whatever account they go upon for the derivation of their *mission*, *ordination* and *authority*, whether *Episcopall*, *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, or *Plebeian*) yet if they make their *Ministry* their work and businesse, and not their wantonness and sport; if they give themselves to that painful plough and sacred husbandry which tills rocky hearts, and sows in hopes of an eternall harvest; they shall be sure to find *work enough* both to do and to suffer; enemies enough to encounter with, *indignities* more than enough to digest, *necessities* enough to contend withall: at their very best estate they are altogether vanity, accounted as the scorn and out-casts of the people, the filth and off-scouring of all things, by some party or other. Even those Ministers that fancy themselves most favoured by the potent or impotent, by *Prince* or *people*, yet still they are attended with many *evil eyes*, *bitter speeches*, *contemptuous reproches*, *spitefull affronts*, from some side or other. This, this is the *portion of Ministers* of all sorts to drink; this is the *cup* which *vulgar liberty* and their own *dissensions* have mingled for them, as to all civil respects and worldly enjoyments.

1 Cor. 13. 4.

CHAP. XXVII.



Ruly they had need make much of good *consciences*, for little comfort else is left to most of them, as to any civil *splendour*, *competency*, or *certainty* in this world. Look but to the *point of estate*, and that moderate subsistence which all *ingenuous* & *industrious* men may justly expect and aim at for themselves and their relations, in the way of honest labour; no mens salary, subsistence, or maintenance is generally so *dubious* and *uncertain*, so *arbitrary* and *hazardous*, so *burdened* and *exhausted*, so *thin driven*, and, as it were, wire-drawn, both by their own necessities and other mens injurious shakings: infomuch that many Ministers very well-deserving, are reduced not onely to *tenuities*, but to *difficulties*, *necessities*, *extremities*; they are forced to *live by faith*: and some of them have (as I have heard) even *died with famine*; others had so perished, if charity had not interposed, wanting those necessary supports which their aged and languishing condition did require. The truth is, not one of ten (I might say of an hundred) of any sort of common people make it a matter of conscience to pay them their dues, if they can hold their livings; few do pay them without delayings, *defalkings* and *defraudings*: many

The great diminutions of all sorts of Ministers in Engl. as to all civil respects.

Phil. 4. 12.

people make it a great point of *conscience*, to pay them nothing, either by the Laws of Justice or Gratitude. Ministers must in most places onely learn how to *want*; for in few they shall ever learn how to *abound*. Many of them have been a long time quite turned out of Gods Husbandry, from their *Living*s and *Labours*: many, such as have leave to *labour*, have (most-what) their *labour* for their *paines*; forced to *study* how to *live*, when they should *live* to *study*: such as should dispense the *bread* of eternall life, and consecrate the *sacramentall bread*, which is the Communion of Christs blessed Body to his Body the Church, these are solicitous for that *perishing bread*, which is the *stiffe* of this *momentary* life. Many *Angels* of Christs Church, and *Stewards* of his *household*, are exposed, many wayes, and many times, to sordid necessities, and scurrilous indignities. The chief *Pastors* and ablest *Shepherds* are very much levelled to the *meanest* of the *flock*, while yet the weakest and most scabbed *sheep* affect to be *shepherds*: the very *subjects* of the *people*, every where, dare, if they list, contemne their Ministers to their faces; they make no scruple, yea they take pleasure to be petulant, peevish, refractory, and insolent, even in publique. The ayme of many is, to have such *Preachers*, as shall be, not *Fathers*, *Rulers*, and *Heads* in the Church, but either as sequacious and flexible *rayles*, following the frowns and flatteries of the *people*, on whose good will they must depend, if they will eate; or as *firebrands* of unquenchable factions, engaging the populacy to infinite parties and sects, under the notion of *new Ministers* and *new Religion*.

Jer. 26. 23.

Socrat. Hist.
Eccles. 1. 1. c. 14.

1 King. 13. 33.

Jer. 38. 6.

1 Sam. 2. 36.

Melchior Adam.
in vita
Musculi.

These, these are the treatments, these the methods used by some, to bury not the dead carcases of Ministers in the graves of common people, (which fact is branded in King *Jehoiakim*, as a token of great irreligion to God, and irreverence to the Prophet *Uriah*;) but they seek to cast them yet *alive* into a most *plebeian* state, the graves of *ignominie*, *poverty*, *contempt*, and *shame*: yea many hope at length to make the *Reformed Clergy* or *Ministry* of *England*, as odious as those *Heathen Priests* became, when (as the Church-Historians tell us) their *Temples* were risted, when their despicable *Deities*, their deformed *Idols* and worm-eaten *gods* were discovered. Nor is this deplorable estate befalln those intruders onely, who from the basest of the people have of late consecrated themselves to serve those *calves* that list to set them up, or follow them; but many great *Prophets*, like *Jeremy*, stick to this day in the mire and dirt of those *dungeons* into which they are cast: others are become miserable, as *Eli*'s posterity, crouching for a morsell of bread, even to their enemies, I mean those factious and sacrilegious spirits, who would be glad to see the most learned Ministers in *England* advanced to no higher preferment than *Musculus* was in *Germany*, who though an excellent Preacher and Writer, yet was forced for his livelyhood sometime to help a *wreaver* at his *Loome*, otherwhile to work as a *scavenger* in purging the *Tonne-ditch*.

Nor is this a Parable of Misery, or an artificiall and Theatrick *Tragedie*

gedie made by me: No ; I solemnly protest to you (*my honoured Countrymen*) the World affords not greater, more *numerous*, or more *calamitous objects* of Christian pity and humane charity, than are many Ministers at present in *England* ; if you consider their calling, their abilities, their education, and their sad condition. Many of them are already *implunged* into the horrible pit of darknesse ; others are upon the very brink and precipice of extreme poverty, meannesse and contempt, through the trialls or displeasures of God, executed by the restless malice and immoderate revenge of some men, against this Church, its Ministry, and the *Reformed Religion* ; whose spite and passion have much over-born (of late years, as by a new, unwonted and *ponderous bias*) the ancient noble *genius* and *generous piety* of this *Nation* ; which was by no people under Heaven heretofore exceeded in its *honourable munificence*, yea magnificence, toward their God and Saviour, toward learned and *religious men*, especially those who had the honour to be their *Teachers, Governours* and *Guides* to heaven. No men had more priviledges and immunities, no men had more *tranquillity* and leisure to be good ; none had more means and encouragements to be good, and to doe good, to live *hospitably, honourably* ; no men had abilities, opportunities, and hearts to doe more works of piety and charity both to rich and poor, great and small, both transient and permanent, occasionall and monumentall, than the Clergie of *England* : Witnesse the severall goodly Foundations, and liberall Endowments, which the Ecclesiasticks of *England* have either themselves erected, or perswaded others to Found and Endow, to Gods glory, to the good of Mankind, and the honour of the Nation.

But now (alas !) as the Estates of most Ministers are so small, that they hardly reach to their own necessities ; so their *influence* upon other mens estates and minds is almost as little. They are *despised* by many, valued by few, scarce loved by any, and honoured almost by none : they are all reduced to such a timorous, sneaking, servile, arbitrary, dependant, and plebeian proportion. Nothing grand, conspicuous, magnificent, honourable or venerable, is upon any of them, especially as to vulgar eyes and censure : who are never too liberall of their courtesie, civility, and respect to Ministers ; much lesse when they find them at a low ebbe, as to the esteem of their betters, the rich, the noble, and the mighty. For with common people, Learning, Wisdome, and all intellectuall excellencies, generally signifie little or nothing, if they see nothing of power, authority, plenty, splendour, or eminency in men, by which they either hope to be benefited, or feare to be *punished*. Certainly that part of the Clergie of *England* were extreme out, as to all Politicks, who fancied that *common people*, yea, or the *better sort of mankind*, were so good-natur'd, as to value them most for Ministers, when they enjoyed least as men. *Angelick vertues* doe not weigh so much in the worlds balance, as houses, lands, revenues, preferments, and honours doe. A *golden calfe* easily tempts people to worship it, while *desolate* and wooden

2 Sam. 10. 4.

wooden *vertues* are despised: yea they much mistook the interest of Christian and Reformed Religion, as well as of the Ministry in *England*, who thought it would turne to any account of *honour* and *advancement* of *Reformation*, to serve the *Clergie* as *Hannu* did *David's* servants, not onely stripping them of their upper garments, and those comely *ornaments* which became Gods *Ambassadors*, but cutting off their nether garments and necessary coats, to such a curtail'd *proportion*, as renders them both *ashamed of themselves* and ridiculous to others.

The reall *impoverishings*, sufferings and abasings of many Ministers, have been very great, in all *bitter extremities*; nor are the fears, terrors or dejections of those, few or small, who have scaped best, who are still permitted, either by their gentler neighbours, or the lesse severe Lay-Bishops of later inspection, to earn their *bread with the sweat of their brows*. For even of these Ministers, many of them dare scarce *demand* their wages, when they have dearly deserved it; nor can they tell how with safety and peace to get it, when they have hardly earned it: so terrified and over-awed, so threatned and reproched are they, some by peevish parishioners, others by *separating straglers*, and a third sort (which is a very *Epidemicall* mischief) by sharking and shuffling, dilatory and grumbling *pay-masters*; who think they deal very bountifully with their Ministers, if they pay them at the *years* end, with some difficulty, and many importunities (which looks very like pure begging) after the rate of *two shillings* in the pound for their *Tithes*, when they are *bonâ fide* worth foure, five, or six shillings. Few, yea very few, as I said, make it any point of Conscience in Law, Religion, or Gratitude, to doe *justice* to their *Ministers*, so as their rights are assigned them by Mans laws. Few scruple to rob, deny, shark, detain, and immodestly to delay the payment of their dues, even according to their own agreements. If the poore Minister complains, though never so softly and whisperingly, if Necessities so pinch him, that he must either cry aloud, or starve with his wife and children, if he have so much spirit and courage, as he dares roundly to demand, or to urge the Law in his behalf; presently he is scared with the *menaces* of some proling *Sequestrator*, or some surly *Aproniere*, who being the sag-end or dregs of a *Countray-Committee*, and sowed either with *Anabaptisticall* leaven, or other factious principles, thinks he does *God good service* to threaten, to terrifie, to torment, to rout, to undoe such a quarrellsome *Minister*, who dares thus far to own himself, his calling, his condition, and his rights by Law; especially if the Minister be known to be of the *Episcopall judgment*, a lover and honourer of the *Church of England*, and have a Living worth the losing. O what arts and policy, what windings and shifts, what complyings and cringings must this poore perplexed Minister use, to fence himself against the *crafty agitations* of his *spitefull* neighbours, and those pragmatick pieces, who in every corner doe hover over the heads of Ministers, as *Kites* doe over *Pigeons*! How many times have Ministers been affronted publickly, even

even in their Churches, amidst Divine Offices, and had been much more, even to the outraging of their persons, if either the piety or the policy of those in power had not intervened, and in time repressed this *intolerable insolency*, which was never heard of, never indulged, never connived at in any Nation under heaven, that owned any publique veneration, service, or Religion to their God? If some stop and restraint had not for shame been given to these profane enormities, certainly by this time no true or worthy *Minister* should have opened his mouth in publique, but he should have been *smitten on the mouth* (as *Ananias* commanded them to use *St. Paul*) by some of those rude and facinorous *Assassins*, whose design is to silence and extirpate all the Reformed, Orthodox, and orderly Clergie of *England*; not onely *Bishops*, as the Apostolick roots, but even all sober *Presbyters*, as the branches of Ecclesiastick ordination. Aas 23. 1

For besides the private *scorns* and *contests*, no lesse than publique *affronts*, which Ministers have personally sustained, their enemies have proceeded many times to give even publick *alarms* to all the *tribe & function*, by rude *Pamphlets*, bitter libellings, and insolent *Petitions*, importuning an utter *extirpation* of the Calling, Ordination, and Succession, (such as *Haman* designed against the whole Nation of the Jews) together with a total alienation or confiscation of all the settled maintenance of Ministers by Glebes and Tithes. At which morsel some mens mouths have a long time extremely watered; with which prodigy of sacrilege they have been big a long time: nor do they yet think they are quite miscarried, or that this godly & gainful project is wholly abortive; although they have not yet been able to get a publick law or *Parliamentary sanction* to be their Midwife; nor I hope ever shall be able so far to blind and abuse the whole Nation, no less than abase the Ministry of the Gospel. Esth. 3.

But the frequent tamperings and essays which some men still make in these kinds, (for what dare not the meanest wretches meditate and adventure against the best, yea all the sober Ministers of *England*?) these (as the clouds did *Deucalion* after the Flood) do still so terrifie the minds of the better sort of *Ministers* (till they shall see a clearer *rain-bow* of assurance appearing in the English firmament, for their favour and security, than yet hath been seen) that they have continual damps on all their spirits, great and daily checks in their studies, industry and ingenuity. Few of them can be so good husbands in these times, as to lay up any thing out of their *livings* for posterity: nor dare they be so provident, as to lay out any thing upon the glebes or houses of their livings, either for their after-benefit, or present conveniency, because they know not (besides the hazards of mortality) what a day or a night may bring forth; uncertain how soon they may be undermined, and together with their miserable families turned out of that house and home, which heretofore was counted their free-hold by law, till by law they had forfeited them. Many Ministers have been suddenly conformed to our *Saviours* condition, who had not of his own where to lay his head: which was not his

his necessity or impotency, but his gracious choice, by being *poor* to *enrich* us; but *poor Ministers* are not armed (as Christ was) with *miraculous supplies* when they please, nor may they now expect to be courted with such devout donaries and charitable oblations, as in primitive times were remarkable for their munificence, amplitude and splendour; of which the *Acts of the Apostles*, the after-Church-histories, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* in the fourth Century give us accounts. Alas, this age is an *iron age*; and mens estates are not generally more impaired than their hands are withered, and their hearts *petrified*: these are hardened in many, the others are exhausted in most. Mens minds are every where indifferent towards their Ministers; in many places they are divided from them, and their spirits exasperated against them. No wonder then if *charity be grown cold*, if popular stipends and arbitrary alms (like *morning dews*) be soon *dryed up*. The *Devil* is so crafty, that he knows, if once he can take away that ancient, legal and Evangelical maintenance of Ministers by *Tithes*, he shall soon by starving take that *royal Citadell and Sanctuary of Gods Church*, that ancient *Fort of Christian Religion*, the *Ministry* it self: which above all things in the world he aims to slight, undermine, and utterly demolish; and hopes to do it by the help of such crafty and cruell engineers, who have, as Satans moults and pioneers, done all they could in these times to undermine and batter down that firm pillar and support of Religion, a legal and certain maintenance by *Glebes and Tithes*, which are yet left to carry on any Church-work and Ministry, with any comfort or cheerfulness.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The sordid envy and grudging against Ministers Tithes and Glebes.



Et how cruelly do *these* still stick in some mens teeth and stomachs, onely because they cannot, yet, devour them. I have other-where largely shewed to the publick view, how endlessly and earnestly some covetous and sacrilegious sophisters have disputed, or rather cavilled against *Tithes*, as paid to the Ministers of the Gospel, either in a civil or religious right, as given to them, and deserved by them, as Gods proportion and mans assignation. O what swines-flesh, what *abominable broth* are they still to some mens squeamish stomachs; not as to their receiving them, or to their detaining them, against all Law, Justice and Conscience, but as to their paying of them to those to whom they are many wayes and onely due!

O how *Legall*, how *Judaicall*, how *Ceremoniall*, how *Popish*, how *Antichristian* are *Tithes* in Ministers hands! Let these *holy Harpies* once get them into their own clutches, either by *impropriation*, or *sequestration*, or hard compositions, by fraud, force, or by any way
never

never so illegall and injurious, O then, how sweet is the *sacred sop* to them ! how quiet is the *Cerberus* of their tongues and consciences in the point of *Tithes* when paid to themselves ! These (as *all things*) are a portion meet for such *Saints*, if they can but get them by any means ; though neither *God nor man*, Law nor Gospel, Reason nor Religion, give them any true right or title to them.

Nothing is more *halting*, more partiall, more subtrill, more finifter, than covetous hearts and sacrilegious spirits, as is evident in this one *instance of Tithes* ; which hath been long debated to and fro by the *perverse disputations* of men of *corrupt minds*, who have been told a *thousand times*, that the Ministers of the Gospel do not plead any *right of Tithes*, as the *Jewish Priests* did, by any *Mosaick Law* and *Jewish Institution* ; for our service, our sacrifice, our Ministry, are all changed to an higher and more noble *Priesthood* than that of *Aaron* or *Levi* was. We plead that *Tithes* were *pre-Mosaical*, and so may be *post-Mosaical*, before *Moses*, and after him in the Church of God ; they are due to the *Melchisedechian Priesthood* of Christ ; they were paid to the *Type* or *Shadow*, and so much more may be to the *Antitype* or *Substance* : that they are Gods proportion even by a generall law of * *naturall gratitude*, besides Gods special choice and assignation : that as they were ever owned and confessed as due to the Divine Majesty by an innate principle or a traditionall dictate of all nations, almost in all ages, confirmed by a parallel law of God among the Jews ; so they are nowhere in the Gospel abrogated or denied, but confirmed as to *Evangelical* uses and respects, in as much as the Christian hath no less cause to pay such an *homage* to God and his Ministers now, than the Jew had of old ; the Ministry of the Gospel (which ^a is a more excellent Ministry) deserving as much and as well of mankind as that of the Law : besides, in all reason, Gods *ancient demand* and *unrepealed proportion* is rather to be chosen than any other, as most pleasing to God, most equall in itself, and every way best, both for Minister and people, more agreeable to good conscience, and least subject to cavill, grudging or exception on either side ; especially when 'tis most evident, that it is confirmed by Evangelical sanctions and Apostolick orders ; even ^b so hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, as those that served at the Altar did live of the Altar. If these repiners do not like Gods assignation, and Christs right to Tithes, (which was not Leviticall, for ^c Christ was not of that tribe) which are devolved to his Evangelicall Ministers, as being in Christs stead and office ; yet they may very well *satisfie* their consciences in the paying of them, meerly ^d upon the account of Ministers *civil rights*, and the publick donation of the nation, which hath by law invested Ministers, yea Christ and his Church, in the right and property of demanding, receiving and enjoying Tithes. This in all other cases holds good, even with these *godly grudgers*, as to *Meum* and *Tuum*, the law giving to every man what is his own by any honest acquisition of *industry*, *purchase*, or *donation* : which last title of *gift* is as

Heb. 7. 8.

* Learned Bochart observes out of Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo and others, that the Sabaeans or Arabians constantly paid the tithe or tenth of all the Frankincense they gathered in Arabia Felix, to the Priests and Temple of Apollo, or Phabus, which is the Sun, as an acknowledgement, that to his warme beams and influence they owed those sweet perfumes. Vid. Bocharti Geograph. Sac. in Arab. Fel.
a Heb. 8. 6.
b 1 Cor. 9. 13.
c Heb. 7. 14.
d Heb. 7. 5, 6, 8.

good, both in law and conscience, as any title in the world; especially where it is done by publick counsel and consent of a Nation, upon valid reasons of *gratitude, equity and piety*, both to *God*, to *Ministers*, to *mens own souls*, who have the greatest benefit by Tithes, if they have grace to partake of those *spirituall good things*, which Ministers do (at least ought) conscientiously to dispense to them.

If these *devout devourers* of things sacred (these *Helluones decimarum*) had as many pregnant *Texts of Scripture*, as much *Analogy of Religion*, as strong grounds of reason, as potent pleas of merit, as great evidences of equity, before the law, under the law, and after the law; if *old Testament* and *new Testament* were as evident for any thing which they fancy to set up, and are concerned to promote, as all these *undeniably* are for Tithes to be paid to the *Ministers of the Gospel*; O how should all the world ring, and all ears be filled with their noise, cries and clamors of 'a *Divine Institution*, an *Ordinance of Jesus Christ*, an *holy rite*, a *necessary duty*, a *Gospel-dispensation*, an 'everlasting Law, an *undispensable Institution*! O how should all 'men, all *Christians*, all *Churches* be *unchurched*, *unchristened*, *unsainted*, *unheavened*, *quite excommunicated*, and *eternally damned*, if these 'men might not have their wills, if all not did not readily submit 'to so clear a cause, in which Christ Jesus was so much concerned, at 'least in their opinion and interpretation, especially if it made for 'their profit!

But in the case of *paying their Tithes*, being themselves most concerned not to part with them, they are so stupid, so sottish, so wilfully blind and impertinently peevish, that *seeing by all those lights*, yet they *will not see* what is equall, just and righteous *before God and man*; the *bias* of their covetous and base hearts being therefore cross-grain'd to the *paying of Tithes* to Ministers, because they hope (foolishly) that Tithes will one day lapse to their own private hands, as owners or farmers, and that they shall shark them not onely from Ministers, but from the *Exchequer*, and from their *severall Land-lords*: the one of which will certainly confute the folly of these men, who are never to be reconciled to Tithes, till they can get them, or save them, if by no other wayes, yet by their turning *popular Preachers*: in which employment (forsooth) their consciences will serve them now at last to receive those *Antichristian Tithes*, which they cannot now much deserve, and which they heretofore so eagerly disputed against, and unjustly denied, as too much for true and worthy Ministers, beyond, yea, against all modesty, civility, gratitude, honesty and equity. By which rude, injurious and vexatious tempers and dealings of such men, swarming in every corner of the land, poor Ministers of *late years*, in many, yea most parishes, have hardly been able to keep life and soul together: what they get is with difficulty, importunity, grudging, reproches, unkind and uncomfortable contests, below the spirit of any learned and ingenuous man, especially when he thinks he hath a right both of Law and Gospel, of publick gift and personal desert.

CHAP. XXIX.



W^Hat, I beseech you (*O noble Englishmen and generous Christians*) can you find in this posture of *Ministers* condition, that hath the least shadow of double honour? what is there here to be envied? what not to be pitied, as to the present? what hopes, what help for the future, if your favour, who are persons of piety, ingenuity, honour, compassion, constancie, faile them? If you also forsake them, they are utterly lost, and, as to this world, of all men most miserable. For as to the vulgarity and generality of people, what is there in the best condition of any true *Minister*, that carries any thing with it of spirit and life, of comfort and encouragement, of vigour and improvement to those studies and prayers, those pains and parts, those charities or hospitalities which doe become a *Minister*, and which people expect from them, though they feed them but with pulse, the bread and water of affliction, and make them (with their families) look like *Pharaohs lean kine*? what almost is there left for their comfort, either as to future provision, or present subsistence? By that time their poore pittances are injuriously compounded, and slowly payd by dribbets and with infinite delays; by that time *taxes, tenths*, and *town-rates* are defalked out of their wages; by that time they have satisfied the poor and rich in every Parish, which alwayes expect, as a right and due from their *Ministers*, something of charity and hospitality, be their Livings never so small; by that time the *upper* and the *nether milstones*, private necessities and publique exacti-
ons, have ground these poore men; alas, how little will be left for necessity, how nothing for conveniency, how lesse than nothing for posterity? You may despaire of any such superfluity as should serve for any such great, good, and generous designs, as the Clergie in former times did effect, both for piety and publique charity. Their Livings, at best, are but for life; and (now) many times upon a very verticall point, an arbitrary and uncertain account: Besides, they are many wayes peeled and exhausted beyond any mens estates, paying not onely *civil Taxes* and Subsidies for their Tithes, after the rate of *Land of Inheritance*, but *First-fruits* also and *Tenths*, as a Spirituall Tax and speciall mulct upon them. Truly, for my part, I am so far from seeing any cause for men to envy and grudge at *Ministers* enjoyments, such as they are for the most part, that I rather wonder at many of their subsistence, considering how ill it becomes their breeding and calling, to debase themselves to any sordid and mechanick wayes of gain.

Especially when I consider a further cumulation incident to *Ministers* miseries, which is, To be oft molested with pedling, peevish, and unhandsome *Suits of Law*, to which they are compelled by those

Ministers condition not to be envied, but pitied.

that list to be contentious : Ministers not having to this day any such easie, quiet and compendious way to get their wages when they have done their duties, as is daily used in raising the Souldiers payes, or the Poors collections ; but the poor Minister, if he will not be utterly impoverished, must ride and run, sollicite and engage in tedious and chargeable attendances upon *Justices, Committees, Lawyers, Attorneys* : among whom although Ministers find some very just, ingenious, and generous Gentlemen, lovers of Learning, Religion, Equity, Order, and of their Mother the Church of England, yet others of them favour so strong of the apron antipathy of a rustick, mechanick and illiterate breeding, besides that factious and peevish temper which they have lately added to their other perfections, that (in good earnest) the sober and sound Ministers of the Church of England are as unwelcome to them, as cold water is to their feet in winter, or vinegar to their aking teeth, or smoke to their sore eyes, which they have (παλινεστίς ἡ πολυεστία) many wayes and oft expressed by their looks, words, gestures, actions, some of them treating aged, grave, godly, venerable, and most deserving Divines, (much their betters (God and man knows) in all true worth) not onely with rudenesse and petulancy, but with such bitternesse, haughtinesse and disdain, as they would not shew to a Foot-man or Lacquey, related to any person whom they either fear, love or esteem. Herod was civill to John Baptist in comparison. These puffe and swell, they bite and threaten, as Abab did at Elijah or Micahiah: counting these Ministers, though never so supple & humble, tame & trembling before their good Worships, as enemies, because they hold to the *Catholick truth* ; and as troublers of their Israel, because they will not be flatterers of their new fancies in Religion ; because they persist in a judicious and consciencious owning their Orders and asserting their Ministry, which is their chiefeest honour ; because they will not yet fall down and worship the imaginations which some men seek to set up in England ; because they follow the Primitive order, constancy and verity, not complying with that ignorance, levity, vulgarity, Schisme and Apostasie against the Church of England, wherewith some men are so delighted, without any sense of sin or shame, though never so much against that duty, gratitude, love, honour, estimation and communion which they owed to the Church of England, and the worthy Ministers of it.

Mark 6. 20.

1 King. 21. 10
Hast thou
found me, O
mine enemy ?
1 King. 22. 8.
But I hate him.

CHAP. XXX.



His I write to you (O nobler Christians, and my *Honoured Countrymen*) as with great certainty, sorrow and sympathy, in regard of my *Brethren the Ministers* of this Church; so with the greater *freedom*, because it neither hath been, nor is my particular case (through *Gods mercy*) either to be considerably injured, or in any degree over-awed by

Experimental instances how petulant some people are to their Ministers.

common people, much lesse by any men in Power, either Military or Civill: Nor have I any cause to complain of the generality of *my own people*, as to any want of justice, gratitude, or civility expectable from persons of their size and proportion.

Yet my own experience teacheth me to have the more sensible belief of many other *Ministers* sad complaints, who having (it may be) lesse advantages above their people, and much depending upon them, are forced in a very low posture to *truckle* under such factious, imperious, and injurious spirits as they meet withall.

There is, I find, no flock of *Pigeons* so pure and entire, but there will be some *Stares*, *Fack-dawes* and *Rooks* among them; no people so modest and ingenuous, so respective and submissive to their Ministers, but there will be some surly and supercilious, petulant and insolent spirits among them. No Minister of any good name and merit is so exalted in the love and respect of his people, but he will have some *messenger of Satan* to buffet him; some *Judas* among his Disciples, that will be prone to betray him, to traduce him privately and publiquely, to make him an *offender for a word*, to suck poyson as Spiders out of the sweetest flowers of his zeal, piety, charity, and oratory; turning honey into gall, and requiting evill for good.

I could give you (if you wanted daily experiences) some neer and notable instances, how respective, how gentle, how good-natur'd, how gratefull, how civill some people are to their *Ministers*, since they have taken the *liberty* to be rude, petulant, insolent, *unholy*, *unthankfull*. I have seen how much they disdain to pay any more civility or outward respect to their Minister, than they challenge to themselves, or than they give to their meanest *comrades*, which are of the same bran and barrell with themselves: yea some of them have taken a glory and pleasure to shew incivility, rudenesse, contemptuousnesse in words and behaviour as well as looks; more passionate, malapert, and imperious to their Ministers, than they durst be toward a *petty Constable*, or a *Bum-bailly*: some of them so unthankfull, that for twice seven years constant pains among them, they never returned any *acknowledgment*: some have not been ashamed to use down-right railing, scorn and ruffling to their faces, others behind their back. Some are so conceited of themselves, that they have

ad-

adventured to dictate and prescribe in a way even haughty and menacing, what their *Minister* should doe and say. There want not some *aguisb* and *fearerish Auditors*, who heare onely by fits, when they list: others are great *criticks* and severe censurers, whose wanton curiosity useth *sermons*, as *Walnuts*; they crack them, and peel them, and cast away the greatest part of them with great nicety, eating little, and digesting lesse of sound doctrine. Some have high conceits that they can preach better than my self, I or any Minister. Some have begun a clownish contest with their Minister at the Font, bringing their children to Baptism with such indifferency, as when one was asked by his Minister, if he desired to have his child baptized in the Christian Faith, he answered very surlily, *Yes, if you can doe it*. Another with great peremptorinesse refused to have his Child baptized, unlesse the Minister would doe it himself, though he pleaded (with truth) his great wearinesse after twice Preaching that day, and desired another Minister then assistant and present might doe it, as was usuall: But he, *stiffe-girt*, and *inexorable*, went with a short turn out of the Church, carrying his child with him, nor ever after offered it, that I know, to be baptized, although he was intreated with great gentleness and kindness. These are the religious demeanours and deeds of some people that I have known.

Nor am I a stranger to those *garlands* and *flowers of rustick oratory* and civil behaviour, wherewith some true plebeians do crown the heads of their *Ministers*, with as much love and respect as those did, who *platted a crown of thorns on Christ's head*. I have heard and read the language of some of their tongues and pens too, for they dare to *scribble* as well as *babble*; nor doth their *goose-quill* want teeth any more than their *lips* do the *poysen of Asps*, sufficient to exercise the best *Antidotes* of Christian patience and charity, which any true Minister bears about him. I have seen sometime the virulent *letters* of some of these *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, as full of contempt, insolency and menacing, as their little wits and great malice could invent: and this from such as have been sometime personally obliged, and to whom their Minister willingly never gave the least offence. No *touch-wood* or dry *gun-powder* sooner kindles to flames of wrath, indignation and disdain, than some ordinary and mean men dare, yea delight, now to do against their Ministers. I have seen both by their *pasquils* and *practises* some instances of their ingenuous manners, of their great respects, love and gratitude: all which (in good earnest) I might (I think without any vanity) have challenged and expected from all men, especially from my own *Parishioners* and *auditors*, whom for many years I have endeavoured to entertain with so much industry, civility, candour, charity and hospitality, as is not inferiour to most (if any) Ministers in the countrey; and in some things, as to publick charges and burthens, I believe I have exceeded any man of my estate and calling in *England*. As for private charities to the poorer and richer, to the well and the sick, for food, physick, clothing, &c. it is fitter others assest me, than I should

should vindicate my self against the *petulant ingratitude*s of some men; among whom one had his tongue so much at *liberty*, that uninjured, unprovoked, yea almost unknown to me (yet one of my many hearers) he doubted not openly to joyn me with my man, and put upon us both the title of a couple of proud *Fack-anapeses*, when he was but, after two or three years forbearance, demanded to pay what was due, professing he would not maintain any proud *Parson*. Such spirits as these I must leave to be punished with their own manners; I must pardon them, as *David* did *Shimei*, and pray for them, as *Samuel* did for the *ingrateful Israelites*: the rather, because, I thank God, I meet with few of them in a very *numerous people*, who for the greater and better part of them, do indeed deserve all that care, love, labour, kindness and constancy, which I have shewed to them for 15 years together.

Onely by these experiments, both my self and others may easily conjecture how the *pulse* of people beats in most, if not all places, toward their Ministers, whatever they be; if they be men of any worth, spirits and parts above them. 'Tis sure enough, that even the best of them in the best places they meet with, are brought to a low ebb, in comparison of what respect they formerly enjoyed in *England*.

Indeed some Ministers (perhaps) have some little sleights and popular artifices to win and please the *vulgar*; whom rather than offend, they will do, or say, or omit, or silence any thing, not grossly a sin and shame; and rather than not please, they will rub ever and anon some salt upon the Bishops, the ancient Clergy, upon the Liturgy and the former constitution of the *Church of England*: for this gall is honey to the palates of some plebeian spirits. And rather than displease some people, there are Ministers that will never use the *Creed*, *Decalogue*, or *Lords prayer* in twice seven years. Nay some people so rule the tender mouths, and ride the galled backs of their Preachers with so sharp a snaffle and hard a saddle, that they are afraid to offend these their great Censors (rather than good *Masters* and *Dames*) by putting the title of *Saint* to any holy *Evangelist*, or *Apostolick writer*, no not when they name their *Text*, or cite any place out of their holy writings; but those holy and reverend men are named with as little respect or honor to their memory and merit in the Church, as if they spake to *Matthew*, and *James*, and *Peter*, and *John* in their kitchen, as their servants, or fellowes and familiars. Yea so spongily soft, timorous and sequacious some Ministers are, that what they own as their judgement among men of learning, parts and courage, this they smother with great wariness and cowardise among those plainer *Hees* and *Shees*, by whom they are over-awed, as it were, by a kind of necessary *sportulary dependence*.

CHAP. XXXI.

The personall
sufferings of
Ministers, af-
ter all their
pains, merits
and troubles,



Hat the sufferings, dejections, debasements, indignities are, which many Ministers have, and do endure, no man can imagine, who doth not see and feel the weight of *high shoes*, or the ponderousness of Weavers beams, when they dare to tread on Ministers toes. If (as I have experimentally instanced) it be thus done to a *green tree*, to one that hath been not barren or unfruitfull among them, whom God of his mercy and bounty hath planted in an upper ground, and in many degrees of *eminency* above the vulgar; how (think you) will rustick spirits lift up their *flailes* and *sibes*, their hooks and bills, their *shuttles* and *shovels* against those of my *brethren*, whom they look upon as much their *underlings* and *shrubs*, by reason of the *tennity* of their condition, though they be never so *tall Cedars* in learning, piety, and all true worth? How do they threaten, and scorn, and molest them, if they do not suffer them to enjoy those *sharking* and sacrilegious *compositions* which they will make, or none at all, for their Tithes? else *Articles* and *Committees*, sequestrations and suits are loudly threatned: at best, parties, factions, schisms and separations are presently *hatched* and nourished against him; if the Minister do not sacrifice with great *tameness* a great part of his small means, as a peace-offering or atonement to these turbulent spirits, who if they may not be his *Masters* and *Commanders*, resolve to be his oppressors and undoers, if they can; however they take the freedom to be his declared defectors and enemies, discouraging and disparaging him what they can, by *separating* from him, and from the Congregation or Parish, to some private and *spitefull Conventicle*.

Which reserve of malice never fails to follow there, where any Minister hath the courage and confidence so far to own himself, as not to submit either to the *injuries* or *insolencies* of some proud and pragmatick spirits. If the conscience of his own *integrity* sets him immovably as a *stuce* against the *tide* of their folly and petulancy, O how excessively will their spleen swell against the good man! Rather than fail of having some revenge upon him, they will take this most severe revenge against themselves (as *malice is oft its own mischief*) wholly to deprive themselves of all the benefit to be enjoyed by his learned, judicious and devout *Ministry*; which they labour to cry down, as that by which they cannot profit; that to *refresh their souls*, they are forced to seek out some more warm, complying, creeping and *inspired Preacher*: such an one, though a meer *rhapsodist* and *rambler*, must presently be cryed up as a rare *soul-saving Preacher*.

And indeed it may justly be feared, that most *Separates* of later years

years have taken the rise and occasion of their *schismes* and *separations* from their *lawfull Ministers*, and from the *Church of Engl.* not so much upon any scruple of conscience, as upon pride, covetousness, ambition, revenge, and other inordinate lusts, with which their Ministers would not comply : from which centre of *order*, *union* and *consistence* in the Church, when *countrey people* are once removed, no wonder if, like their *cart-wheels*, they run round in a *vertigo* of Religions; & being themselves once *bitten* with their own *rage*, they run (like *mad dogs*) up and down the countrey, seeking whom they may bite and infect with the contagion of their malice, contempt, revenge and abhorrence against their former Minister and all of his form, raising what mutinies, conspiracies and animosities they can against them, among those *rurall neighbours*, to whose conversation the most part of *Ministers* are condemned; and by whose *egregious insolence* many of late years have been, as with evil spirits, grievously vexed and tormented, being in most places little respected and less beloved; generally but men of small estates, helpless enough, and friendless, full of frequent perplexities, betweene *conscience* and *necessity*, between piety and policy; having run through so many *Ordeales* or fiery trials of State, first a *Protestation*, then a *Covenant*, after that a *Vow*, next an *Engagement*, and soon after a *dis-engagement*. One while they are bound to maintain the *Reformed Religion*, as established in the *Ch. of Engl.* according to their education, judgement, conscience and ordination: if they keep to this station, first *Presbytery* hath a sting at them, next *Independency* pincheth them; at last the licentious humour of people lets out a whole kennell of *Libertines* to worry them. Thus have many *Ministers* *lingred out their lives* of late years, laden and almost oppressed, worn out and quite tired with the burden of years, cares, labours, fears, anxieties, necessities, rude affronts, and remediless afflictions.

All which calamities have fallen so thick upon them in their persons and reputation, in their estates and quiet, in their calling and employment, that none, but very ingenuous minds and compassionate hearts, are apt or able to consider fully those *sad talents of lead* which lie upon many or most Ministers.

Their *private closets* are almost daily witnesses to their sighs, tears, prayers, bitter complaints, despondencies, and almost despairs: many of them ready, with *Job* and *Jeremiah*, to *curse the day of their birth*, their education as *Scholars*, and their ordination as Ministers: many of them, as *Elijah*, say secretly in their souls, *Lord, 'tis enough, take away my life*, since I have out-lived the *glory of this Church*, and the honor of my *calling*. Many are in such anguish of spirit, that they long for death, as for their rest, and seek for the *grave*, as for *hidden treasure*; so sorely doth the heat and burden of the day beat upon them, as upon *Jonah*, and no gourd to refresh them.

All which griefs and dejections, however they strive, many of them, by a *generous magnanimity*, to conceal and smother, as much as is possible (knowing how vain a thing it is to complain, where is no

hope but of pity, and scarce that;) yet many of their neighbours, both friends and enemies, are so much curious spectators of their distresses and discouragements, that the one hath the pleasure to *pity* them, the other to *insult* over them. Which dismall reflections when the poor Ministers discern in mens looks, words, treatments and comportments toward them, how do they ruminate afresh, and chew over their *calamities*, when they retire home, and hide their heads in their ruinous and uncertain habitations, which daily, with their masters, fall to dilapidations? Ministers having neither money to lay out, nor hearts, if they had money, to reparaire such *uncertain*, and, it may be, *momentary mansions*, where every relation they meet renews their *regrets* and *vexations*, both as to their private and publick condition; when they consider how much they and their profession are fallen in *England*, as to all former civil and secular interests, either honourable, or honest and comely, and forced to stoop to those that make them their foot-stool, commanding them to bow down, that they may go over their backs.

11a.51.23.

When they hope a little to divert their *melancholy* thoughts, by going abroad and meeting with other men; with what force and affectation do Ministers contend to put on so much brow and confidence, as may keep them from appearing too sensible of their being every where discountenanced and despised as *Ministers*? Hence they think themselves safest, when they are most disguised in their clothes, both for *colour* and *fashion*, such as may least *bewray* them and their pitifull profession; being *Ministers* now rather by force and fatall necessity, than of any good will, choice, or self-comprobatation, finding the best of their condition, preferment and expectation amounts not beyond a dispirited, dejected, despised, decayed, precarious, proletary, predicant, not many degrees removed from a mendicant, condition.

Thus while the *souldier* looks big, and glories to be seen in his arms, as the ensigns of his well-paid profession; while wary *Lawyers* keep as grave and wise men to their *robes* and *gowns*, as badges of their calling, which is their honour and gain too; while other civil *fraternities* and *companies* of trades own their *vests* and *liveries*; onely the poor *Ministers* of *England* study with great artifice to disguise themselves, as manifestly, and not a little ashamed of their order and function; and this not onely in *high-wages* and *markets*, but even in their very *Churches* and *Pulpits*: they had rather appear as *Lawyers*, *Physitians*, *Troopers*, *Graiers*, yea, *Mechanicks*, *Apprentices* and *Serving-men*, than in such a colour, garment, garb and fashion, as best becomes (in my judgement) grave Scholars and venerable Preachers: so great is the damp and discountenance they are sensible of, when they come among *Lay-men*, being alwayes loth, and oft afraid to be taken for *Ministers*, lest they be openly disgraced, jeered and contemned: this makes many leave off their wearing black, when they have cause enough to be in mourning.

There is yet one *relief* onely left them, by which a little to buoy
up

up their *sinking spirits*; that is, when *Ministers* meet together, they seem with some *shew of wit*, or *gravity*, or *learning*, or *confidence*, or *sanctity*, to hold up *each others chins*, especially if they be of a *party*, and get into some *associate convention* (which is the least of comforts to comforts in calamity,) and even this invention is carried on (as yet) rather *furtively* and *precariously*, than with any great *solemnity* or *authority*: and here, in the midst of their *feigned mirth* and *seeming serenity*, O what a secret guilt, shame and regret, do most of them find in themselves and in one another! O how great a *cloke of confusion* covers their faces! as those most, who are most *modest*, *ingenuous*, *ancient* and *innocent*, when they see in their own nakedness, how God hath satisfied either the *superpolitick* or the *simple* sort of Ministers with their own delusions; what a *cloud* they have embraced instead of *Goddeses*; with what *slighting* they are treated & looked upon by all sorts of men; how they have helped, with *much zeal* and *little wisdom*, to reduce themselves and their order to this *diminutive posture*; being so divided & disordered among themselves, that they are easily *despised*, *derided* and *destroyed* by any that dare to attacque them: having now no *nationall circumference* as *Church-men*, no *Ecclesiastical centre* for *union* or *ordination*; no *shadow* or *paternall shelter* of *protection among themselves*, to defend them from *vulgar beats* and *plebeian storms*; nothing of *filiall subordination* or *fraternal conjunction*, to keep them in any comely posture and regular motion. Look *beyond the seas*, and they see all *orders* cast into a strength, stability and honour, by their *subordination* to their *Bishops* and *Superiours*, after the ancient and venerable pattern of all Churches: look *homeward*, and they find all *mysteries* of civil trades and *merchandise* kept up by *mutuall correspondencies* and *corporations*, for order, counsel and government: onely the *Ministeriall Tribe* is become a *disorderly order of men*, like *Simeon* and *Levi*; they must be divided in *Jacob*, and scattered in *Israel*; which was the left-handed blessing of that *holy Patriarch* to those fierce and *furious brethren*, &c. Yea, the *Clergie*, or *Ministry* if you will (for some like that new title best, since their condition is much worsted) are become in *England* like the *Jews* in all lands, who are dispersed in many countries, but have no where any *polity*, *community*, *authority*, or *government*.

Gen. 49. 7.

Adde to this *dissipated* and *distracted state* of *Ministers*, their private distresses and poverties, together with the publick neglect and *indifferency* of people toward them; who can wonder if they look pitifully one on another, which no *jocose* or *juvenile drolings* can relieve? how forced are their *mutuall salutations*, since they affect to call one another *brethren*, and yet have cast off their *Fathers*? how feigned are their *smiles* and *embraces*, when they see how hard an *after-game* they have to play for their subsistence, reputation, civill respect and Ecclesiastick union? For *splendid estates*, or any *beam* of publick honour and recall authority, further than the *Territories* of their *desk* and *pulpits* reach, they may sadly and justly, many of them, despair of them: though I am of opinion no men can better deserve

them than some Clergy-men did heretofore, and still do; but not those, who by a spiteful and rash prodigality have set their own as well as other mens corn-fields on fire, by helping to tie foxes tails with fire-brands. These may be glad if they can preserve the petty Provinces of their Parochial and Independent Episcopacies, which they so infinitely ambitionated, that they indiscreetly ventured to consume the larger harvest of this Church, which was annexed to the honour of Ancient and Catholick Episcopacy; by which means, not onely many Ministers of the Episcopall Ordination and judgement have been shrewdly distressed, but even Presbyterian and Independent Preachers, who flatter themselves as if they were the speciall favourites of the people, even these are fain, in many places, with much ado, to fall to their gleanings, to pick up what small compositions, remnants and scatterings of support and respect, they can here and there get or find, as new and speciall undertakers to preach the Gospel, and give some credit to the lapsed and distressed Ministry of England.

This, this is generally the fate of Ministers; deservedly indeed of some, but most unworthy of many of them, who not without a patient horror behold this prospect of calamities befall them in their decline & age: and all this after great pains in their studies from their youth upward; after infinite prayers and tears, for their own and others souls improvement; after unwearied diligence in their calling; after invincible patience under common peoples incapacities, stupidities, ingratitude, indignities; after many rigours and severities of life, voluntarily, besides necessarily sustained; after a kind of civil martyrdom endured, like that of Simon Stylites, who loaden with irons, confined himself into a narrow pillar of stone, while most Ministers are all their life-time condemned to the rusticity, barbarity, moroseness and brutishness of the stony vulgar, being like Orient Jewels set in sockets of copper, or brass, or lead, or iron, or clay. What Minister but finds in these licentious times, the deportment of many common people, as in the city proud and supercilious, so in the country harsh as hedge-hogs, and hard as rocks: for so their society oft seems to those men that have once tasted of ingenuous breeding, of softer and civiler conversation; from which to be wholly removed, and all ones life confined to hob-nails and high shoes, to loomes and hasts, to tempers utterly clownish, or meerly mechanick, yet ponderous or petulant enough, as now they dare appear, is as if a man should fall from a down bed into a plot of briars and thorns.

Tell me I beseech you (O my brethren and fellow-labourers in the Ministry) who have many years contended with the clod, and toiled in the brick clamp of a countrey living, being as Ministers (now) even fain under plough-shares, and sawes, and harrowes (as David once treated the children of Ammon;) tell me (O you my companions in this tribulation) who have any thing in your temper, constitution, or education, that is courteous and civil, polished and generous, learned and ingenuous; yea tell me (O ye Noblemen and Gentlemen

Gentlemen of England, who are the chief pillars of cloud and fire, of light and favour, of capacity and affection (under God) to the now depressed Ministers either in their severall solitudes, or amidst those rural societies, which are many times more sad than utter solitudes,) tell me (I beseech you all, who are my betters or brethren) are not those *excellent associates*, rare refreshments, precious rewards, noble encouragements, which *Ministers* of worth and parts in most places of *England* (for in *Wales* they say few are *resident* or *incumbent*) do now enjoy, for which they must spend their spirits, waste their lungs, decay their health, exhaust their lives, neglect all other wayes of livelihood, both for themselves and their families? After all which, little shall be left them, if some men may have their wills, but contempt cast upon their persons & calling together, with the legacies of *extreme poverty*, which after a *lingring death* they must leave to their *desolate wives* and *fatherlesse children*. Good God! what arts did Church-men in former times use, when they did so much out-wit and out-wealth us; when having less charge, less learning, and less work, they had more order and unity, more honour and revenues, even heaped up, pressed down, and running over: whereas (now) the tale of brick is much more, and the supply of straw far less: Livings heretofore worth an *100 l. per annum*, are now ebbd and hardly squeezed to 50. or 60. pounds; and this with much whining and grudging, with many evil eyes and evil words on all sides.

Nor are these yet the *dregs* of that *bitter cup*, which Ministers above all men are to drink: for after all their former pains faithfully bestowed, after they have been miserably tossed and weather-beaten by the storms of a long and dubious civil war, in the *bowels* of the Church as well as the State, after they have made *shipwreck* of almost all but a good conscience (few of them being ever admitted to any composition or resumption, as to their livings, yea many of them denied to make use of any such plank or rafter, which might serve to buoy them up from utter sinking and starving, though it were but *teaching school in a belfrey*;) yet after all these personall sufferings and extremities, behold they must live to hear and see their very calling and orders, their whole function and fraternity disgraced and disordered, yea (as to some mens desires and endeavours) quite routed and abolished; the primitive pipes and ancient conduits of all *Ecclesiastick power* quite broken, and new *cisterns* set up, which hold no water, comparable to that *brazen sea* of Apostolick Episcopacy and orderly Presbytery, which ever served the *Sanctuary of Christs Church*, in all ages, places and offices. It might (possibly) break the quiet, the cheerfulness, the estates of many worthy Ministers, to see their persons, preaching, pains, prayers and holy ministrations neglected by many, despised by some, and trampled under foot by not a few; who (after the rate of plebeian spirits) following the revolutions of mens fortunes, think there can be no worth meriting their value and respect, either
civil

1 Sam. 4.

civil or religious, but onely under the *characters of riches, honour, and power*; soon ebbing in their love and esteem of the *Clergie*, when they see the *tide* of honour and munificence so turned and abated, even to the *lowest water-mark* almost, as now it seems in *England*. But it breaks the very *hearts and spirits of worthy Ministers* (like old *Elies*) to hear and see *Philistines* take by violence the *Ark of God*, and carry it *captive to their Dagon*, the Idols that every ones fancy lifts to set up in *private Conventicles*, under the title of *Ministeriall power and holy ordination*: this at present infinitely dejects all sober Christians and true Ministers; this for the future quite sinks them in despair.

CHAP. XXXII.

Discouragements to ingenuous men to be made Ministers in *England* in after-times.



How high and holy an ambition, I beseech you (my worthy Countrymen) will it be in after-times, and already is, for any man of parts, of learning, of conscience, (guided by Scripture, and by all ancient practices of the *Catholick Church*, no lesse than that of this *Reformed* and famous Church of *England*) to devote himself to be a Minister of the Gospel, when he shall see no Reverend *Bishops*, no subordinate *Presbyters* left to ordain him, few or no people left to entertain him with due respect to his calling; some doubting, others denying, a third sort wholly despising all his Ministeriall power and authority! of which, next to our salvation, Ministers and other Christians should study to be assured that it is valid and divine, upon good and authentick grounds, which may both merit their acknowledgment, and oblige them to submission.

If any man that is fit, and willing to be a *Minister in England*, if, I say, he can dispense with the *Novelties, irregularities, and inconformities* of his *ordination*, as to all Antiquity, no less than the orders of the *Church of England* (which ever was by Bishops, as the *Apostolick Conduits*, the chief Fathers and proper Conveyors, so confessed by all Reformed Churches;) if he can bear the tedious journeys from the remoter Counties, the long delays, the unexpected scrutinies, and the strange questions he shall meet with, before he be allowed and admitted to *officiate*, which are very hard trials to men that are tolerably learned, and not intolerably necessitated for a small living: if these *difficulties* can be digested, which we see of late have deterred many good *scholars* and *hopefull Students* from entring upon the *Ministry*, rather diverting their thoughts to other employments which are more easie, profitable and honourable now in *England*; yet still, whatever doore he comes in at, he is a great and bold adventurer, daring at once to undertake so tedious
and

and dreadful an employment, in which he must daily undergo many oppositions, many abuses, many injuries, many indignities incident from one side or other, to any Minister, what stamp soever he bears. He must be fortified with invincible patience, with heroick resolutions, with humble constancy, with *Hermeticall content*, with *Martyrly charity*, while he contends with many causeless enemies, with all those difficulties of poverty and contempt, which are very unwelcome to flesh and blood, though never so spiritualized and refined: these do and ever will attend him as a Minister, while common people take so great liberties and confidences to baffle, to dispute, to despise, to disturb, and to undo their Ministers, besides their daring to obtrude themselves into his place and office.

The meanest tradesman or handy-craft mechanick bears the labour of his hands, and that sore travail of his soul, during his mortall pilgrimage, cheerfully and comfortably, while being willing and able to work for his living, he gets his wages without any mans grudging, and enjoyes himself without any envy or obloquy, in honest wayes of industry, though possibly it reach no further than making of ribbands, or points, or buttons, or habies, for the use of the Common-weal: onely the poor Minister (especially if he dare own the Church of England, or assert his authority from an higher origine, than what is novel, secular and popular) after twice seven years rigging and preparing himself for so rough and hazardous a voyage; after he hath many nights and dayes, by studying, watching, fasting, praying, weeping, furnished himself as a workman that needeth not to be ashamed before men; after he hath wholly and onely devoted himself to that heavy plough and employment, the care and culture of mens souls (which are naturally hard as fallow grounds, full of weeds and thorns) which work may well take up the whole time, ability and industry of the best of men; after he hath so followed this holy husbandry, as to neglect all other means and opportunities to advance his worldly condition, thinking it would be enough for him to merit well of his Countrey and the publick, and, as a learned, grave and serious Minister, to serve God and mankind, by setting forth and communicating to the world the inestimable riches and excellencies of his and their Saviour; which service might well deserve as good salaries and encouragements as those enjoy, who have offices in the Customes, Excise, Exchequers, and treasuries of unrighteous mammon; after he hath thus denied, exhausted and macerated himself, in order to promote the highest interests of God and man, which is the eternall salvation of sinfull souls, and this at no great charge, or expence of mens estates; after his modesty, charity and hospitality hath convinced all men, that he covets them, not theirs, condescending oft below himself, in order to captate the love and civil favour of people, that he might gain more advantages to save their souls:

Yet still this good Ministers condition will of all mens in Engl. be most

most miserable: for while he is daily doing his duty, and doing it well, with meekness of *wisdom*, with good conscience and discretion; yet he shall be sure to contract *many enemies without a cause*. Many that are meere strangers to him will hate him out of anti-ministeriall Antipathies and Epidemick principles; which are so rife and in *fashion in England*, against any that own themselves as *Ministers (ex officio)* by duty and office, especially after the order of the *Church of England*. Upon this very name he shall *adopt* the censures and hard speeches, the envy and malice, the janglings and ruffling, the injuries and indignities of many: he must be made a *man of strife*, whether he will or no; oft destinated to disgrace and ruine, unheard, untried, unseen, unknown. If he own himself as a man of *any spirit*, and a *Minister* of any authority, then he is censured as *proud*, a *Pope*, a *Lucifer*; if he be *soft* and *supple*, then he is counted spongie, poor-spirited, pusillanimous: if by any honest arts and *innocent frauds* he can preserve his station, his living; his liberty, then he is counted *cunning*, a meere *politico*, a time-server, an hypocrite: where he is best known he must look to be least beloved by many *high Seraphicks* and *supercilious Separatists*; there will be some *godly bubbles*, swolne with pride and ignorance, that will scorn all his learning, all his abilities, all his devotion, all his duties.

When their *mouths are stopped*, and their gain-sayings confuted, though not *silenced*, yet neither his work nor his person will be accepted; nor will some men own their profiting by his Ministry, that they may save their *purses*, and excuse themselves for not *paying* him his dues. His wages must be oft changed by peevish *Labans*, sometimes totally denied by *churlish Nabals*; and there are who never batten more than when they most *cheat* their *Minister*. In fine, he will need *Argus* his eyes to look about him, for feare lest the whole foundation of his livelihood and subsistence be so undermined, shaken, assaulted and quite overthrown by two or three *pragmatick* and *spitefull neighbours*, that he will be in hazard to be quite *routed and outed*, without reward and work, forced to be either indigent or idle; and this without any ordinary rule or remedy, that I know, as to the *Lawes of England*.

A dreadfull prospect, God knowes, of *Idleness* and *Indigence*, sufficient to scare a very resolute soul, more than that spectre did *Brutus* the night before he fought unfortunately in the *Philippick fields*; discouragements capable to damp any provident mens spirit, from so dangerous, and almost desperate a service as this is, to be a professed and ordained Minister of the Gospel in *England*. What *young men* of any parts and hopes, of any pregnancy and ingenuity, will be so zealously forward, as to prick their fingers by gathering *roses* and *lillies*, among such rude thorns, as now either hedge up the way, or encompass the paths of every solid and sober

ber Minister? It is a *feruour* not very frequent, nor are they *quotidian* fits, either in younger or elder men of any worth, to embrace *Religion* in rags, and vertue when it is vagrant and mendicant, out at *heels* and *elbows*: when to be a *Minister of Jesus Christ*, is to have little for the *belly* or *back*, less for books or the brain; nothing to exercise charity of hospitality, less than nothing (as from man) to *cherish graces*, to increase gifts, to whet industry, to promote piety. What mortal is so *brutishly hardy*, as having no fleece or wooll on his back, he would chuse, not to dwell, but do *penance* in so cold, so *Scottish* a climate, as *old England* will soon prove to worthy Ministers; when it is become an *Iseland*, a *Freezland*, a *nova Zembla*, nothing but Hyperborean rigour, frozenness, and barrenness in it; no spring, no summer, no harvest expectable, as to any common favour, ingenuous pleasure, honest profit, or moderate honour? which is the temperature that some mens distempers have sought to reduce poor *Ministers* to, while they endeavour to turn the English Church and Clergy either up-side down, or out of doors.

CHAP. XXXIII.



An you (O my worthy and honoured Countrey-men) without an infinite vanity, folly and presumption, (most unworthy of your piety and prudence) ever expect that there should be such *burning* and *shining lights* among you, as have been in this Church and Nation; when there shall be little or no oyle to supply the *lamps*, or such as shall be rather Whale-oyle and Greenland-stuff, than such sweet and *golden oyle*, as through the *golden pipes* flowed from the Olive trees, which were round about the Candlesticks in *Zachariah's vision*, which was an emblem of Evangelicall diffusions from Christ to his Ministers, and from these to his Church? Do you think any mens sons of better quality, or others (whose hopes and ambition will carry them above the condition of a *Cobler* or a *Tinker*) when they come to yeares of discretion, and have a true prospect of that barren heath, that dry and *parched wilderness*, to which the Ministry of *England* is like to be confined and condemned in the midst of a *land of Goshen*, which flows with milk and honey to all other wayes of industry; doe you think (I say) that any man, who hath not lost his *mother-wits*, and those innate principles of *self-preservation*, will spontaneously rush into so many *sharp contentions* and *temptations*, like the horse into the battail, where hunger, and thirst, and cold, and nakedness, and shame, and *sordidness of living*, shall threaten him as a Minister, like the ragged regiment attending that *armed man*, whose name is *Poverty*; besides the *black pots*, among which these *doves* must

A worthy Ministry not expectable, unless there be a worthy usage and entertainment.

Zach. 4. 12.

Prov 6. 11.
Psal. 68. 17.

lie, I mean the *fool* and *skullery* of *vulgar insolency*, *plebeian petulance* and *fanatick contempt*? all which, like the over-hanging brow of a *rock* or *cliffe*, threaten to fall upon him and his relations, who seeks for the refuges of his life and *pilgrimage*, under the shelter of the *Ministry*: where if any *single men* (being more *(xanthhest.)* callous and iron-sided) can bear with, and baffle through their own sufferings and others rude oppositions; yet when they are *married*, and have relations more tender and dear to them than *their own lives*, O how will their bowels be broyled like *S. Laurence's*, and their hearts turned upon the *gridiron*, when they are frequently forced to hear, and see, and feel the cries, the wants, the distresses, the tears, the pallors, the squallors of their wives and children, which pierce and wound the very souls of *ingenuous men*! O how cruell will that *indulgence* appear in after-ages, which took away the heavy yoke and severe restraints, beyond what *God* and *Nature*, *Law* or *Gospel* imposed, as on the other Western Clergie, so here in *England*, by the policy more than piety of the *Popes of Rome* (contrary to the sense of the *Nicene* and primitive Fathers) when the fruit of such Clergy-mens marriages shall appear no other than *withered plants*, starved in their very originall, and condemned to perpetuall tenuity, both of parts and employments!

In ancient times, when the *State* of this Church and its Clergie was more idle and *superstitious*, but more *opulent* and *honourable*, what *Gentleman*, what *Nobleman*, what *Prince*, yea what *Sovereign Kings* did not ambitionate to plant some of their sons (as *Henry the seventh* intended his *second son*, *Henry the eighth*) into *Gods vineyard*, for the work, office and honour of a *Church-man*? Now a *Gentleman* of the *first head* disdaines it, a *Yeoman* disputes it. If the Fathers piety can digest to make the meanest of his sons a *Minister*, the Mothers tenderness dreads it; if the good Mothers zeal devotes the *poor youth* to that perpetuall servitude, yet the Fathers prudence and policy rather chuseth for him a life of more activity, ease, peace, pleasure and honour; if it be but to make him, as the last refuge, a *common trourer*, or a *foot-souldier*, who may in time over-awe the best Bishop and Minister in a County, yea a whole Diocese and association of them; if Ministers shrink the next ten years as they have done of late.

Nor may any wise men, that wish well to their *Country* and the *Church of England*, ever flatter themselves, that one man of a thousand, who hath good abilities of mind, or any competent estate, sufficient to redeem himself from the servilities of poverty and popularity, will ever condemn himself, in a *monastick* or *melancholy humour*, to be a *Minister*. The old stocks already are dwarf in great part, or hewn down; and generally they will be but shrubs, on which the Ministry hereafter will be grafted, in a foile and age that growes so barren, stingy, ungenerous, unbemigne to them. Possibly there may be now and then an *heroick resolution* in a Gentleman of worth, for family, parts and estate, to assert

assert the honour of his *Saviour*, and the declining dignity of his *blessed Ministry*, by undertaking holy orders: but these are *rare birds*, and will be *Phoenixes* in after-ages; not more admirable than commendable indeed, when they come in at the right doore of *Catholick ordination* and *Apostolick succession*, which are the visible seales of Divine Authority and Commission, conferred of old, even from the first age, by none (that ever I read) without Episcopall power and precedency, which immediately succeeded the Apostles in that ordinative and gubernative eminency; which, I believe, was to be ordinary and constant in the Churches *Oeconomy*, both to preserve an orderly polity, and to confer holy orders with due, that is, Divine authority, in an uninterrupted succession.

But where a *childs portion* must be wholly raised by a mans own industry, and Gods blessing upon his employment in the *Ministry*, O how cruell will those parents seem to their sons at years of discretion, when once they come to tast and drink deep of that cup of *gall and vinegar*, *tennity* and *contempt*, which some mens charity designs to mix for Ministers! How will such poor and despised *Preachers*, all their tedious and necessitous lives, condemn, and in the bitterness of their souls sometime be ready to curse (as *Job* and *Jeremiah* did the *dayes of their birth*) that *preposterous zeal*, and *pitiless pitty*, which bred them up, with no small care, cost and pains, onely to condemn them to the *pulpits*, as to the *gallies* of *plebeian slavery* and *necessity*; when they shall by wofull experience find, that all their costly learning and education, their ingenious parts and excellent abilities, have made them like the *sacrifices of old*, adorned with *ribbands* and *garlands*, that they may with the greater pomp and solemnity be slain by *popular insolency*, when *parents* devoting their hopefull sons to the service of the Church, is to prefer them to labour and sorrow, to pains and poverty, to scorn and shame, to vulgar *contempt* and *contradiction*!

Which very displeasing and horrid apparitions of all manner of discouragements, have of later years so evidently damped and discouraged many worthy men, that not onely very hopefull scholars have diverted their studies to any other design than that of Divinity and the Ministry, but few parents, who can find any other way to dispose of their sons, are so unnaturall, as to expose them to that sad fate, which they see attends *every Minister* that dares own the right way of acquiring and exercising the sacred *authority* of that *function*. Certainly *Origens* juvenile impatience not to be a *Martyr*, was not many degrees above the resolution of those young men who will now adventure to be *Ministers* in *England*, upon a good and *Catholick* account, which equally abhors *plebeian petulancy*, *popular dependency*, and *uncatholick novelty*.

And to hope that *common people* will in time grow better-natur'd toward Ministers, by enjoying whatever *liberties* they list to arrogate or indulge to themselves in *Religion*, is so high a *presumption*, as is next

door to *despair*: unless it can be imagined that mankind (naturally *enemies* to God and all grace) will of themselves learn to value their *souls* and their *eternall interests*, which are so remote from their senses, as much as they do their *bodies* and *estates*; or that they will look upon *Divines* and *Ministers* as no less necessary for their good, than *Lawyers* and *Physicians* are; whose fees and entertainments tell the world, that men willingly or necessarily bestow many pounds in order to secure their bodily health and wealth, when they miserably and basely grudge at *three half-pence* spent upon their *Ministers* and their *souls*: on which to bring men to set a *due value*, hath been in all ages the chief end of true Religion, the great work of all the *Prophets*, *Apostles*, *holy Bishops* and *godly Ministers*; yea the main design, next the *divine glory of God himself*, and our blessed Saviour *Jesus Christ*. Men are miserably betrayed to themselves, when they are suffered to live at that *liberty* or looseness, which will certainly debase, despise and damn their *souls*. Which sad events being chiefly imputable to common peoples own folly and madness, yet will those men be highly responsible for them, in whose power it was, either to teach them better, or to restrain them from those profligate humours, by which prodigal and poor wretches are prone to destroy, as well as to despise, both their *Ministers* and themselves; whom to persuade to a true value and *reverence* of themselves, is an high point of *Philanthropy* and *Theologie*, of charity and piety, of humanity and Divinity: which foundation once well laid, would soon recover the decayed and desolating condition of *Ministers*, who will never be valued, loved, or rewarded proportionably to their worth, labours and dignity, untill men think they have *infinite need of them*; yea, more need than of the most *learned* and *honest Lawyers*, or the most *faithfull Physicians*, who have so great an influence, yea *empire* upon mankind, because men sensibly feel and find the want of them, which they do not of their able *Ministers*; every prating intruder being enough to serve their turn.

But I have done with the *causes* and *occasions*, the instances and evidences of the decayes and deformities of Religion in the *Church of England*; which chiefly rising from the licentiousness of people, and the inordinateness of *Ministers*, have been the main subject of this *second Book*.



BOOK III.

SETTING FORTH THE EVIL CONSEQUENCES

Felt or feared from the Distractions of
RELIGION in *ENGLAND*.

CHAP. I.



HAVING in the FIRST BOOK endeavoured to set forth the sad and *just complaints* of the *Ch. of Engl.* therefore just, because her calamities are neither deserved by nor descended from *Her former well-reformed constitution*; having also in the SECOND BOOK enquired after, and in great part discovered (as I suppose) the genuine and proper *causes* together with the unhappy *occasions* of Her calamitous distresses and decayes; I am now in this THIRD BOOK to set before you (my honoured Countrey-men, as to honest Englishmen and worthy Christians) those *evil consequences* which already are greatly felt; or may rationally be feared, as to the interest of the true Christian and Reformed Religion in this Church and Nation: Which I shall chiefly reduce to these four heads. First, the palpable *decayes* of Religion, as to the *power of godlinesse*, in the proficiency and practicks of piety and charity, together with the daily *encrease of Atheisme*; with a supine neglect and irreverence towards all Religion in all sorts of people. Secondly, the unprofitable, scandalous, vexatious & endless disputes about Religion. Thirdly, the Romish advantages and Papal prevailings, which are unavoidable. Fourthly, the civil dangers and diffentions necessarily following religious differences, if once they come to be fomented by numerous parties, as they will be, if fit remedies be not seasonably applied to restore, establish, incourage and unite the pretensions and interests of the Reformed Religion, according to some order, polity and discipline in the *Church of Engl.* such as may be most agreeable to Scripture, to reason, and to the patternes of *primitive Antiquity*: all which pious and prudent methods our *Forefathers* very commendably and wisely followed (as I conceive) in that excellent Reformation, which after the fiery trial of *Queen Mary's* dayes;

dayes came forth of that furnace, pure in its Doctrine, complete in its Liturgie, comely in its Order, solemn in its Worship and duties, authoritative in its Discipline, harmonious in its Government, sound in the Faith, fervent in all Charity, full of good works, abounding in the gifts, and transcending in the graces of Gods Spirit. It was, as Gods darling, for many years highly prospered with all temporall and spirituall blessings, as the beloved Disciple, lying in the bosome of Jesus Christ, to so extraordinary indulgences of divine favour, that all Reformed Churches admired her; yea the *Greek Patriarchs and Churches*, though in a depressed and distant state, yet highly revered her so pious, so prosperous, so prudent, so primitive constitution and condition: in all which how it now is impaired, and daily will further decay, will best appeare by taking an impartiall view of those sad effects and bad consequences which either already attend, or further threaten, the divided, distracted and distressed state of Christian Reformed Religion in this Church and Nation.

Decayes in
godlinesse, as to
the former
generation of
Christians,

Jam. 3 16.

The first of which is, the great *abatement* and palpable *retrogradation* of godlinesse, as to the proficiency & power of it, both in mens hearts and lives. The sweet favour and fragrancy of Religion, which ariseth from truth and peace, from inward sanctity and outward harmony, these are grown infinitely sowed by the leaven of differences, embittered to factions and despites, to mutual despiciencies and eternal animosities. *Where envy and strife are, there must needs be* (as Saint James tells us) *confusion*, and every evil work, heightening men by spirituall pride and evil jealousies to a kind of zealous malice and cruel charity, which *choke* (as the Devils *tares* and *thorns*) the *good seed*, giving great and daily advantages to all manner of evil temptations, even to gross fedities and barbarous immoralityes: for where Religion is once poysoned with passion, & swoln to factious emulations, men count it a great part of their own godlinesse, to censure others for ungodly: it is made a master-piece of piety to cover their own impieties, by the sharp and severe imputations they cast upon other mens opinions or profession; thinking it no small assurance, even of their own salvation, confidently to *condemn* all that differ from their party in opinion or communion. By this means the root and fruit of true charity, which is the life and soul of Christianity, the milk and marrow of all graces, this first growes mortally infected through the pestilence of divisions and distractions in Religion: this vitall and naturall *Balsam* of piety once decayed, dried up, or exhausted by unchristian *calentures*, no wonder if the whole constitution of Religion grow weak, rickerly and consumptuous.

For as planting and *good husbandry* are commonly neglected where *war* rageth, men being more intent to *killing* than *tilling*; so in *parties* and factions of Religion, Christians study to live more upon the insolent *plundering* of other mens opinions, upon the rising and harrasing of others *consciences*, than upon their own pious industry, or humble devotion; every one is so eager to make good their *fide*
and

and contests, that they cannot much intend the *great work* of grace and truth in their own hearts, which most thrive in faire and clean weather, in the summers serenity and tranquillity of Religion. As the hot and scorching beams of the sun soon drie up the morning dew, or as violent flames instantly lick up the water cast upon them; so are controversies in Religion to the sweet distillations of grace, and heavenly diffusions of Gods Spirit, Gods still voice, or those silent and secret whispers of his love to the soul, are not to be heard in the clamour and tintamar of controverted Religion in the same house or Church. The work of grace, both in private hearts, publick congregations, and greater Churches, is best carried on, like *Solomons Temple*, with least noyse and knocking, the furthest from such contention and confusion, which are onely proper for the building of *Babels*. They are most preposterous and unevangelical methods, by which Christians beat their plough-shares of mortification into swords of destruction, and their pruning-hooks of repentance into sharp spears, by which they may smite and pierce to the heart one another. While mens heads are so hotly busied in disputations against others tenets; their hearts and hands easily grow cold and idle, as to that work of sanctification which they owe to their own souls; and that exemplary conversation in all holiness, which they owe to others. The lilly (indeed) of Christian Religion did mightily thrive amidst the thorns of heathenish persecutions; but it was soon choked by those of uncharitable janglings and contentions which grew up among Christians: which commonly prove so sharp and hot (like that between Paul and Barnabas) that even good men separate one from the other; the bellows of disputes blowing up sparks of native passions to uncomfortable dissociatings, distances and damnings. At last the daily whettings of mens wits, and exasperatings of their spirits, tongues, or pens against each other, do infinitely blunt the edge of their charity, and dull the brightness of all their graces, both solitary and sociall, as to the holy improvement of their own or other mens souls; for all things of Religion are disputed and acted, as between rivals, or enemies never to be reconciled.

1st. 3. 4.

Cant. 2. 2.

Acts 15. 39.

We find of old, that no warres were ever carried on with more popular eagerness, godly presumption and pious pertinacy, nor yet with more superstition and unsuccessfulness as to Christianity, or with more depopulation to true piety, and vastation of reall sanctity, than those which were at first called the *holy warres*; when men inscribed the *Croisado* on their arms and banners; fighting in the first design onely against *Saracens*, *Turks* and *Mahometans*; but at length against *Christians*, both Greek and Latine, by the policies and cruelties of some Popes and Princes. Thus transports of piety usually engage men, not onely against the first supposed enemies of other mens errors and evil manners, but even against those truths and holy duties, at length, by which the Antagonists seek to serve and assist their parties one against another. At last the dust of dispute so blinds mens eyes, that in pursuing of one error to destroy it, they are engaged

See Mr. Tho:
Fuller his learned and elegant History of the holy warres.

gaged and wounded unaware with another; as is evident in the ancient reciprocations of opinions, touching the reality and unity of both natures in the one person of Christ: in which, as in other disputes, men of no mean parts for learning and piety greatly over-shot themselves; as *Vincentius Lyrinensis* instanceth in *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Apollinaris*, *Eutyches*, *Arius*, and others; himself being suspected for Religion too, if those *Quaestiones Vincentiana*, to which *Prosper* gives answer, be of that *Vincentius*.

After much inordinate heat and expence, both of time and spirits, the ablest Christians quarrellings do at once wound others, and wast themselves, as we see between *S. Jerome* and *Ruffinus*: but common people by these childish bickerings in Religion, as by cracking of nuts, rather break their *teeth*, than ever fill their *bellies*, losing most-what the *kernell*, *sweetness* and substance of true holiness, while they eagerly contend about the husk, shell and shadows of Religion, beyond which the plainer sort of professors hardly advance in disputes. The purest spirits of true Religion, which are very fine, subtil and volatile, do quickly *evaporate*, when such chymicall heats and unchristian fervours are applied, as are no way apt to fix and consolidate true piety, either by charity, or humility, or holy humanity, or any blessed harmony.

All which speculations of *wise men* are most evident in the *late experiences* every where *pregnant in England*, where the Christian and Reformed Religion being *over-heated in the furnace* of some mens zeal, and too much hammered upon the anvils of needless and various contentions, they have onely made some *sparks* to flie in each others eyes, not without great wast to the solidity, substance and beaurty of that former excellent Reformation, which was so glorious and renowned. The high tide of justice, mercy, humility, meekness, charity, thankfulness, obedience, order, unity and sincerity, which heretofore flowed among us, as *Countrey-men*, as *Christians*, and as *Reformed*, is now brought to so *low an ebbe*, that every one is either censuring, or complaining, or condemning some other: several parties are jealously cautious of one anothers injuries, cruelties, malice, pride and *hypocrisie*. In stead of mutual *symbolizings* and sweet *complyings* in holy duties, as prayer, conference, comfortings & communicating, *people with Pastors*, and *Pastors with their people*, or with one another, both privately and publickly, all places are full of *cavillings* and *calumniatings*, quarrellings and disputings, scornings and contemnings, *schismatizings* and *separatings*, which in many are now advanced (as fire in light and combustible materials) to infinite hatred and utter abhorrencies of each others persons, piety and professions. One party thinks it self not safe, if another enjoyes as much freedome in Religion as it self affects or usurps; it is *death* to some to see others live in any order and unity; each faction measures Gods dislike and displeasure by their own: at last they begin to perswade themselves, that nothing would be more acceptable to God, than *Victimes* and *Holocausts* of all those Christians, both *Magistrates*,

gistrates, Ministers and people, who are not of their parties and adherencies.

Thus are the main *pillars of Religion, righteousness and peace, meekness and patience, charity and humility, mortification and self-denying* (which are the *noblest victories* of our selves, and the most generous conquests of others) these are undermined, shaken, battered, and in danger to be quite overthrown by these *modern bickerings and disgladiations of Religion* now in *England*. Every one is *ploughing and harrowing* long furrows, either on other mens faces or their backs; few are sowing, weeding, or watering the seeds of grace in their own hearts and consciences. Christians, like cattel in hot summers days, are so molested with the biting of these *flies*, that they cannot feed fat; so agitated with *scruples*, that they can take no rest: like *silly sheep*, engaged among bushes and briars, they not onely lose their food, but their fleeces, getting nothing but *scratches*; which are the *decoyes of flies, and nurseries of vermin*.

*Sterilestis seges
gratis inter
contentiosas o-
pinionum spi-
ritus.*

What serious and charitable Christian is not grieved at heart to see so many of their children, neighbours, kindred and acquaintance, disputing away so much of their precious lives, and uncertain moment? While they should be *examining their consciences*, repenting of their sins, strengthening their faith in Christ, increasing their love to God and man, getting good evidences for heaven, and preparing for an happy departure; they (alas) are bawling and braving, railing and raving against one another: yea, many are doubting and disputing, while they are dying; ravelling and undoing their own comforts, as well as other mens Religion, when they should be *working out their own, and assisting others salvation with fear and trembling*: even poor silly souls are then full of *Obs and Sols*, when *penitent sighs and fiduciary tears* were much more seasonable and necessary for them; kindling and encreasing those *fires* with their breath, which they should rather quench with their tears, nay with their blood, than leave them to be such *everlasting burnings*, the very *Hell and Tophet* of the Church, the *continual torment* of infinite Christians, that possibly mean well, and might do well, while they get little good, yea they both suffer and do much mischief: like sheep surfeited in good posture, they infect others, and die themselves of the rot, or scab, or maggot, having no skilful and carefull shepherds to cure or relieve them. Thus infinite poor people in *England*, by officious tending upon some late new Masters and various Teachers, do by their Religion, as the poor *link-boys* in *London*, who so wast their *links* by running after other mens steps, that they are fain to go at last to their own *homes* in the *dark*. Without doubt, many Christians heretofore very thrifty and well-liking, able and honest, have of late years lain down both in sorrow, poverty and obscurity, as to the point of true *spiritual comfort and inward peace*, which are the fruits onely of quiet, *humble, charitable and composed* minds: for as *pigeons* are scared out of their houses by much noise and knocking, so are the gracious motions and consolations of Gods

sweet spirit driven out of Christians hearts; between which calm breathings or soft insinuations, and the rude tempests or commotions of mens passions, there is as much difference, as between the operations of oyl and of vinegar, or between a tunable peal of *well-rung bells*, and those harsh *jangelings* which are used as the alarms of *scare-fires*, or tokens of publick *conflagrations*.

Nor are the publick *symptomes of decayed Religion*, as to the gracious power and charitable efficacy of it, more apparent in other mens lives and conversations (so scattered, so divided, so dissonant, so unsocial, so uncivil, and so unsympathising generally with one another, unless with those of their own side and party) than those damps and decays are which men must needs find secretly in their own hearts; when many, both *Ministers* and *people*, cannot but see (though they are loth to confesse) that the Sun of *righteousnesse*, which was well risen in their souls, with *healing in his wings*, is now gone backward many degrees (as the shadow did on King *Ahaz* his dial) whereto it was heretofore ascended. In stead of their *first unfeigned love*, which is most lost and decayed towards God and true Religion, there is general coolness, much chilness and luke-warmness brought upon their purity and sincerity, by many sinister policies and worldly interests, besides their own passions, which, like water, are mixed with the wine of their Religion: many trees of God that were heretofore sound and full of sap, *florid* and fruitfull, are now become mossy, cankered, hide-bound and barren. I am sure the liberal hand and out-stretched arm of *Christian Charity* and *English munificence*, to God, his Church, his Ministers, his poor, are now shrunk and withered, like *Feroboams*, when it was stretched out against the *Prophet of the Lord*. Neither Ministers nor other Christian men love one another, as *Christs Disciples*, (*quia tales, & quia tales*) but rather as confederates, in their severall factions, interests, separate parties, sidings and designs: who, though they be like *Gebal*, and *Ammon*, and *Amalek*, like *Manasseh* against *Ephraim*, and *Ephraim* against *Manasseh*, in their mutual Antipathies; yet all are against *Judah*, against the distressed *Ch. of Engl.* and all such as do with the greatest conscience, charity and constancy, adhere to the former good order and holy profession of the reformed Religion here established, which now in many places, in many mens lives and hearts, appears, as to its *cordial spirit*, its vital and celestial vigour, like the *old drugs* and dispirited *simples* of *Apothecaries*: the earthy, gross and material parts, do yet remain, in some proportion, as to the main bulk and pretence of Reformed Religion; but the vertue and efficacy of it is much vanished and evaporated, both as to the hearts and lives of Christians, both of Pastors and people, comparing them with the former generation of their fore-fathers, or with themselves in their former grave, comely, humble, wise, sober, usefull, orderly and peaceable conversation; which made many of them like *vines*, *fig-trees* and *Olive-trees*, bearing good fruit, to cheer God and man; where now they are like so many sharp, bushy and scratching brambles, rather ambitious

2 King. 20. 11.

Rev. 2. 4.

1 Kings 13. 4.

John 13. 4.

Psal. 83. 6.

Isa. 9. 21.

Judg. 9. 8. &c.

ambitious to have dominion over other mens *faith* and *consciencs*, than any way carefull or helpfull to their own edification or others comfort, either private or publick, as Christians and neighbours, or as *members* of one nationall Church; in which relation they once thought themselves to stand obliged, as members of one great and goodly body, to support, sympathize, and pity one another: now the aim of many is to divide themselves, and tear others asunder from all Catholick communion, to a Catholick confusion and destruction. Thus is Religion evidently decayed, as to the power of it, in those that were formerly strong and lively in the wayes of piety and charity.

CHAP. II.



For that new generation which is grown up of later years, and who have never known those *Josephs*, whose prudent piety established and preserved the *Reformed Religion* for many years, with great peace, plenty, prosperity and proficiency in the *Church of England*; these have, for the most part, been onely spectators or abettors of those *ingratefull exorbitances*, which some Christians have affected and mis-called for precious liberties, though beyond all bounds of modesty, charity and piety, as well as beyond the merits of the *Church of England* and its *well-reformed Religion*. These have hitherto seen the face of this *Church* and our *Religion*, like that of a *field*, in which a fierce and cruell battel hath been fought, and still is, with dubious success, by Christians of bold, pertinacious and *implacable spirits*; they behold all things, as to the purity, peace, order and harmony of the *Reformed Religion* (which was once wisely established and uniformly professed in the *Church of Engl.*) full of clamour and confusion, of hatred and horreur, of bitter complaints, uncharitable jealousies, Satyrick invectives, sharp disputations, endless contentions. Many are brought up in gross *ignorance* of the very *fundamentals* of true Religion, counting it a part of their liberty & Religion, not to be taught by any man, Parent or Minister, any principles of Religion: others that have some glimmering knowledge, are but meer Scepticks, and unsetled, ever dubious and vertiginous, thinking it a token of their true *conversion*, to be daily turning from one side and opinion to another: a third sort quarrel at all they have been taught and baptized into by the *testimony* of the *Church* and its *Ministry*, as a method below the *sublimity* of their *spirits*, who fancy nothing but immediate *teachings* of *God*, illuminations and inspirations, beyond

Decayes of
godliness as to
the new brood
and later off-
spring of mean-
er Christians.

2 Cor. 4.7.

*Malint extin-
gui quam ad
supplicia re-
parari.*

the usual dispensations of the *heavenly treasure*, which hath been hitherto in *earthen vessels*. A fourth sort of people, driven by the furies of their own lusts and *passions*, animated also by the extravagancies of others (who seem pretenders to Religion) have sought to cast off the thought, care and conscience of any *Religion*, fancying such a *Religion* and *Liberty*, as may best consist with their temporal safety and worldly interests; however they profess, they practise perfect Atheism, to live without any *God* preceptive, but onely providential, in the *world*. Nor are there wanting some men of great parts and conspicuous *learning*, as well as estates, who set their wits *on work* to maintain this *principle*, That there is no *Numen*, no *divine being* distinct from that we call *Nature*, no *Creator*, no *creature*, no *Scripture* as *Gods Word*, no *Saviour*, no *Sin* as against *God*, no reward or judgement to come. Yea, that universal *Tradition*, that inbred *Principle*, that *Catholick perswasion*, which hath possessed all *Nations* and successions of mankind, (as *Tully* observed) touching the immortality of *rationall spirits* or *humane souls*, as to their eternall recompenses; this point is not onely doubted and disputed, but by some denied: notwithstanding that few men in all ages, by their greatest wit and wickedness, were ever able to redeem themselves from the terrour of this truth, and the captivity of their own consciences, which are hardly freed from these convictions, that there is a *God above us*, and an *immortall soul* within us: nor have ever any men endeavoured to put out this light within them, but onely those, whom the conscience of their wickedness made desirous rather to perish utterly, than to be perpetuated to an after-being in misery. From these main unhingings of Religion in mens consciences, which have set them above any *fear of God* or *reverence of man*, who can wonder at those disorderly motions, which have so long filled and deformed this Church with so many schisms, Heresies and Tragedies? The utter irreligion of some, the superstition of others; the peevishness of some, the pertinacy of others; here Atheisme, there hypocrisie; here any Religion that civil politie lists to set up, there no Religion settled, to give any check or restraint by law; here novelties and varieties of Religion affected, there uniformity and Catholick antiquity despised; these encounterings and contradictions among men, as to matters of Religion in *England*, what strages and vastations have they made in the minds of common people, and the younger sort especially? The face of Christian and Reformed Religion looks blasted with fire, black with powder and smoke, besmeared with dirt and blood; the prospect of it is full of death and despair; the distractions of it threaten both it and us with destruction at last; because nothing *whets mens swords* sharper against each other than Religion. With how much glorying, even in point of conscience, have Christians and Protestants wounded, oppressed, killed one another in *England*, in great part upon the quarrel of Religion, yea, and of Reformation? The scandall, eclipse, and ruine of which, as to its truth, credit and consistency, is far more
confi-

considerable, than the loss of thousands of our *carkases*, or *vile bodies*, which were worthily and almost meritoriously sacrificed, if by such means the true honour and interests of Religion, as Christian and Reformed, could be preserved or advanced.

But (alas) this is so far from any advantages of life, health and vigour, by all those bitter pills and potions it hath taken, by all those sharp phlebotomies & lancements it hath endured, that it seems exhausted, dispirited, languishing, drooping, decaying and dying; sinking under its own weight, or rather under the pressures of impotent passions on all sides: not onely to indifferency, negligence, and unsettledness as to any Religion at all, which is very rife; but to sottish ignorance, gross superstition, high Atheism, and insolent blasphemies against our God, our Saviour, our Scriptures, our Sacraments, all ordinances, and all that is sacred. The epidemical rudeness and irreverence, the vulgar profaneness and immorality, their brutish stupor and barbarity, their licentious impudencies and insolencies, their publick scorns, affronts and oppositions of the *lawful Ministers of England* in their holy Ministrations (part of which I have seen, others I have heard of,) these and the like *seditions*, like a *plague* and *leprosie*, have mightily infected and daily spread over the souls of men and women, young and old, in countries and cities, both in *England* and in *Wales*, as necessary consequents and concomitants of that liberty in Religion which many men have challenged to themselves.

Nor is this depravedness onely befalln the beasts of the people, the meaner sort, whose souls are as precious as the best, though their condition be poor, their breeding bad, and their manners generally vile, having naturally a brutish carelesness and dulness to any Religion; but their greatest *avknesse* and avernsness is against that Religion which is most soberly settled, and exactly professed; this giving most check to their boisterous lusts and extravagant fancies: whose Religion is generally more upon custome and constraint, than upon judgement, choice or conscience; ever waiting, as water pent up doth, for any opportunity to get such a liberty as will at last quite spill and spend it self; being never better pleased than when they finde themselves least tied to please either God, or any men but themselves. This sort of vulgar people may in part excuse the abuses they make of any *liberties* or indulgences they can at any time extort by their terrors, multitudes and importunities, from wiser men.

CHAP. III.

The evil consequences infecting Christians of better quality.



Omnis inordinatus animus sibi parat.

ULT the mischiefs of *unsettled Religion* and *Irreligion*, like a *Gangrene*, is further spread to the more noble parts of this *body politic*, to persons of generous quality, of hopefull ingenuity, both by extraction and education, who have fair fortunes, like fuel, to maintain the flames of their factions; and good *abilities*, like oyl, to nourish the wild-fires of their fancies, which way soever they affect to rove. This sort of young *gallants*, who are grown up amidst our late civil broils and religious distractions, as handsome young trees oft do among *brambles* and *bushes*; these (I say) who might be the strong supports and *goodly shelters* of Religion in after-ages; these are miserably shaken, depraved, distorted: not so much by the impetuousness of their own juvenile fervours and passions (which, if inordinate, will, as *S. Austin* observes, be their own sting, reproch and punishment) as by those various *circulations* and contrariant travellings of Religion, which have tossed their minds to and fro, to a kind of *delirium* or *vertigo*, a meer whimsicall uncertainty, as to Religion.

Which distemper and giddiness in their heads and hearts they have contracted, chiefly, by beholding that unsettledness, looseness, giddiness, variety, irreverence, contempt and confusion, which hath been cast upon the face of the *Reformed Religion* and this *Church of England*: for since they came to any years of discretion, and a capacity, as men, to judge of humane affairs, they have seen nothing managed with less discretion, gravity and judiciousness, than the publick interests of the Reformed Religion and this Church. Many of them have been taught by words; and more by examples (full of all petulant ralleries against our Church and Religion, as formerly established) to despise and abhor all that their *fore fathers* reformed, or settled, or professed and delivered as their Religion. How do some suck from their very milk and nurses all manner of bitter scorns and reproches against the *Church of England*, its Baptism, divine Ministrations and Ministry? Some that are now grown up men and women, yet are still in the very *infancy* and *cradle of Religion*, either sleeping securely in *sensual impenitency*, or delighting to be variously rocked from one side to another, with a lullaby of novelty, which will bring them to a drowsie indifferency by a religious inconstancy.

Thus the very *salt of true Religion*, as to its smartness and savour, its piercing and preserving vertue (which only is able to keep persons of *pregnant parts* and *opulent estates* from vicious *putrefactions*) this is presented to them as useles, *unsavoury*, *insatiate*, while they have from their youth upward seen it, especially in its chiefest *dispensers* & most constant *professors* (according to the establishment of the *Church* of

of *England*, daily cast out upon the *very dunghill of plebeian petulancy* and contempt, exposed to poverty, yea beggery in many places, yea and profanely trampled under foot by the *very beasts of the people*. Hence it is that the *Christian and Reformed Religion* appears to many great spirits and young Gentlemen, not as a matter of eternal truth, of infinite weight, and highest concernment to them; not as having the Catholick testimony of the wisest and best of mankind in all ages, the expectation of the *Patriarchs*, the prediction of the *Prophets*, the preaching of the *Apostles*, the signatures of *Martyrs* and characters of *Confessors*, by their bloodshed and sufferings, which they chose rather to endure, than the least abnegation, *Apostasy* or *swerving* from so great, so holy, so constant, so necessary, so *divine principles*, as the *Christian Religion* is grounded upon. Many good wits of later years in *England* look upon Religion with a *supercilious eye*, with a *squeamish coynesse*, with a nauseating and *huffing aspect*: so far are they from fear and trembling, as if they did *God a good turne* to own him in any fashion; or Religion were beholden to them, if they were but civil to it; not considering the *majesty of Miracles*, the *admiration of Angels*, the accomplishments of Prophecies, the manifestation of the *Messias*, the *expresse image of Gods grace and glory*, *mercy and truth* upon it, in the holiness of the *precepts*, in the honour of the *examples*, in the preciousness of the *promises*, in the astonishing love, compassion, wisdom and goodness of God contained in it, laying out gracious and *glorious methods* of reconciling and saving sintull mankind, by such a way of propitiation, satisfaction and merit, as no whit blemisheth or diminisheth his *justice*, but every way advanceth and magnifieth *his mercy*.

All this divine beauty, majesty, glory and extasie of true Religion, so highly valued heretofore in *England*, by *Princes and Peers*, by *Noblemen and Gentlemen* of all degrees, is now looked upon by many as a *mimicall play*, a *popular pageantry*; a business so *scepticall and litigious*, so mutable and *various*, so childish and impertinent, so trivial and *plebeian*, that many think it a point of *gallantry and greatness of mind*, totally to undervalue all Religion, as a meer *fabulous flourish*, set forth with some pomp and solemnity heretofore, now with specious *liberties* and indulgences, in order either to amuse and over-awe, or to please and gratifie common people, whose brutall strength and refractory rudeness is found to be such by all wise Governours in all ages, that nothing can over-awe or bridle the *populacy* so much, as the opinion of *some Religion*, derived from a *Deity*; whose power being represented as *omnipotent*, can onely give either terrour and check to vulgar *presumptions*, or fixation to their everlasting revolutions. Which volatile temper of *common people* some cunning men of later years having observed, how in nothing of received Religion they were settled, they have flown anew to the old craft of those heathenish Legislators, to pretend *Nymphs and caves*, to dreams and visions, to extatick grotts and groves, to converse as Sibyls with Demons or Spirits, and to keep *immediate intelligence* with

with God himself, by special inspirations, beyond any thing of traditionall Religion, anciently received and constantly delivered by this or any other Church of Christ.

Nor doth this sorry artifice fail to take some *simple birds* that are more silly and incautious, who hardly ever get out of these snares and *lime-twigs* of pretended new Religion, till they lose their feathers, much of their time and estates, besides the hazard of their souls and consciences.

But others, of more bold and robust tempers, are from these temptations and scandals of snarled and entangled, or loose and unsettled, or arbitrary and nulled Religion, betrayed to down-right Atheism; from thence they are carried down the stream of all sensuall *debaucheries*, without any stop or check of conscience, as to God or any Religion, by which they stand obliged and responsible to a Divine power above them.

All which comes to pass, by reason that they fell into such unhappy times, as to their Religion, education and imitation, as offered them for many years very little but novelties; and in them nothing worthy of the name of true and solid Religion, as to any publick certainty, harmony, unity, or authority. Nothing must be owned as the uniform piety of this *Nation*, or the consent of the Church, either as from wise men or good Christians; nothing *fixed*, as becomes the majesty of a glorious God, and a gracious Saviour, an immutable goodness, and unerrable truth, held forth by the most idoneous and credible witnesses in the Catholick Church, through all ages and successions: but, as if all Christians had been either ignorant or impostors in this and all Churches, as if no Christian Princes, no Presbyters, no Bishops, had had either wit to discern, or grace to retain true Religion; so have many people on all sides run up and down, to pick and chuse, to begin and invent, to contrive and cut out what they listed to call *their Religion*: yea, many *rigid Reformers*, and most *severe pretenders* to Religion (upon new accounts, as schismatizing in, or separating from the *Church of England*) even these are daily found either split upon the *rocks of uncharitableness*, or beating upon the *quick-sands* of change and uncertainty; not onely their *several factions*, but the same persons having as many faces successively of Religion, as *Proteus* had *shapes*. The *stakes and cords* of that *Christian and Reformed Religion*, which was *fixed* in the *Church of England*, these are pulled up, quite ravelled and broken into pieces by many. Nor are these new modellers such as made modest trials and essayes of truth; but they are generally fixed to their unsettled fancies, constant in their inconstancy, pertinacious in their extravagancies, and hardly ever to be perswaded by any experience of their own folly, to recant or *repent* of their apparent and imprudent transports; much less to return from their *exotick novelties* and *fanatick inventions* they have lately chosen, to that solemn & sacred, uniform and majestick, primitive and Catholick *posture of Religion*, in which it was for many years *illustrious* in the *Ch. of Engl.* and in all other *famous Churches*.

CHAP. IV.



He very *light of nature* and common reason commands mankind to be serious and settled, grave and reverent in the publick service and veneration of their God: to which end they added (as *Varro, Tully, and Isidore Hispalensis* tell us) not onely many *Ceremonies* to adorn their Devotion, but a publick consent and sanction, to authorize, and confirm, and fence their Religion, against all those (*ῥήγνους*) that affected to be rude, or dared to be profane. For right reason tells us, that *Novices*, strangers, or beginners in Religion, must be miserably betrayed to all manner of *irreligion*, where they see all things of Religion presented to them, like a kind of *Matachin dance*, or *counter-skuffle*, full of fraction and novelty, of change and contradiction, of intricacy and incongruity, of emulation and faction, of strife and envy, of hatred and enmity, of contempt and confusion; debased to *meanness*, and prostituted to *vulgarity*; which can by no persons of any right understanding be thought to be the *temper* of any thing that is worthy to bear the name & inscription of the true God, or the Christian and Reformed Religion. This is not the pulse of piety, nor can be the influence of Gods *holy, wise, and peaceable spirit*. No Christian can be so *uncatechised*, as not to know, that these *wounds and scarres* which are upon the *face of Religion*, and made by Christians of the same *countray and communion*, are not the *marks of Christs sheep*, nor the characters of his *Disciples*; who have been in all ages most eminent for all graces and vertues; for all things *true, comely, orderly, just, generous, benigne, charitable*: none exceeded or equalled them for mutuall love, while they were neer or far off; inso-much that primitive *Assemblies of Bishops, Presbyters and people*, were most lively resemblances of that Angelick Order, Quire, and Harmony which is in Heaven, before the *Throne of God, and of the Lamb*. This union and subordination kept up the reverence of Religion, and the dignity of the Evangelicall Ministry among Christians, even then when persecution most raged against them: when the persons of holy *Bishops and Presbyters* were imprisoned, banished, mangled, and massacred by *Heathenish and Jewish persecutors*; yet then was the authority of Ministers looked upon as sacred and divine, not from the *earth*, but *heaven*; not from *Kings and Princes*, not from *Parlements and civil Senates*, not from *Protectors and Major-Generals*; or new *Triers*, much lesse from any principle or power which is now challenged by popular arrogance and vulgar usurpation, but from *Christ Jesus*, and so from the blessed *God*, who sent his *Son*, and He his *Apostles* and other *Ministers*, as his *Father sent him*, for the *same end and work*, in those *measures and proportions* of his Spirit which were necessary for the calling, converting, continuing and perfecting the Church, as the *Body of Christ*.

Prophaneness
the fruit of un-
settledness in
Religion.

Rev. 10. 4.

John 20. 21.
Ephes. 4. 11.

N n

While

While these continued in an holy and uninterrupted succession of undoubted Authority, as *Apostles, Bishops, Pastors and Teachers*, of one *mind and mission*, of one *ordination and succession*, they easily preserved the doctrine of Christian Religion uncorrupted, the *Mysteries* unprophaned, the *Ministry* unviolated, the reverence of Religion unabased: but these once divided against each other in opinions and factions, their ranks and order broken, their succession interrupted, their commission *counterfeited* or *varied*, their office invaded, their authority doubted, denied and destroyed; who knows not what *spring-tides*, what *whole seas* of faction and fury, of negligence and irreverence, of *Atheisme* and *irreligion*, must necessarily flow in upon the face of any Church; when the truest and completest Ministers shall be questioned or scorned, the dubious, defective, or false ones magnified, by secular policy, or popular levity; when Lay-men shall either think there are no *Ministers* invested with any due authority, or themselves as good as the best, set up after some novell and arbitrary modes of their own *invention*, which must not only *vye* with the true, ancient and Catholick ordination of 1500 years standing, but juggle it quite out of the Church; like the *bastard Abimelech*, who slew all the *legitimate issue* of *Gideon* his Father?

Judges 9.

Who can heare with *trembling*, or pray with devotion, or receive with reverence, or be reprov'd with patience, or be comforted with peace, or be terrified with judgement, or mortified to any lust, or moderated to any passion, or confined to new obedience, or won to true repentance, or moved in conscience, or raised in hope, when he applies to any or all *these duties*, out of *faction*, *novelty*, *curiosity*, *levity*, *custom*, *affectation*, or *hypocrisie*; when he thinks the Minister that officiates hath no more power than himself, or his groom and footman; when he looks upon his Minister as a *poor man*, confined to his *teddar*, staked to his *petty living*, dependant upon mens *charity*, exposed to plebeian contempt, at best but an *almesman* of the State, a publick pensioner, or an Evangelicall *Trooper*, whose commission is (*ad placitum hominum*) after the will of man, having no divine power or authority to his office and work, no legall right or title, as to certainty or perpetuity in any thing he enjoyes as his wages, further, than the arbitrary favours or *frowns* of men are dispensed to him; a very trembling and precarious orator, whose pulpit is (like the *Ara Lugdunensis*) soon made his scene, his coffin and his sepulchre; especially if either fervently *praying*, or faithfully *preaching*, or justly, yet wisely, reprov'g, he displease any captious and peevish *Auditor*, who hath confidence enough to make him an *offender for a word*, and influence enough to *sequester*, to *silence*, yea to *starve* him and his family, if he use an honest and innocent *parrhesy*, or freedome of speaking, such as becomes the *Messenger of heaven*, the *Minister of Christ*, and the *Ambassador of God*: When the mouths of *Gods oxen* are thus easily *muzzled*, when his Prophets are so cheaply despised, when his neereft servants are thus despitefully used; no wonder if irreverence, Atheisme and profaneness in all sorts of people attend all religious exercises,

Isa. 29. 21.

exercifes, as neceſſarily as ſhadows doe thoſe groſſe bodies which intervene between the ſight and light: which is the firſt ſad and bad conſequence following and flowing from the inſtancie and unſetledneſſe of Religion.

CH A P. V.



Besides the *decays* of Piety and Charity in mens hearts, both as to the principles, power and practice becoming Christians; which (like a *Lethargick numbneſſe* and *ſopor*) is come upon the old ſtock of Christians in *England*; together with that unſetledneſſe, irreverence, contempt, Atheiſme and profaneneſſe, which

Ministers melted by endleſſe and vexatious diſputes.

grows upon the younger ſort of people, who have been bred amidſt theſe our diviſions, diſtractions and extravagancies of Religion, to very much of irreligion; the luſts and vanities of their minds being not any way ſo curbed and reſſeſſed by the incumbent majeſty and authority of any ſuch ſetled and uniform Religion, as is neceſſary either to perſwade men to be good, or to over-awe and reſtrain them from being ſo bad as they would be:

Besides theſe miſchieſes, which I have already ſet forth to you my *Honoured Countrymen*; there is a ſecond ſad and bad conſequence, which, like a *Gangrene* or ſpreading *Canker*, daily frets the ſpirits, and as it were eats up the very ſubſtance and vitals of Religion in this Nation, by reaſon of thoſe *endleſſe* and *vexatious diſputes*, which agitate the ſpirits and exaſperate the minds of all ſorts of Christians: and of none ſo much as *Ministers*, who are looked upon as thoſe that expoſe and offer themſelves to be the chief heads or *Champions* of Religion, in their ſeverall parties; who are to undertake the *combates* and challenges of all *opposers*: which truly were no very hard province, if either *Ministers* were *unanimous*, and mutually aſſiſted by concurrent judgement among themſelves; or if they were protected by the ſhield of this Churches declared *Doctrines*, and uniform profeſſion of Religion. Which heretofore was juſtly eſteemed as ſacred, inviolable, and *invulnerable*: having its ſtrength and materialls from the *Scriptures*; its model, manner, and compoſure from the counſell, wiſdome, experience and authority, not onely of this Church of *England*, but of the *Primitive, Ancient, Catholick Church* in all ages and places; againſt all which few men had heretofore the confidence, or indeed impudence, in any grand part, much leſſe in the whole, to oppoſe their private fancies and ſuggeſtions.

Now, no *petty people* are ſo clowniſh or inconsiderable, but they dare to cavil, queſtion or deny, almoſt every point owned as Religion in the Church of *England*.

I ſhall not need to inſtance in the grand *Mysteries* of the *Trinity*, *Christs Divinity*, his ſatisfaction to divine juſtice; in the *reſurrection* of the body, or the ſouls *immortality*; nor yet in the point of *Originall*

Sin, or naturall depravedneſs and defects; of the neceſſity of *Divine Grace*; of Chriſtians imperfection in the beſt ſtate of this life; of the right uſe of the *Morall Law*, and the true bounds of Evangelicall Liberties. All which (with many other grand concerns of Religion) are daily not onely ventilated and diſcuſſed, but contradicted and denyed by many Modern *Arrians*, *Socinians*, *Pelagians*, *Antinomians*, *Novatians*, and others, (beſides the conſtant Controverſies of Papiſts) ſo far, that nothing almoſt is left ſound or ſetled among us; nothing that any Miniſter can preach or practice as Religion, but ſomewhere or other it finds much ſnarling, quarrelling, and gain-ſaying. Every croſſe-grain'd piece of pride, or peeviſhneſſe, or ignorance, adventures to bark at what they liſt, yea to bite, tear and worry the reputation and integrity, together with the learning and ability of any, yea all the true *Ministers of England*: who are become miſerable, not onely by that great and unintermitted pains which they muſt take, if they will be faithfull to their own and other mens ſouls; nor yet by that biting poverty or tenuity of their worldly condition, for the moſt part of them, which is ſo hardly to be relieved by thoſe dribbling pittances which, with tedious attendings and ſhamefull importunings, they can get in.

But beyond both theſe, Miniſters are in ſuch a ſtate of perpetuall inquietude, as is like that of very poore people, who are onely rich in vermine, and ſo troubled with them, that they are not permitted night or day to take their reſt, or to enjoy that ſweet ſleep and quiet repoſe indulged to all creatures, by which they might ſometime deceive their ſore labour, and forget both their miſeries and their ſorrowes. For when all is done that belongs to a ſober Miniſters miniſteriall duty and charge; after indefatigable paines, continuall ſtudies, invincible patience, which, like *Oſtridges*, muſt digeſt the iron morſels and manners of this age; when deſpairing and made incapable of any honorary rewards in Church or State, anſwerable to his gravity and merit every way, he onely covets for ſome ingenuous reſt and tranquillity under the ſhadow and protection of that Church and State, which he hath a long time faithfully ſerved; yet then, even in his age, and at all times, he muſt be ſummoned with daily alarms, and provoked to ſucceſſive duels, by all ſorts of factious and fanatick Spirits, new or old, who liſt to be contentious. Though he be wearied, and almoſt tired with the long and conſtant fatigations of his Miniſtery; though he be almoſt naked and unarmed, as to the polemick or controverſiall part of Divinity; yet muſt he be compaſſed with Briars and Thornes; frequently moleſted with the perverſe diſputes and endleſſe janglings of thoſe, who have no reverence to this Church, nor the Catholick Churches conſtant opinion or practice, grounded upon Scripture, and manifeſted by undeniable Tradition.

The *Ministers of England* are the common Butt, at which every fool ſhoots preſently. If any be leſſe apt for diſputation, through unwontedneſſe, weakneſſe, depreſſions, poverty, and infinite diſpiriting, and ſo (poſſibly) leſſe able on the ſudden to defend that truth,
and

and that Church, for which he hath dared to be a suffering *Martyr* and *Confessor*, against the bitter arrowes and subtile *Sophistries* of his many-mouthed *Adversaries*, modern *Sectaries*, (who make what use they can of the *Philistines* files and grindstones, the wonted cavils, *sophistries*, and fallacies of the *Papists* and *Jesuits*, against this Church;) the seeming disadvantages of any one *Minister*, when he is publicly surprized, and in the very *Charsh* assaulted by such impudent *Antagonists*, these are presently voted among the vulgar, as the totall rout, baffle and disparagement of the whole *Ministeriall* order, yea and of the Church of England: As if none of its *Fathers* or *Sons*, its *Bishops* or *Presbyters*, so cried up heretofore for their excellent learning & dexterous fortitude, were able to encounter these doughty *Champions*, these men of *Gath*; whose glory (now) is rather to defie and over-awe the *Israel* of God by force, than to fight lawfully, by the rules of right disputation, from Scripture or Reason. If the enemies of the Church of England would lay aside their *Swords* and *Pistols*, their *Troopers* and *Musketeers*, their *Guns* and *Canons*, which have been so oft their *Seconds*, and so alwaies a terror to the true *Clergy* of England; if they would keep to the lists and weapons of Scripture and reason, of *Catholick* example, and constant tradition, (which armes are proper for Religious contests;) I believe they would be easily so matched in every point, that they would have no cause long to boast of having the better of any Learned and Grave Minister, who undertakes to assert the cause of the Church of England, both in its Doctrine and Discipline.

Which is indeed assisted not onely by the *Spirit* and suffrage of all estates in this Church, as Christian and reformed, as ancient and modern; but also by the wisdom and consent, the judgement and practise of all the famous and flourishing Primitive Churches throughout the world: so that the justification and honour of the Church of England depends not upon any one *Ministers* weaknesse or ability, but upon that solidity, juncture, and conformity it hath, in all the main parts of it, with the *Catholick* Church of Christ in all Ages. He that fights against one, fighteth against all; he must confute them all, before he can justly condemn the Church of England, which hath for so many years laboured between the *Furnace* and the *Anvil*, under the restless files and hammers of its various *Adversaries*, who have resolved sooner to die, than to suffer the Church of England, or its orderly *Ministers*, to live in peace.

CHAP. VI.

The endlesse
bickerings
with Anabap-
tists, &c. now
in England.



Mong other *Sects* that, like swarms, are of late risen up against the *Church of England* and its ancient *Ministry*, none are more numerous, petulant, and importune, none more busie, bold, and bitter, than the *haughty-spirited* and *hotter-headed Anabaptists*. (For all of them have not (at least shew not) the like *horns and hoofs*: some are persons of more calm, grave, and charitable tempers.) These novel Disputers against, and despisers of all *Infant-Baptisme* (whom no ancient *Church* ever knew; no *later Reformed Church* but ever spewed out and abhorred) these now desire to appear as *Goliath* in their compleat Armour, boldly braving the whole *Church of England*: and this not onely as great *Scripturists*, but great *Artists* too; yea they would seem great *Statists*, *Pragmaticks*, and *Politicians*. They pretend to be curious *inspectors* (beyond all men) into all religious mysteries; yea rigid and exact *Anatomizers* of all both Modern and Ancient Churches; subtile *Insinulators* into all Interests, and grand Modellers of all Policies both Civil and Ecclesiasticall; aiming (no doubt) in time to erect some *sainly sovereignty* for their party in England, though their former ambitious attempts have every where miscarried, as in severall parts of *Germany*, so of late in *Ireland*.

Job 39.14.

These *Anti-pedo-baptists*, who are such hard-hearted Fathers, such unkind and *unchristian* Parents to their Children, as to deny them those distinctions and *indulgences of divine grace* and favour, which God of old granted to the *Jewish infants*, and which the *Catholick Christian Churches* in all ages have thankfully accepted and faithfully applied to the Children of *professed believers*, as a priviledge and donation renewed to them by Christ, and confirmed by the *Apostles*; these *Birds*, (glorying like *Ostriches* in their negligence toward their young ones) are risen up to be not onely nimble *Disputants* against children, but valiant *combatants* against men. For they find (after the way of the world,) more is got in one year by the terrour of armes, than in ten yeares by the shew of arguments. And although the pretended *principle* at first of that party was, to go with soft feet, as *Lions* and *Cats* do, (hiding and preserving their *Clawes* till there is use of them) crying up Peace, and crying down all Warre and sword-work upon Christs or the Gospels score; yet the latter sort of their *Disciples*, (being in hopes to become more *regnant and triumphant*.) have interpreted the meaning of their *Grandfires* to be, onely in prudence and caution, not in piety and conscience: that *fighting* was onely forbidden them, when they had cause to despair of getting the better, or just fear to be worsted; but if *Providence* gives them honest hopes, and advantages by the arm of flesh, and the sword of steel; to set up the *Kingdom of Jesus Christ* and his spirit, they are ready, with *S. Peter*, not onely to fight for Christ, but to cut off *Malchus* his eare, yea and his

his head too; if they find any Christian, *Prince or Prelate, Magistrate or Minister*, stand in their way, or if he seemeth to fight against that *Anti-infantall Christ*, which they say is so predominant in them, that he ought by their assistance to reform and rule all the Christian world; first beginning to destroy the Baptismall rights of *Christians Infants*, and then to go on to invade the *rights* of their *parents*, both *Civil and Ecclesiasticall*. The ancient Church, as in *England*, so every where, adored a *Saviour*, who invited infants to him and blessed them: These men set up a *Christ*, who will not endure the Infants of his Church and people to come neer him, or have any relation to him, as Lambs of the flock to that great Shepherd.

Thus, the *Papists* on the one side agitate an *endlesse controversie* with this *Church of England* and all *Reformed Churches*, touching the *Lords Supper*, First, in not restoring the *Cup* to *Lay-men*, agreeable to *Christs institution* and intention, which was best declared by the practise of the *Apostles*, and the *Catholic Church* after them for a *thousand years*; next, in their stating *precisely* and *explicitely*, as matter of faith, under a grievous curse and *Anathema*, the *manner of Christs presence in that Sacrament*; which as we confesse to be very *mysterious*, *adorable* and *ineffable*, yet most *reall, true* and *effectuall* to a *worthy Receiver*, according to the proper capacity of *Faith* receiving its object; so we conclude, that it is not in that *gross* and *contradictive* manner, which they have lately *invented*, and imposed upon the *Churches credulity* by way of *Transubstantiations*, & which is a strange nulling of the substance & nature of the *signes, Bread and Wine*, (owned as such by the *Apostle* after consecration) and inducing the intire substance of *Christs Body and Blood*, under every *crum* and *drop* of those *accidents* or shadows, which seem still to be *Bread and Wine* to the four Senses. And this must be first done, even then when *Christ* was yet at table with the *Disciples*, and had not yet suffered: so that they corporally eat of *Christs Body* made of the *Bread*, when he gave them the *Bread*; and was at once in their eyes, and between their teeth. Which strange and unheard-of manner of super-omnipotent *transmuting* or *transposing*, or annihilating of Substances, the *Papists* owe more to the wit and *subtilties* of some *Schoolmen* of *later ages* (who scorned to seem ignorant of any thing, or to be posed in any Christian mystery) than either to the *verdict* of their senses, to the principles of true *Philosophy*, to the grounds of *sound Reason*, to the *Analogy* or *tenour* of *Scriptures* in parallel Mysteries or Sacraments, or last of all, to the *Testimony* of the *Primitive Fathers* and *ancient Churches* (as hath been amply and unanswerably proved by many *Reformed Divines* at home and abroad.)

Who, though they spake very high things of this blessed Sacrament (as to its holy use, end, and relation to the *Lord Jesus*) yet they thought it enough for Christians to *believe, adore, and admire* the invisible, mysticall and spirituall, yet reall, presence of *Christ* in it; (for truly and fully present they ever believed him to be, though they confessed themselves ignorant how, and so were both humbly and modestly silent of the manner of his presence.) In

In the Councils of Trent & Luterane.

1 Cor. 10. 16,

17.

1 Cor. 11. 26,

27.

In which bounds if the later Church of *Rome* could have contained it self, I believe much trouble and misery, much blood-shed and persecution had been saved in these *Western Churches*, which are now divided and destroyed upon no point more than this of the *Lords Supper*, which was the greatest Symbol of Christians communion with Christ and one another, till the Papall arts and policies did so maim and mishape that blessed Sacrament of the *Lords Supper*, as to make it a ground of everlasting contention.

Prov. 27. 12.

On the other side, the peevish and petulant *Anabaptists*, who for many years past (almost since the first day-spring of the *Reformation* visited these *Western Churches*) have by the pens and tongues, the writings and preachings of many learned and godly men, been brayed in the mortar of *Scripture-testimonies*, *Ecclesiastick practise*, *Catholick custome* and *tradition*, yet wil not their folly depart from them. These, I say, have heretofore in *Transilvania*, *Westphalia*, and many parts of *Germany* and the adjacent Countreys, (and of late in *England*, since it became *Africa Septentrionalis*, the *Northern Africa*, full of Serpents and fruitfull in Monsters) with greater boldnesse and freedome than they ever enjoyed under any Christian Magistrate, or in any Reformed Church, sharply contested against the other great Sacrament of *Baptisme*, so far as it was in the Church of *England*, and ever hath been in all ages and successions of Christianity, imparted to the *Infants of Christian Parents*, who own their *own Baptisme*, and continue in the Churches communion, professing to believe that covenant of God made to them and their children, as Gods people, or *Christs Disciples*, for the remission of sins original and actual through the blood of Christ.

Against which gracious sign of the Evangelicall covenant, (sealing the truth of the Gospel, & conferring the grace of it; also distinguishing, as by a visible mark of Church-fellowship, the *Infants of Christians* or *believers*, from those of heathens and professed unbelievers, who are strangers to the flock of Christ) the *Anabaptists* have (ever since their rise in *Germany*, which is about 130 years) been not so much fair and candid disputants, as bitter and reprochfull enemies, for the most part: not modestly doubting, or civilly denying it, as to their own private judgements, with a latitude of charity to such in all the Christian world, who from the *Apostles dayes* have, and do retain *Infant-Baptisme*; but as if all the Church had erred till their dayes, they imperiously deny it, they rudely despise it, they scurrilously disdain and mock at the *baptisme* of *Infants*, as wholly void and null: therefore they repeat Baptisme to their Disciples; whence they have their name.

CHAP. VII.

IN this one vexatious *Controversie* (heretofore happily settled in the *Church of England*, both by doctrine and practise, conform to all *Antiquity*) I presume as much hath been said and wrote on either side, as the wit of man can well invent, or the nature of the thing bear, and possibly more than can well agree with *Christian Charity* on either side, if the difference were onely as to a *circumstance* of time, and not about the very *essence* or substance of our Baptisme: against which the spirit and design of the *Anabaptists* doth so fiercely drive, that by absolutely nulling all *Infant-baptism* in the Church of Christ, they might overthrow, not onely the honour, fidelity and credit of this Church, but of all other, yea, and the whole frame (even to the foundation) of all Christian ministrations, priviledges, comforts and communion, both in *England* and all Christian Churches through the world; as if all we had done, said, or enjoyed, as Christian Ministers and people, had been *irregular*, confused, *inauthoritative*, invalid; all things of Religion having been begun and continued, exhibited and received, by such Ministers and people, as had no visible right to any Christian duties or priviledges in a *Church-communion*; as having never been *baptized* after the way which Christ instituted; so that their claim to be Christians or Churches, is as false and insufficient as theirs is to an estate, of which they have no *deed*, *seal*, or *seisin*, but what are false or counterfeit.

The perverse disputings of Anabaptists against Infant-baptisme.

By which high and bold *reproch* of the *Anabaptists* against this and all other Churches from the beginning, it must follow, that (contrary to *Christs promise*) the *gates of Hell* have so long prevailed against the *Catholick Church*, in so great a *concern* as this Sacrament must needs be: which being made void and null, as to any *initiation*, *obsignation* and *confirmation* of all *Evangelicall* gifts, graces and priviledges, it will follow not onely that all the *Ministry* and *ministrations* of the Church have been illegitimate, invalid, irregular, being acted, dispensed and received by such as had no right, title, or authority to them, being persons *unbaptized*; but also all the faith and repentance, all the confessions and absolutions, all the *celebrations* and *consecrations* of the *Lords Supper*, all the perceptions of grace and spirituall comfort, all sense of peace, joy, love of God, and Christian charity, all the patience and hopes of all Christians, as *Believers*, *Confessors*, *Martyrs*, all must be either very defective of Christs order and method, or meerly fancifull and *superstitious*, or grossly presumptuous, preposterous, and wholly impertinent, because wanting the first *root* of *Christian Religion*, the badge and band of Christs Disciples, right or *lawfull*, true and *valid Baptisme*. So that, however *God* guided his *Church* in all other things aright, yet in this it seems to have erred a *Catholick* errour so far, that in stead of

Mat. 16. 18.

Ephes. 4. 5.

one Baptisme (which the Apostle urgeth, as concurrent with other unities of Christian accord, as *one God, one Faith, one Body, one Christ, one Head*, &c. all which the true Church retained constantly) there must have been *no Baptisme* at all, for the greatest part of 1600 years; in which time, as (generally) before, so universally after the Church had peace, all Christians brought their *Infants* to Baptisme,

Jude 3.

Which abominable consequence, or conclusion, following the *Anabaptistick* opinion and practise, seems to me so uncharitable, so immodest, so absurd, so cruel, so every-way unworthy of any good Christian, who understands the fidelity, exactnesse and constancy of primitive and persecuted Churches, in following the way *once delivered to them* by Christ and his Apostles (from which they were so far from an easie receding, that they rather chose to die,) that this jealousy and scandall rather becomes *Turks, Jews, Heathens, Hereticks, and Infidels*, or down-right *Atheists*, than any good Christians, so far to charge openly, or but secretly indeed to suspect the fidelity, honesty and integrity of the *Catholick Church*: nor do I see how any judicious, sober, and humble Christian can with charity, comfort, and good conscience, entertain and promote so horrid a jealousy and censure of all the *Christian world*; as if having kept the two Testaments intire (which I suppose the *Anabaptists* do not deny or doubt) yet they had lost one of the two Sacraments, and that which is the first foundation, main hinge and centre of all the Churches polity, priviledges, community and unity in this world, both to Christ, and to each other.

It is not my purpose in this place or work (which is rather to deplore the lapsed state of this Church, than to dispute this or any other point, long ago settled in this and all true Churches) my aim is not to tire you (*my honoured Countrey-men*) with drawing over the rough sand of this controversie at large; which hath of late by sharp recitations made such deep wounds or incisions on this Churches face and peace (agreeable to the practise and spirit of the *Anabaptists*, wherever they come and prevail,) Onely give me leave (since this *Anabaptistick* poyson is still pregnant in this Nation) in order to move your compassions to the Church of England, and your love to the truth of God as it is in Jesus, to shew you how unjustly she hath, and still doth suffer, yea, and is daily more threatned by this sort of men, who upon weak and shallow pretensions seek to overthrow so great, so ancient, so Catholick, so Primitive, so Apostolick, so Scriptural, so Christian a practise and priviledge, as that is of baptizing the *Infants of Christian Professors*.

First, the *Anabaptists* cannot with any forehead or face of reason (and therefore the soberest of them do not) deny, but that the *Infants* of Christians have both in respect of sinfull nature, and in regard of the offer of Evangelick grace by Christ, as much need and as much capacity of Baptisme as the Jewish children had of Circumcision, so far as both those initial Sacraments betoken the taking away of sin, the supply of righteousness, and other benefits attainable by sinners, young or old, through the covenant made in the blood of J. Christ, between God and his Church, both Jewish and Christian.

Onely

Only they put in these *three* popular *barres* against *Infants* partaking of those benefits which they need, and are (otherwayes) capable of by Christ; but not (as the *Anabaptists* say) in the way of *Baptisme*, at that age, in which they have no right or capacity to be *baptised*; because,

The summe of
the Anabapt.
strength.

First, They alledge, there is no precise or nominall command in the New Testament to baptize any *Infants* by name.

Secondly, *Baptisme* is limited to such as are first *taught* and *professe* to *believe*; which must ever exclude *Infants*.

Thirdly, There is no one expresse and nominall *instance* of any one example, where Christ or his Apostles baptized any *infant*; which if they could finde, they confesse they should then (with us) interpret all places in favour of *infants*, as contained under the *expression* of *all nations* and *whole households*, and *you and your children*, &c. since they confesse the *tenour* of the *Gospel*, the *extent* or *proportions* of Evangelicall mercies, the *sufficiencie* of Christs merits, and the *sinfull* state of *infants* by nature, yea their *damnable* estate, unlesse they be washed and saved by the *blood* of *Christ*: all these make much for *infants* enjoying the Sign and Seal, as well as the Thing signified, Grace and Glory too; if they had but one *example*, or could be convinced that ever any Apostle did baptize any one *infant*.

Mat. 28.19.
Acts 16.15.
1 Corin. 1.16.
Acts 2.39.

CHAP. VIII.

THis in brief is the whole strength (as I conceive) of the *Anabaptists*, whereto they so pertinaciously hold, meerly as to the *literall* silence of the name *Infant*, in the point of *Baptisme*; and at the same rate they may deny many other points of *Christian doctrine* and *practise*, (which yet I suppose they do not) which not having the express and individual letter of the word for them (*ὑποτίκω*) have (yet) (*διαφανίζω*) the generall tenour, and inclusive command, namely, the *reason* of the *Scripture*, and *Analogie* of Faith to justify them; besides the constant practise and judgement of the Catholick Church, whose fidelity is not to be questioned by any sober man, upon such slight and captious pretensions of the *Scriptures* silence, in point of particular enumerations, when (yet) it is full, as to generall and comprehensive expressions: which are many and valid *foundations*, on which to build *Infant-baptisme*: no more to be justly overthrown by the most *subtill* *Anabaptists* in the world, than the *Saducees* might deny and overthrow the resurrection against Christ; or the *Psychopannuchists*, the souls *immortality*; or the *Antidominicans*, the *Lords day*; or the *Antiscripturists*, the received *Scriptures*; or the *Antitrinitarians*, the *Trinity*; or the *Arians*, the *coessentiality* of the Son with the Father, as God; because none of these are (as the *Arians* urged) in those very words, names and syllables, so set down, as possibly cavilling *Sophisters* would require, or else they will not believe.

The weakness
of Anabaptists
grounds a-
gainst Infant-
Baptisme.

The silence or not express naming of *Infants*, is no more to be urged against them in this case, than the silence of Christ as to the *partakers* of the *Lords Supper*, who gave it onely to the twelve *Disciples*, with

Acts 2.46.

command to them to do it, &c. without speaking of any *Women* or *Lay-men*; yet were not these hereby excluded from the Communion, as to matter of fact, before it was so recorded in the *Acts* as an History. The Church of Christ alwayes understood the latitudes of *Baptism* (expressions as well as graces) to include *Infants* of Christians no less than the institution of the other Sacrament did *Lay-men* and *Women*; which were neither present at first institution, nor are nominated in any particular command of Christ.

Gen. 17. 10.

As for the condition limiting persons baptizable, which is actual believing, this also the Church of Christ understood in a limited & temporary sense, as reaching only to those who were the first *fruits* or plants of the Christian Church; who were first (as *Abraham*) to be taught the nature of the covenant, duty and seal, before they could reasonably receive the sign, or communicate it *rightly* to their children: who come to their claim and privilege, as of *Circumcision*, so of *Baptisme*, not by vertue of their *personal knowledge* and faith, which *Abraham* and men grown, but not their children, first had, and so the first called and converted Christians (as parents) ought to have; but by that *federal relation* which they have, even in their *ignorance* and *infancy*, to believing parents, and by them to God, as his people, part of his flock and Church.

And this, not by a *naturall* or *civil right* (which (yet) descends to and upon children, when they know nothing) but by an *Evangelicall right*; as to that covenant made by God in the blood of Christ, with his Church, both of old and of late, with *Jews* and *Christians*, inclusive of children; yea, even *Infants* of eight dayes old; as is evident in *Circumcision*, which signified the same grace under another signe or ceremony, as the Apostle declares it at large, *Rom. 4.*

Leaving therefore the cavilling and pervincacious insistings of the *Anabaptists* about the letters, names and syllables, which they must have, or they will not believe *Infant-Baptism*, more than *Thomas* Christ's Resurrection till he felt his wounds: although we grant what they alledge as to the nominal silence of the word *Infants*, wrested by their perverse disputations; yet nothing is abated as to the right and use of *Infant-baptisme*, which is grounded upon so many grand reasonings and right deductions from Scripture-sense; which being explicate and clear in many places, ought to over-rule that silence of the name *Infants*, and seeming (but misunderstood) limitation of raught and believing, which is all the force (upon the point) that ever the *Anabaptists* could muster together against the Churches' Catholick judgement and practise, conform to the whole tenour of Gods mind and will, his love and mercy; Christ's grace and merits dispensed to his Church by some *initiall Sacrament*, including *Infants* as well as the *adulti* of riper years.

That you may better see upon what little *mole-hills* the *Anabaptists* stand so on *tip-toes*, as of late they have done in *England*, pretending to over-top the mountain of the Lord, which hath been established in all lands, I mean, the judgement and practise of the

Catholick Church; I will briefly set down (as in a matter largely handled by many others, both late & long since) what are the grand deductions and Scriptural reasonings, upon which the *Church of God* hath (as I conceive) alwayes maintained the right, priviledge and comfort of *Infant-baptisme*; and this without any scruple or dispute for 1500 years: not but that the *Anabaptists* objections, from the silence of the Scripture as to the name *Infant*, were then as obvious as now; nor were there wanting *heretical* spirits (of the *Jews* and *Gnosticks*) who would have cavilled in this as other points, against the true and *Orthodox* profession, if they had not been so palpably over-born and convinced by the pregnancy of the Churches practise and judgement, agreeable to the *Apostolical Tradition* in this point, (who without doubt had baptized many Infants some years before there was any part of the *New Testament* written, which the *Anabaptists* so much urge) that it had been an *intolerable impudence* to doubt or deny *Infant-baptism*, or to oppose the after-letter of the *N. Testament* against the constant and precedent practise of the *Apostles* and their Successors, whose actions were a clear and sufficient, yea the best interpretation in the world, of the letter of the Scripture, in case of any thing that seemed lesse explicite, or any way dubious.

Nor do I doubt, but the *Church* was ever in this so far commendable, as it was conformable to the *Apostles practise*, and went upon the same grounds as they did, not once erring so Catholick and great an error, as to apply a Sacrament to such as Christ never intended, yea denied and forbad it (as is pretended;) and onely therefore pertinacious in all ages after, yea, so stupid, as not to be sensible of so grand an error or misapplication (that it might not be thought to have erred:) but rather the Church continued constant and without scruple in the doctrine of the *Apostles*, and practise of *Infant-baptism* (as S. ^a *Austin* urges against *Pelagius*) because they were assured from the beginning it was the mind of Christ, which the *Apostles* best understood, and according to which they did constantly practise the baptizing of Infants from the beginning, where once the faith was planted in the parents; the branches or seed being presently ^b holy in Gods claim or covenant, and by the *childrens relation* to them and to God, so soon as the parents were believers, and had by receiving the faith, and being baptized, been brought into the visible fold or flock of Christ.

The Scriptural, Religious and rationall grounds, which this and all true Churches went upon in baptizing Infants of believing parents, (not apostated or excommunicated) were these; which I oppose to the petty and capricious cavils of the *Anabaptists*, as a mighty wall or bulwark planted with great canon against so many pot-guns or bulrushes.

a Aug. Ser. 10.
de verb. Apost.
& Pædobapt.
Nemo vobis sus-
surret doctrinas
alienas: hoc ec-
clesia semper ha-
buit, semper te-
nuit; hoc à ma-
jorum fide acci-
pit; hoc usque
in finem perse-
veranter custo-
dit.
Tert. de An. c.
39.
Tam ex seminis
prærogativa,
quàm ex institu-
tionis discipli-
nâ.
b 1 Cor. 7. 14.

CHAP. IX.

The Catholick
strength for
Infant-Bapt.



Gen. 17. 13.

Rom. 4. 11, 12,
13, 17, 18.

Gal. 6. 10.

1. **E**irst, The Church of God considered the nature of that *Evangelical and perpetual Covenant*, which was explicitly made with *Abraham* and his *seed*, also confirmed to him and his children by another parallel Ceremony or Sacrament, namely, of *Circumcision*: which Sign or Seale being (as the *Anabaptists* confesse) long ago abrogated, rather by the consent & practise of the Church, than any personal command of *Christ* that can be alledged, who himself was both circumcised and baptized; yet 'tis certain that the *Covenant* still continues to *Abraham* and his *seed*, as eminently contained in *Christ*, & by relation to him derived, not onely to the *Jews* after the flesh, but to those that are *Jews* inwardly, the *Israel of God*, or *spiritual seed of Abrah*: as he had his name augmented, and was to be the *Father of many nations*, not by *natural succession*, but by *fiduciary imitation* of his faith, who is called and commended to Christians as the *father of the faithfull*, whose privileges *Evangelical* descend to all those, who after *Abrahams* example, do believe the *Evangelical promises* of blessednesse by *Christ*, these being of the *household of faith*, & *Abrahams children*, have right to *Abrahams covenant*, & the privileges of his *spirituall seed*, which reached as to the naturall sons of *Abraham*, and their Infants, *Jews*, so to these imitative sons and their infants, whom since no word of restraint or forbidding hath excluded from the *relation, covenant, rights, privileges & comforts Evangelicall*, once given to *Abraham*, and to all the family of Faith, there was no cause for the Church-*Christian* to exclude *infants* of believing parents from partaking that *Evangelicall* new sign and visible seal, which is *Baptism*, set to the *ancient Covenant*: with which, either *Anabapt.* must affirm no Infants now have any thing to do, no right to it, or the benefits by it; or they must think infants have this in so *tacite, blind, & implicate* a way, as they nor their parents have any visible sign, seal, and token of it now in the *Christian Church*, unless they will fall to *circumcise* their children again, who so obstinately deny *baptism* for that end to infants, whatever they think of it as to those of *riper years*.

Origen. l. 5. ad
Rom. c. 6.
Ecclesia traditionem ab Apostolis suscepit etiam parvulis dare baptismum.
Mat. 22. 19.
2 Petr. 3. 16.

2. However the *Anabaptistick* flourishes & railings (as to the crambe of their negations, that neither precept nor practise is found in Scripture, mentioning *Infant. baptism*) make a great shew & noise with common people, of small capacities and short-sighted; yet the *Anabapt.* have no cause to flatter themselves, that they are *wiser* than all those *Divines of Engl.* & other Churches, who can render valid, cogent & unanswerable, both *Historick instances* and reasons, for the *Catholick practise* of this & all Churches in this point; and these drawn from the *twisted and concurrent sense of Scripture*, set forth in the words of *Christ*, confirmed by his actions, best interpreted by the constant practise of the *universal Church*, (as in the *second Cent.* *Orig.* tells us the Church alwayes used *Infant. bapt.*) which may not be thought to have erred from the *Apostles practise* in this, any more than the *Apostles* did from *Christs mind*.

3. So that the *Anabaptists* erre, partly by not understanding the *Scriptures*, partly by wresting them. They wrest the letter of one or

two places to an exclusive sense, contrary to the meaning of many other, which are inclusive of *Infants*, upon very great reasons, and to avoid many absurd consequences, as to the state Evangelicall.

They urge against *Infants Baptisme* the *Scriptures* not expressly naming them, in precept or practise. We might as well urge for them, the like silence of Scripture no where by name excluding, forbidding, or excepting *Infants*, where in common sense they are included; as in *all nations*, whole families or households, where they are either actually baptized, or commanded to be baptized by the Apostles without any reserve, limitation, or exclusion, as to *Infants*.

4. The usual parallel also of *Circumcision* and *Baptism* (which S. Paul urgeth, and S. Austin oft observes) is of great force to those who consider, that this latter *Sacrament*, or sign of *Gods covenant* to his Church-Christian, succeeding to the former, as to its end, use and virtues, may not in reason be thought lesse extensive to *Infants* in the Church of God, than the former was, nor may the *Antitype* be straitened short of the *Type*. In this all the *Jewes Church* (even *Infants*, as well as others) were baptized to *Moses* in the red Sea and the cloud: so must all to *Christ* in the Baptisme of his Blood now in the Church, which was by that sea represented.

5. Nor is it inconsiderable in this point, the custome of washing or baptizing among the Jews, as a religious ceremony used in admitting proselytes of the Gate, which were not circumcised; these were (βαπτίζοντο) baptized with their whole household, servants and children, as the *Talmudists* report. This usuall ceremony and custome of Baptisme chosen by Christ for an *Evangelical Sacrament*, or sign of admittance to his Church, may justly be thought, in Christs use and intention, to extend to the like latitude in its use or applying to *Infants* among Christians, as it did among the *Jewes*; especially where neither Christ nor the Apostles make any restraint or exception in the case of *Infants*:

6. Who under the Gospel (as S. Austin proves against the *Pelagians*) are in as much want (by nature) of *Evangelical mercy*, as they were under the Law and Jewish polity. Nor is it to be imagined, without great absurdity, that Christ lessened *Gods mercy* or favour to them under the Gospel, short of what was under the Law; seeing they are every way as capable of this new *Sign* and *Seal*, as they were of the former, and want this as much; which *Origen* urgeth as the ground of Infant-baptisme.

7. Neither the *Analogie of the Scripture*, nor the proportion of *Gods dispensations* of grace to his Church-Christian, will allow us to think, that God under the Gospel denies to believing parents or their children such latitudes of mercy and holy privileges, in the visible means of grace and salvation, which were in another form afforded to the Jews; that God hath no regard, or makes no claim to children, as his, or any parts of his Church, till they come to years of discretion; that he would have the children of Christians while *Infants*, now, in no better state and capacity of his mercy by Christ, than the children

Matth. 28. 19.
Acts 16. 15.

& 34.

1 Corin. 1. 16.

Coloss. 2. 11.

Aug. de Bapt.
cont. Donat.

1. 4. c. 23. V.

vaciter conji-

cere possumus,

quid valeat in

parvulis baptis-

mi sacramentū,

ex circumcisiō-

ne carnis quam

prior populus

accepit.

1 Cor. 10. 2.

Aug. l. 1. de
pec. mer. & re-
mis. c. 26.

Ecclesia traditi-
onē ab Apostolis
suscepit etiam
parvulis dare
baptismum; scie-
bant enim illi,
quia essent in
omnibus genui-
nae sordes pecca-
ti, quae per a-
quam & spiri-
tum ablui debe-
rent. Orig. l. 5.
ad Rom. c. 6.

of

John 3.5.

of meer *Heathens* and *Infidels*; that either no Infants are now to be saved, or not by the Blood of Christ, or by no visible sign and means, or by the Spirit alone without Water; which Christ joyns together, affirming that none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, either the Kingdom of Grace, or Glory, the visible or invisible Church, (in the ordinary methods of Gods dispensation of grace now under the Gospel) unless they be born again of Water and the Spirit.

8. If children are capable to be sanctified by the Spirit, they are no less capable to be washed by baptismal water, which is consecrated by the Word and Spirit or power of Christ in his Church, to so holy an use and spirituall washing away of sin, as is attained by his blood, represented by baptismal water: for the sign is of less value than the thing signified, as the wax and parchment are far less than the land or estate consigned and conveyed by them. Since then Christ hath joyned these together in so full, expresse, and large a manner, extending to all, it must needs appear, not onely a petulancy, but arrogancy, in any Christians to separate them; and in order to gratifie a novell fancy or exotic opinion, to run counter to all these proportions of Evangelicall Truth and Mercy, which evidently crosse all those mentioned absurdities, as inconsistent with Evangelicall promises, favours and dispensations of grace, which are much amplified and enlarged, but no way straitened or abated.

a Psal. 22. 27.

& 82. 8.

Isa 2. 2. 52. 15.

b Mat. 19. 13.

Mark 10. 14.

Luke 18. 16.

ἄγιοι τοῦ

ἀγίου πνεύματος

καὶ τοῦ

ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ

ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ

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9. This general tenour and scope of the Scriptures, so highly favouring Christian Infants, as a great part of those many nations and families which are prophesied and promised shall come in to Christ, is in my judgement sufficient to satisfie all those that list not to be contentious; especially where the words and actions of Christ do further expressly intimate, yea largely declare his speciall favour & indulgence toward (ἄγιοι καὶ ἁγία) little Infants in his Church (as Irenaeus justly urgeth in favour of them, who lived anno 150.) Christ having himself been an Infant, and received then the seal of Circumcision, as an Infant, to denote his grace for them, and favour to them, suffering and shedding his blood in infancy for infants; he afterward (as three Evangelists tell us) invited infants to come, or be brought to him, testified a favour for them, blessed them, and declares them capable of the Kingdom of Heaven, as members of the Church, both in grace and glory. For as Infants have the spirit and principles of reason, even then when they cannot exercise or exert them; so may they have (as Tertullian observes) the spirit and principles of grace and glory, of sanctification and salvation, even then when they are (as under Circumcision) onely passive receivers, not active employers of the grace of God given them by Christs merits. The magneticke vertue may be communicated to a needle, although it be not presently put into such an even posture or equilibrium as will actually shew it; so is the grace of God in Infants.

Which mercy and indulgence of God to the Infants of his Church, is a gracious counterpoizing of that native misery and perversity,

Omnes venit
per semetipsum
salvare; omnes,
inquam, qui per
eum renascuntur
in Deum; Infantes,
& parvulos,
& pueros,
& juvenes,
& seniores. Ideo
per omne venit
etatem, & infantibus
infans factus, sanctificans
infantes; in parvulis
parvulus, sanctificans
hanc ipsam habentes etatem.
Iren. l. 2. c. 39.
* Designati sanctitatu,
& per hoc etiam salutem,
fidelium filii. Tert. de An.
c. 39.

cy, which (as *Origen* and *Austin* observe) they derive from the old *Adam*; to which they are not actively *contributive*, but passively *receptive*. In like manner, by the second *Adam* (*Christ Jesus*) the *Antidote* or remedy is early, and so preventive of their agency, that (as *S. * Cyprian* urgeth) the means of life and salvation is dispensed to them (also) in *Baptisme*, before they can know their calamity.

*Quia sunt in omnibus generibus sordes peccatorum, quæ per aquam & spiritum ablui debent. Orig. l. 5. ad Ro. c. 6. Hoc ipsum peccati corpus appellatur. * Quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans à baptismo, qui recens natus contagionem mortis antiquæ primæ natiuitate contraxit, &c. Cypri. ep. ad Fid.*

CHAP. X.

10.



LI which weight and strength of reasoning drawn from Scripture in many instances, and most conform to the love, grace, philanthropy, mercy and benignity of God, through Christ, to his Church under the Gospel, are sufficient to out-weigh those two small and weak cavils, urged by the *Anabaptists*; either from the *Scriptures* silence, not naming Infants in the precept or history of Baptisme; or limiting, as they fancy (for ever, which was but in the first planting of Churches) Baptism only to such as are taught and actually believe: which is true (as in *Abrahams* case, and such as were men grown in his house; he and they were first taught of God the meaning of that Evangelicall mystery; but the Infants, who, in the second place, received it, could not be instructed, and yet were *circumcised*, that is, owned for Gods, dedicated to him, distinguished by this visible sign from the children of *Aliens*, and by this means of grace brought, no doubt, to glory) so is it in Baptisme, where the root of parents believing is once holy by baptismal relation and dedication to God, keeping communion with Christ and his Church, there the branches or children are also holy, and belong to the Lord.

Of right reasoning from Scripture.

II. Nor is this reasoning from Scripture, as to the harmony and concurrent sense of it, either *scepticall*, or curious, or infirm; but farre more pregnant and potent in Religion, both as to faith and manners, than any urging of one or two particular places, contrary to this tenour and Analogie of faith; or those proportions of truth and mercy, which are so manifest in the Scriptures, that the contrary opinion or practise, however seemingly drawn from some Scripture, (as *Tertull. Cyprian, S. Austin*, observed in the quotations of Hereticks) yet carries great incongruities and absurdities, such as are inconsistent with the Evangelical dispensations, many ways in other Scriptures declared, and easily to be observed by those that bring no prejudice or prepossessions with them.

1 Corin. 7. 14.

Our blessed Saviours wisdom hath taught us thus to understand the mind of God, by this collective or deductive sense of Scriptures. Thus he evinceth a grand article of Christian faith, the resurrection

Matth. 22.29. of the dead, against the blind cavils of the Sadduces; first, by alledging such Scriptures as named not, but implied the *Resurrection*, yea rather the souls *immortality*; then he doth by principles and consequences of right reason, draw forth the force of those places, shewing as the souls existence, so the possibility and certainty of the *Resurrection*, also the state of those that are once risen and in glory.

Matth. 12.5,8. In like manner our Saviour, by comparing *Scriptures*, proves Gods dispensations of *labour*, as to works of *piety*, *charity* and *necessity*, both to God, to man, and to beasts, even on the *Sabbath*, where the letter of the *command* was expresse and fully negative, *Thou shalt doe no manner of work, &c.* yet doth Christ redargue those Sabbaticall rigours which were by the Pharisees both *hypocritically* and *uncharitably* urged from the letter of that command; Christ tells them *they erred* (though they insisted on the letter of the command) not *knowing the Scriptures*, in their *harmonious* and *concurrent* sense, which is by sober and right reasonings to be fairly understood, rather than by harsh and dissonant exactings so urged, as to make one part of *Scripture* clash with another, or one place *enterseare* and jarre with the whole tenour and Analogie of Divine wisdom, truth, mercy and grace.

Which in this point of *Baptisme* the *Anabaptists* do; if not to their own *damnation*, yet very much to the *subversion* of the *faith* of many, to the dividing, undermining and destroying of a famous and well-settled Church, which hath suffered infinitely of late by some *Anabaptistick* petulancy, pertinacy and peevishnesse. Which in this point of *Baptisme* is much upon the same lock as they are in the point of *Ministers maintenance* under the Gospel by *Tithes*; which is clear by the *Analogie*, *equity*, and *intent* of the Scriptures, comparing the *old* and *new* together, in which the mind and measure of the just and gracious God is evidently as liberall to the *Gospel-Ministers* as to the Jewish, as S. Paul urgeth, *Even so hath the Lord ordained, &c.* The force of which place I have unanswerably proved in a particular discourse upon *Tithes*.

1 Cor. 9.14.

Yet what out-cries and clamours, what reproches and calumnies, what a *Tragick* and *Judaick* businesse hath the covetous scrupulosity and sacrilegious nicety of *some men* made against *Tithes*, and *Ministers* now receiving them, pretending Scriptures against them, which are most fully for them; still wresting in this, as other things, the Scriptures silence, or letter, by the *bias*, and *scue*, or rack of their own prejudices, or depraved lusts and passions, against the equity, force and reasonings of Scripture, *concurrent*, and *manifest* from many places:

CHAP. XI.

12. **B**Ut in case the Scripture-meaning and letter were lesse clear in this point of *Infant-baptisme* than indeed they are; if severall places do seem to stand in such *defiance* and *opposition* against each other, that it were necessary to have an umpire to *reconcile* them so, as might moderate, limit and qualifie the seeming literall difference of some places, in order to bring them to a compliance with others, which are possibly lesse explicite in the letter, but more comprehensive of and conform to the generall tenour, sense and meaning of them, and that Analogie of *Faith* or Evangelicall dispensations, which are the whole scope and design of the Scriptures:

In this case, to quiet the consciences of Christians, and to compose the state of the Church of Christ, in a way most charitable, most comfortable, and no way inconform to the will of God in his Word, I appeal to all sober minds, whether the *constant* practise & *Catholick* custome of the *Church of Christ* in all *ages* and *places*, be not the best *interpreter* and *reconciler* of *Scripture*; when so Universall and Primitive, as this of *Infant-baptism* is owned by all witnesses, that it must needs be derived from Apostolick men, yea, and *Apostles themselves*, who best knew the mind of Christ, and (without doubt) most exactly in this, as all things, conformed to it.

No *Anabaptist* ever did, or can prove by any one ancient Writer, that from the beginning it was not so; that Christian parents either ordinarily did not, or that any one Doctor of the Church held it unlawfull to baptize *their infants*: no not *Tertullian*, the onely ancient which the Anabaptists urge in favour of their novel fancy; who yet doth acknowledge otherwhere the prerogative of Christian Infants wholly, yea, and the use and practise of the Church in his dayes, to baptize Infants with eagerness and hast; even in that place, where rather with wit and fancy, than with argument, he speaks of the inconvenience and impertinency of committing *heavenly riches* to those that are not capable to manage earthly, and urgeth their innocence, not having any sin, and so needing no remission: which was true as to actuall, but not to originall sin; for which cause, as *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and Saint *Austin* urge, *Baptisme* is applied to Infants. The same *flourish* might have been made against the *Covenant* and *grace* of *Circumcision*, yea, against Christs *blessing the little children*, when brought to him; yea, and it may as well be urged against giving the right or investiture of any estate temporall to *Infants*, (which is usuall and good in law) because they cannot use or manage them at present.

These are *strains* of wit, not *weight* of reason or Religion, in *Tertullian*, or any man; nor may they sway with any Christian in this or

Of the Churches Catholick custom and testimony.

Consuetudo veterum Christianorum optima Scripturarum interpret. Grot.

Tert. de bapt. c. 18. De anima cap. 39, 40. Apostolus ait, ex sanctificato altero sexu sanctos procreari, tam ex feminis prerogativa, quam institutionis disciplina. Infantes designati sanctitatis, ac per hoc salutis.

any case, contrary to the judgement and practise of the Church, even then, and at all times.

a Cyp. lib. ep. 3. ep. 8. Nulli hominum nato Dei gratia & misericordia deneganda; una est apud omnes, seu infantes siue majores natu, divini muneris aequalitas. Id. Nam Deus ut personam non accipit, sic nec aetatem. Id.

b Cyp. ep. ad Fid. is most large & clear. c Hieron. l. 3. con. Pelag. d Aug. de pec. orig. c. 40. de re-

mis. pec. c. 9. contra Jul. l. 3. contr. Non. l. 4. epist. 3: ad Volusian. And oft against the Pelagians. e Chrysost. hom. 40. in Gen. f Athan. q. 91. de Script. Ter mergimus infantem. Toledo. epis. div. dog. cap. de Bapt. g Ambr. de Abrah. l. 2. c. 11. h Nazian. or. 40. de baptis. i Basil. in Tom. 1. exb. ad baptis. k Epiphani. hares. 8. l Origen. in Rom. l. 5. c. 6. in Levit. hom. 8. in Lucam hom. 14. m Iren. lib. 2. c. 39. epist. ad Lai.

Which ^a S. Cyprian, in his large Epistle to *Fidus*, owns as his own and others uniform judgement, without any question, as to *Infant-baptisme*, who certainly in this differed not from his beloved Master *Tertullian* (as he called him,) yea, he would not so fully have allowed *baptisme* of Infants, without any limitation to the *eighth day* (which was the question put to him) if he had thought *Tertullian* seriously doubting in the main, of their being at all to be *baptized*. I am sure *Cyprian* is as *valid* a testimony for it, as *Tertullian* against it: who yet is not against it, unlesse, it may be, in some cases, where persecution may hinder *parents* care of their childrens education, and so there may be danger of *childrens Apostasie*.

The judgement of ^b *Cyprian* (with 66. Bishops) is followed and commended by S. ^c *Hier.* and S. ^d *Austin*, as a most settled and Catholick practise; owned by S. ^e *Chrysost.* ^f *Athanas.* ^g *Ambr.* *Paulinus*, ^h *Gregory Nazian.* S. ⁱ *Basil*, ^k *Epiphanius*, so before them, by ^l *Origen* and ^m *Irenaeus*.

Of whose testimonies I shall not need here to make more particular mention or repetition, for they are in many books of late *duly cited*, which have wrote in *English* and in *Latin* of this subject; nor can any *Anabaptists* teeth so gnaw that chain and series of *successive Infant-baptisme* in the Church of Christ, as to break any one link of it, or instance in any one *author* or *century*, where it appears to have been otherwise in the judgement or practise of any one Church or famous person.

13. Which *Catholick custome* of the Church, so fully consonant to *Scripture* and the evident mind of Christ, set forth in all his *Evangelicall dispensations*, both general to all men, and specially to infants in the Church, no judicious, sober, humble, and charitable Christian, can either doubt, with any shew of reason, or dispute against, with any shew of modesty.

1 Cor. 11. 16. Contra Apostolicam fidem manifestissimum, contra ecclesiae fundatissimum morem, nemo sentiat. Aug. ep. 28. Matth. 18. 17. 1 Tim. 3. 15.

Considering that as the *custome* of the Churches of Christ is stamped with the *authority* of a law, silencing all contradiction, and suppressing all novelty, by the Apostle S. Paul; so Christ himself bids us to *heare the Church*: which if it hold good in lesser censures and determinations of private *Congregations*, how much more is it our duty to be attentive to and observant of the Churches *directions*, which are *Catholick*; whose authority is very great and sacred, as the *pillar* and *ground* of *Truth*, holding it forth by *doctrine* and example, by *Scripture* and *practise*? Nor do I doubt that Christ and his Apostles left many things, as to the *outward polity*, *practise*, and *ministration* of Religion, lesse clear and expresse in the letter of the Word; that thereby the *credit* and *authority* of the *Catholick Church* might be more *conspicuous* and

and venerable with all peaceable and orderly Christians, who may safely defer this honour to the Catholick Church, and to every particular Church agreeing to it, as to *acquiesce* in a conformity to its judgement and practise, no way contrary to the Word of God; from which it cannot be presumed that the Catholick Church of Christ from the beginning, or in any Age, did vary, either through ignorance or wilfulness, however particular Churches and Teachers might.

14. The Catholick testimony of the Church of Christ is more than a bare humane or historick witnesse: it is so sacred, so divine, so irrefragable, that it is more to be valued than an * *Angels from heaven*; and therefore ought in all reason and conscience to end such controversies lately raised in the Church: and so it would have done long ago, if humane passions and interests had not swayed more with some men, than matter of conscience and Religion; or if the Baptisme of infants were the onely thing that some Anabaptists have an aking tooth at, or a mind to pull down. No, that cannot much hurt them; nor doth any mischief or inconvenience follow that pious custome, either to parents or children, yea much good and comfort accrues to both: Religion never thrived but with it; no point of faith is prejudiced by it; no Evangelicall truth or mercy is diminished or over-stretched, but rather asserted and magnified to its due and divine extent. Yet Infant-baptisme must be still crucified between the policy of the Anabaptists and their partiality: their partiality urgeth one or two limited places against many pregnant and large ones; their policy, I fear, would attain something beyond, and more to the advantage of their popular spirits and designs, which have in many places been discovered, as far from equity and charity in civil regards, as they are in this of Baptisme far from verity, modesty and antiquity; scornfully slighting the testimony of the Churches of Christ in all ages; for which (undoubtedly) they had sufficient warrant from Christ and his Apostles, even before the letter of the New Testament was written, or the Canon settled. Nor did they either need or expect a more explicate commission of baptizing of infants of believing parents, than that which was sufficiently expressed, as in the generall command, to make Disciples in all nations, baptizing them; so also by the particular words and actions of Christ toward infants, not without check to his Disciples; also by his requiring all to be born again of Water and the Spirit, who pretend to be of the Kingdom of Heaven, that is, the visible Church; and lastly, by the former parallell-dispensations of Gods mercy in the Covenant of grace, by Circumcision, to the members of his Church, as children of faithfull Abraham, both young and old, men and infants.

15. Contrary to all which, for a few new men spitefully, peevishly, and everlastingly thus to contest, and, indeed, onely cavill; I conceive, is not onely a great irreverence and scorn put upon the Church of Christ, which we should respect, love and honour, as the
mother

Quisquis Catholicis dogmatibus & moribus sensum, divinitus per loca et tempora omnia dispensatum, contempserit, non hominem contemnit, sed Deum. Vin. Lyrin.
* Gal. 1. 8.

Gal. 4. 26.
Matth. 28. 20.
John 14. 26.
John 16. 13.

mother of us all; but it is an high affront to *Christ*, to *his Word*, *Truth*, and *Promise* to be ever with it, even to the end of the *world*, by his *Spirit* leading it into all *Evangelicall Truths*, for precept and duty, as well as promise and comfort; also keeping it from all *Catholick Apostasies* into any error destructive to the foundation.

John 13. 20.

If they that reject or despise any one of *Christs Messengers*, despise *himselfe* and *his father*; how much more they that disbelieve, despise, and discredit so many of his *Messengers* and *Ministers*, who in all ages have by uniforme word and practise declared to us the mind of *Christ*, as to this point of *Infant-baptism*?

By which unhappy *Controversie*, as by many other, the strange, but just judgements of *God*, have of late, in full *vials of wrath*, been poured upon this *Church of England*, by the *Anabaptistick* spirit chiefly; after so much light and truth, peace and unity, grace and piety, poured forth upon us by *Gods former munificent mercy*, sanctifying and sealing with his *Spirit* and grace in due time that *Sacrament of Baptisme*, which thousands had received in their infancy, to their parents comfort, to the infants happiness, dying and living, also to the great *glory of God* in this, as other *Churches* in all ages.

Nor is there to *this day*, after so many bickerings and contests, so many publick heats and *flames* kindled upon this and other accounts, any way of *wisdom* and meekness publicly used, by which to quench these *flames of wild-fire*, which threaten not onely to scorch, but utterly to consume this *Reformed* and truly *Catholick Church*, with all its true *Ministers* and holy ministrations: in which the *Anabaptists* are highly subservient to the *Papists* grand projects and designs; which is, to deface, disgrace, and quite overthrow all the frame of *Reformed Religion*, and the face of any either *uniform* or reformed *Church in England*.

CH A P. XII.



Or my part, I freely professe, that if the *administration of Baptisme* in point of age and time, were in it self free and indifferent, so as men might be baptized when they will, and so baptize their children sooner or later, as they please, deferring it, as some of old did, even to their decrepit age and death-beds, because they would not sin after it; if this were left to an *indifferency*, which I doe no way think it is, any more than all other duties of the *Lords Supper*, prayer, hearing the Word preached, &c. are, which have no precise measure and limited time set; because they oblige alwayes, as opportunity is offered; Gods *favours* and indulgences import *mans duty* to accept and use them, as soon as the Lord offers them to us and ours; though *Baptisme* be not, as S. Cyprian tells *Fidus*, confined to the *eighth day* after infants birth, nor yet to the *eighth year*, yet when it may be duly had in the way of Gods providence, it may not be delayed to the *death of the child* (unbaptized) without a great *detriment to the infant* so dying, and crime to the parents or *guardians* so *delaying*, and by their sottish negligence depriving the child of that visible means of grace which God hath allowed in his Church, both to parents and their children: which is the judgement of *Gregory Nazianzen*, one of the ablest Divines that the Church ever had. As a due debt unlimited to any day of payment, is every day due; so the favours of God, and *priviledges* of his Church, not precisely confined, but daily offered us, and not accepted, contract upon us a great sin, either of unbelief under the means, or affected negligence, *undervaluing* and ingratitude toward Divine Mercies: sins under which no *Christian* of a truly tender conscience will dare to lie seven yeares, no nor seven dayes, meerly upon the delays and scruples of his own or other mens both *foolish* and *sluggish hearts*.

As that *soul* among the Jews was *precisely cut off from the Church of God*, (both *parents* and *children*) who was not (unlesse in Gods connivence and speciall dispensation, as in the *fourty yeares pilgrimage* in the *wildernesse*) circumcised the *eighth day*; so may those among Christians justly seem to be cut off from the Church of Christ here and hereafter, which do presume to slight, neglect, and so not at all use Baptisme to their children, according as God gives them in the uncertainties of life both opportunity and *conveniency*. Gods leaving *some things* to our choice, *discretion* and *ingenuity*, must not be any remission, but an *excitation* to speedy duty, especially in settled *Churches*, where daily, at least weekly, opportunities are offered; which if denied by hot persecutions, the delay is more excusable, and (it may be) in some cases *commendable*, where parents have just cause to fear, lest their *baptized children* shall never attain by their *paternal care* such education as is correspondent to their Baptisme: In which

The sin of presumptuous delaying and denying baptisme to Infants.

Gr. Naz. orat. 40. de Baptis. An & eos baptizabimus qui (μὴ το ζῆμιαι μὴ τε χδεῖλα) nec damnum nec gratiam sentiunt? πᾶν το, ἀπὸρ τις ἐπὶ τοι κίτ. δουο, ita prorsus, si quod periculum urgeat. Praestat enim absq; sensu (ἀναδύται) sanctificari, quam sine sigillo & initiatione abscedere. ἀπαθὼν ἀσπερυσσὰ καὶ ἀτίλστα. a Gen. 17 14. b Joh. 5.

cases, I conceive, it was of old deferred; not because it was thought either unlawfull or undesirable in it self, to baptize *infants* born in the Church, but for feare of the mischiefs attending persecution, and sometimes the parents were cold and negligent in their duty.

If, I say, the time of *Baptisme* were left to our freedome, which it is not, as I have shewed; yet still the black *brand* and grosse *impudence* of such a *reproch*, *contempt*, and *errour*, as the ruder and spitefuller sort of *Anabaptists* cast upon this and all other *Christian Churches*, is most intolerable, while they dare to re-baptize such who have been once duly *baptized* (if it be indifferent when) in their infancy: which *re-baptizing* of such as were once duly baptized in the Church, was ever judged as much a *monster*, and most *insolent* in all *Christian Churches*, as it would have been to renew or repeat *circumcision* among the Jews, which was not so much in *expresse letter of Scripture* forbidden, as made indeed impossible in nature: nor is repeating of *Baptism* so expressly forbidden in the Word of God, where (*in Baptismo*) one *Baptisme* is mentioned, (which place the *Hemerobaptists* or *daily dippers* flighted) as indeed it is, and alwayes was excluded by the interpretation, tradition and practise of the *Catholick Church*; which no more allowed any to be *twice baptized* in Religion, or twice ordained to the Ministry, than twice born in nature: yea, this fancy, heresie, and novell *insolency*, was looked upon as the setting up of a new *Gospel*, another *Fesus*, and more Gods than one, as the ancient *Councils* and *Fathers* alwayes determined, even in the case of *S. Cyprians* candid errour. Against whose judgement, for invalidating, and so repeating *Baptisme*, where administred by *Hereticks* and obstinate *Schismatics*, the *Councils* both of *Africk*, *Europe*, and *Asia* determined, upon the ground of *Scripture* and *Primitive custome*; both as to the use of *Infant-baptisme*, and the not repeating of that or any other true *baptisme* once received. Both which being such *Catholick determinations* of the Church, it is, with me, not in the least degree disputable, whether I should chuse to conform to the *Churches universall testimony*, constant practise, and *primitive tradition*, in this and other modern disputes (as that of the government of Churches in larger distributions by *Bishops* above *Presbyters* and *Deacons*; so the use of the *Lords day*, instead of the *Judaick Sabbath*, &c.) which are conforme to the generall scope, tenour and direction of *Scripture*; or rather comply, both *sillily* and *shamefully*, with those modern captious novelties and perverse disputings of some private spirits of yesterday, who dare to cast so great jealousies, blame and dishonour upon the *Catholick Churches of Christ* in all ages and places, as not onely to suspect, but to proclaime them, both socially and singly, to have been either grossly ignorant, or most basely *unfaithfull*, as to what the *Apostles* had delivered to them for the mind and will of the Lord, either by *Epistle*, word, or Example.

No, I had far rather, with *humility* and *charity*, though in *infirmity* and *ignorance*, conform to the *Catholick Church* in *errors* and *mistakes*,
(not

Ephes 4.5.

Con. African.
can. 48.
Synod. Capuensis
an. 389.
Zonav. in Con.
Carthag. can. 53.

(not fundamentall or immorall, of which it never was guilty, nor will be) rather, I say, than by proud and pernicious *curiosity*, or by *scepticall* and *schismaticall novelty*, either blemish the Churches Integrity, or break its Unity.

Both which the *Anabaptists* ever have done, and ever will doe (since their first *eggshell* and *spawning* in *Germany*) by their endlesse and peevish litigations touching *Infant-baptisme*; which though to some it seem but a small and *circumstantiall* businesse, in point of time, yet the *scorn*, *contempt*, and *abhorrency* of the *Sacrament*, as applied to *infants*, is an error (as I have shewed) of so spreading a venome and dangerous consequences, that it tends to overthrow all that is or *hath been of religious polity* and *power* too, of *essence* and *order*, in this and all true *Churches*, of which we have any record in Scripture or other Writers.

CHAP. XIII.



Befides, this poysonous (and now so *swoln*) error of the *Anabaptists* in *Engl.* against *Infant-baptism*, is further sowed by other *seditions principles & infamous practises* attending that opinion, wherewith some of them have taught the world long ago in *Germany*, as lately in *England*, to beware, lest in stead of *water*, they baptize both *infants* and *elder people* with *blood* and *fire*, as proclaiming all to be no *Christians*, nor better than *Heathens*, who will not come to their new dippings. Their error is not *solitary*, nor the sting of their *schisme* either soft or blunt, or unvenomous; which doth not a little discover their opinion to be as far from the *Spirit of Christ*, as it is from the *mind, meaning, and intent of Christ in his Word*: nor are they now excusable (as *Luther* at first thought, but afterward recanted, when he saw the bad and bitter fruits of their new doctrine;) they cannot now with any colour plead *simple* or invincible *ignorance* (which, now, is boyled up by the heat of their spirits to *obstinacy*, *contumacy*, and *insolency* against this and all Churches both *peace* and *practise*) for they doe still boldly persist in their tedious error, after so many *Scripture-demonstrations*, cleared and confirmed by the *Catholick testimony* and *practise* of the *Church of Christ*. Nor is their judgement or practise in other things accompanied with such *meeknesse*, *modesty*, *charity*, *humility*, and *innocency*, as might render this a *veniall error*, or *tolerable difference*; which may grow as a weed (not very noxious or unfavoury) among many sweet flowers of *Graces*, *Vertues*, and good *Works*: like that of *S. Cyprian* in point of *rebaptizing* such as *Hereticks* had baptized; which *S. Austin* calls (in that holy man and *Martyr*) a *wart* or *mole* in a fair and candid breast, to be covered with the vail of *Christian charity*. But the *Anabaptistick* fury flies in the very face of this and all Churches, pulling out the very eyes of *Christi-*

The dangerous effects & principles of Anabaptisme.

Candidissimi peccatoris navus charitatis velo obtegendus. Aug. de Cypr. errore.

Hebr. 10. 32.

ans, by which they obtained their (*ourselves*) first illumination, as Baptisme was anciently called by the Fathers, and the Apostolick Author to the Hebrews: it not onely sheli picks at, but violently strives to overthrow the first foundation of all Christian Faith, Profession, Polity, Order, and Church-communion.

Hence, besides its novelty and heterodoxie, it riseth naturally from so presumptuous an error, to pertinence, sharpness, immutability, sedition, haughtiness, contempt of all Christian men and Magistrates too, who will not either receive, or connive at, this and other their imperious errors.

Who is there, Minister or other, that differs from them, be he never so sober, grave, and holy, but he must be vilified, reproched, and openly railed at, by their libellous & scurrilous, either pens or tongues? Their greatest spite and malice lies (as the Jesuits) most levelled and implacable against the best and ablest Ministers, who retain both Catholick Ordination and Baptisme; whose successfull labours and excellent lives do most confute this and all other novell fancies; while themselves are, by the blessing of God, justified to all the Christian world (not willingly blind) to be Ministers, not onely of the Letter and Water, but of the Spirit, Grace and Power. Such as desert Catholick Ordination and Government by Bishops, give greatest advantage to Anabaptists; for the pulling out of one corner-stone in a wall, makes way for others easily to follow. As all Anabaptists are against Bishops, so all the Ancients who are for Infant-baptism, as Catholick, are for Episcopall Government, even S. Jerome himself.

Not that I think all men, who, it may be, lesse approve Infant-baptisme, than that of elder years, conceiving that practise to be more clear in the letter of the Scripture, have the same calentures and cruell distempers; many of them, I hope, may have sincerity to God-ward, and charity to those Christians who in this differ from them. But I conceive the tumultuating, rude, violent, and uncharitable Anabaptists (with all their Spawn of other Sects) have greatly sinned against the Lord Christ, and against his Church, both in England and elsewhere, also against his servants the Ministers of all ages and places, whom they have most injuriously slandered, and shamefully treated with great scorn, malice, and all manner of indignities that were within their reach and power; whom I pray God to forgive, giving them that true repentance, which may redeem them from that gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity, in which they seem to lie: this is the worst I wish any of them. In order to which good desire, I thought it not amiss thus far to expresse my judgement, and as much as in me lies, to justify (after many others) in the point of Infant-baptisme, the doctrine and practise of my Mother the Church of England, and both its Fathers and Sons, who have suffered so undeservedly, and therefore complain so justly of, the mischiefs and miseries befall and threatening them, from this dangerous party and faction; who resolve never to be satisfied in their perverse disputes and endlesse janglings; who with one passe blow away all that concurrent strength, which in the behalf of Infants-baptisme is truly and solidly mustered up, from
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the Covenant of Grace, from the tenour of Scriptures, from the proportion of Evangelicall priviledges, from the relation which Christians in the Church have to God by Christ, from the Catholick custome and practise of all Churches old and new, from the joyned suffrages of all ^a Councils, Fathers, and Church-Historians. Against all which cloud and army of Witnesses, they bring onely two or three *literall allegati- ons*, partially and incompleatly interpreted. They boast much, but falsely, of *Tertullian* in this point, whom they forsake in many others; who was a *person*, though excellently learned, and of high parts, yet immoderately passionate, easily transported, and in that very point, as I have shewed, is either different from himself in other places, or to be understood in a ^b meaning *limited* and *occasionall*, either to the children of Heathens, yet untaught and unprofessing Christian Religion, or the children of Christians hurried up and down by *persecutions*, which in *Tertullians* times were, if not constant, yet very frequent. After him they have found in six hundred years one ^c *Walafridus Strabo*, who seemed to scruple *Infant-baptism*, as not of primitive use, but shews no grounds of his scruple: and at last *Ludovicus Vives*, in his ^d notes of late on *S. Austin de civitate Dei*, is produced as a witness against Antiquity; a *Papist* in all things else, and in this point differing from his own ^e *Church* and *Communion*, if it were his opinion and judgement; which I see no cause to believe, because he proveth nothing, he not thinking it *unlawfull* or *vain*, but (perhaps) not *absolutely necessary* to baptize all in infancy; to which ^f *Nazianzen* inclines, except in case of death. But all these are either single Doctors and private opinions, or *petty Pygmies* and *Mushromes*, compared to those ^g many *Heroes*, that *Lebanon* of tall *Cedars*, which were all *advocates* of *Infant-baptisme* in all Ages and Churches from the *Apostles* dayes. There is not any one of the *Ancients* doth *dogmatically* deny it as lawfull, or so far doubt and dispute it, as to question the usual and approved practise of it from all times; which *S. Austin* so vehemently affirms, that in his Epistle to *Volusia*, he sayes, *The* ^h *custom* of our Mother the Church in baptizing Infants, as it is not to be neglected as *superfluous*; so nor would it have been either practised or believed, unlesse it had been so delivered by the *Apostles*, as their undoubted sense and practise: which *Pelagius* did not, yea, could not with any colour deny, as ⁱ *S. Austin* observes, though it had much served his design about *original sin*, if he could in that point have baffled the *credit*, *custome* and *authority* of the *Catholick Church*: which ^k *S. Cyprian*, who lived in the *second Century*, so beyond all cavill or scruple, so *industriously* and *fully* sets down, that if there were no other *testimonies* of the *Ancients*, that alone would satisfie any sober man, being written, not upon any heat of dispute, but calmly and clearly, as of a matter ever done, and never under dispute in the Church to his dayes.

^a Conc. Carth. v. Milevir. an. 418. can. 11. Qui parvulos vocantes ab utero matris baptizandos negat, Anathema sit. Conc. Gerundense anno 517. Parvuli, si infirmi fuerint, etiam eadem die qua nati sunt, si oblatis fuerint, baptizentur. Can. 5. Conc. Bracerense an. 572. Precipiant episcopi ut infantes ad baptismum offerant. ^b Tert. de bapt. c. 18. Quid festinat innocens etas ad remissionem peccatorum? ^c Anno 850. de reb. eccl. c. 26. ^d Ludov. Vives in l. 1. c. 27. Aug. de civ. Dei. ^e Bellarm. de Baptif. c. 1. par. 3. ^f Sothe Council of Trent. ^g Naz. or. 40. de Bapt. ^h Propria, occulta & privata opinio, a communis, generalis, & publicae sententiae auctoritate secreta. Vin. Lib. c. 39. ⁱ Consuetudo matris ecclesiae in baptizandis parvulis nequaquam spernenda, nec omnino superflua deputanda, nec omnino cre-

denda, nisi Apostolica esset traditio. Aug. ep. ad Volustam. i Aug. l. 1. de pec. mer. & remis. c. 26. Parvulos baptizandos esse concedunt (Pelagiani.) Qui contra auctoritatem universalis ecclesiae praevidemus per Dominum & Apostolos traditum venire non possunt. k Ep. lib. 3. ep. 8. ad Fidum.

But I have in this part done more than I designed, in order to advance not strifes and further contention, but Christian peace and charity on all sides in this Church and Nation, as to those religious differences which are a great occasion of our miseries.

CHAP. XIV.

The Romish advantages by the divisions and deformities of the Church of England.



From the Deformities, Divisions, and Degeneration of Religion, also the Falsifications, Usurpations and Devastations, which of later years have been made by the violent sort of *Anabaptists* and other *furious Sectaries*, against the Unity and Authority, the Sanctity and Majesty of the Church of England, destroying its Primitive Order and Apostolick Government, its Catholick Succession, its holy Ordination, its happy and most successfull Ministry, to the great neglect and contempt of all holy ministrations and duties of Religion; I cannot but further intimate to your piety and prudence (O my honoured Country-men) that which is most notorious, and no lesse dangerous, both in religious and civil respects; namely, the great Advantages, Applauses and Increases, which the Roman, or Popall party daily gain against the Reformed Religion, as it was once wisely, honourably, and happily established, professed and maintained here in England: which is now looked upon by the more subtil, superstitious, and malicious sort of *Papists*, as deformed, divided, dissolved, desolated; so *conclamate* for dead, that they fail not with scom to boast, that in England we have now no Church, no Pastors, no Bishops, no Presbyters, no true Ministry, no holy Ministrations, no Order, no Unity, no Authority, no Reverence, as to things Divine or Ecclesiastick. Insomuch that we must in this sad posture, not onely despair of ever getting ground against the *Romanists*, by converting any of them from the errors of their way to the true Reformed Religion; but we must daily expect to lose ground to the *Popish party* and their Proselytes: there being no banks or piles now sufficient to keep the Sea of Rome from over-flowing or undermining us, in order to advance their restless interests; which have been, and still are, mightily promoted, not by the reverend Bishops and the other Episcopal Clergie (who are men of Learning, Piety, Prudence, and Martyr-like constancy) as some men with more Heat than Wit, more Spite than Truth, have in their mechanick and vulgar Oratory of late miserably and falsely declaimed; but by those who have most done the Popes work, while they have seemed most furiously to flie in the Popes face, as popularly zealous against Popery, and yet at the same time by a strange giddinesse, headinesse, and madnesse, they have risen up against that Mother-Church which bare them, and those Fathers in it, who heretofore mightily defended them and theirs from the talons and

and gripes of that *Roman Eagle*: and this not with childish scufflings or light skirmishings, to which manner of fight the illiterate weaknesse and rudenesse of our new Masters and Champions hath reduced those Controversies; but with such a *Panoply* or compleat Armour of *proof*, such sharp Weapons, such ponderous Engines, such rare dexterity of well-managed Powers, raised from all Learning, both Divine and Humane, that the high places and defences of *Rome* were not able to stand before them heretofore, when they were battered by our *Jewels*, our *Lakes*, our *Davenants*, our *Whites*, our *Halls*, our *Mortons*, our *Andrews*, and the late invincible *Usher*, who deserved to be *Primate*, not onely of *Ireland*, but of all the Protestant Forces in the world. All these were Bishops, Worthies of the first three, seconded in their ranks by able and orderly Presbyters, as *Whitakers*, *Perkins*, *Reynolds*, *Whites*, *Crakanthorps*, *Satliffs*, and innumerable others, while our Regiments were orderly, our Marchings comely, and our Forces both united and encouraged.

Whereas, now, there is no doubt but the mercilesse mowing down and scattering of the *Clergie of England*, like Hay, with the withering and decay of Government, Regularity and Order in this Church, these have infinitely contributed to the *Papall harvest*, and *Romish agitations*; the gleanings of whose *Emissaries* will soon amount to more than the *sheaves* of any the most zealous and reformed Ministers in England. By the *Papall interests* and advantages, I doe not mean the *Roman Clergies* preaching or propagating those Truths of *Christian Doctrine & Duties*, which (for the main) they profess in common with us and all Christian Churches: if any of them be thus piously industrious, I neither quarrell at them, nor envy their successes, but rather I should rejoyce in them, with *S. Paul*, because however *Christ crucified* is preached, by some whom common people will either more reverence, or sooner believe (than they generally doe the decayed, despised, & divided Ministers of Engl.) who seem to have (many of them) so small abilities, and carrying so little shew or pretence of any good authority for their work ministeriall; nor can they be potent or esteemed abroad, who are so impotent and disesteemed at home.

Phil. i. 18.

But I mean that *Papall Monarchy*, or *Ecclesiastical Tyranny*, by which the Church, or rather the *Court of Rome*, (by such sinister Arts and unjust Policies, as were shamefully used and discovered in the *Tridentine conventicle*) seeks to usurp and continue an *imperiall power* over all Churches and Bishops, as if there had been but one Apostle, or one Apostolick Church planted in the world; also to corrupt & abuse that ancient Purity, Simplicity, and Liberty of Religion, which was preserved among Primitive Churches and their coordinate Bishops: Further, without fear of God or reverence of man, opposing some *Divine Truths* and *undoubted institutions* of Christ, also imposing such *erroneous Doctrines* and *superstitious Opinions* upon all Christians, to be believed, and accordingly practised, as become not the *severity* and *sanctity* of true Religion; adding to that holy foundation (which was indeed first laid by the great Apostles, and continued happily for many

Acts 17.30.

ny hundred years, by the successive Bishops of Rome) those after-*superstructures*; not of *ceremonies* onely, which are tolerable (many of them, like feathers, making but little weight in Religion) but of corrupt *Doctrines*, and superstitious *Duties*, as seem (at best) impertinent to true Piety; but some of them are *erroneous*, *sacrilegious*, *pernicious*. In some things they are boldly adding to, or detracting from the *Doctrine* and *Institutions* of our blessed Lord *Jesus Christ*: in other things they impose, for *sacred* and *necessary*, such opinions and customs, which are but the *rust* and *drosse*, the *disease* and *deformity* of *Christian Religion*, contracted in the long ignorance, darknesse, and almost *barbarity* of times, which God winked at: but now they appear highly and justly *scandalous*, yea, intolerable to more *judicious* and lesse *credulous* Christians, who are very sensible, not onely of that offence, which many *Papal Injunctions* and *Observations* give to themselves, as Christians, but also to the very *Heathens*, to *Jewes*, and to *Mahometans*, who cannot reconcile in any Reason or Religion the *Idolatrous* use of *Images* and *Hoasts* among *Papists*, to which they must submit, if they will be in communion with them, or converted to be Christians; nor yet those *Tridentine Terrours* and *Anathemas* of eternall damnation, which are thundered by them against all those who will not, against Christs expresse Word, own as *Truth*, and submit to as necessary, those opinions and practises among *Papists*, which seem either *impious* or *impertinent*, as to true Faith and a good Conscience.

Against all which burthens (too heavy for any wise and generous Christians to bear, when once duly informed of the weight & danger of them, and duly reformed from them) as the great *Wisdom*, *Piety*, and *Order* of the *Ch. of Engl.* in its sacred Ministry and holy Ministrations, was heretofore the greatest *barre* and *bulwark* in all the *Christian world*: so the disadvantages of the *Reformed Religion* are now so palpable, and the danger of the people of this *Nation*, as so obvious in their returning to that *Egypt* and *Babylon* again, which is not the *Church of Rome*, but its disease and oppression; that I know not in *ordinary providence* any means can be used, or is left, to stop the daily prevalencies of *Popery*, and the great *Apostasie* of *England* to the Romish superstition and subjection in after-times, unlesse God stir up such *Wisdom*, *Zeal* and *Care* in those that have honest hearts joyned with publick power and influence, not so much to *fleece* and depreess *Popish Recusants* by *pecuniary exactions* (which is to set Religion to sale, and to make *merchandize* of *mens errors*, rather than fairly to perswade and win them by the proper and perswasive engines of true Religion;) but (rather) duly to restore and speedily assert the Honor, Order, Succession, Unity, Authority and Majesty of this *Reformed Church* and its *Catholick Ministry*: from which when the *Papists* see our selves to be such *profound Revolters*, with what face can we expect they should ever come in to our *Reformation*, which they now behold with joyfull and disdainfull eyes, so *mangled*, so *deformed*, so *massacred* by our own hands? How can we with Justice, Honour, or Humanity,

manity, inflict severe penalties upon *Papists*, as refusing to conform to our *Church and Religion*, when they protest, with so much truth, to our faces, they cannot see any *Church*, any *Religion* among us, as *uniform, publick, authentick, constant*: What (they say) formerly had the goodliest figure and fairest presence of a *Christian Church*, and the best *Reformed* of any, is now *deformed, ruined, demolished*; nothing but scattered *rafters* and pieces of that *ship-wreckt vessel* now appear floating up and down in a restless and foming sea of *faction, opposition and confusion*, between *Bishops, Ministers, and People*: some are *Episcopal*, others *Presbyterian*, a third sort *Independent*: all are disparate or opposite in *Discipline*, some are *Heterodox* in *Doctrine*: the *Anabaptists* rise against all, and the *Quakers* soare above all.

To which of all these, with *many other Sects*, shall an honest-hearted *Papist* apply himself, to be safe and settled in *Religion*? If to the poor and depressed *remains* of *Bishops*, and the *Episcopall Clergie*, who yet adhere to the *Church of England*; alas, they are weak and exhausted, contemned by many, pitied by some, but asserted by few or none, according to their true merit in former ages, or their present *Worth, Courage, Constancy and Patience* in this. If the *Romanists* go to the *Presbyterian party*, which like small shoots sprang out so thick in *England*, upon the cutting down of *Episcopacy*, to which they all formerly submitted, these, besides their *Levity, Parity, and Inconstancy*, as to their former *Stations, Opinions, and Oaths*, seem so unseasonably insolent, and magisterially domineering, before they had got a full and just *dominion*, that all sober men think them rather popular, plebeian, & impertinent in their heats, transports & passions, than so modest, wise, and grave, as becomes those who will undertake to wrest *Government* out of the hands of their *superiours and betters* every way, and to impose a *novelty* of *untried and undesired Discipline* upon such a great and stout Nation as *England* is; which disdaining the insolency of *Popes*, and offended at the indiscretion of some *Bishops*, will hardly ever bear the pertnesse of petty *Presbyters*, who cannot want *Vanity, Impudence and Arrogancy*, when they fancy themselves in a supremacy of Power above *People, Parliaments and Princes*: for they affect no less, as *Christs* due and theirs too. If the tossed *Romanists* run to the spruce and self-conceited *Independents* for shelter, because these *fine new Masters* seem to have *patents* for *Christian Liberty*, and urge a *Magna Charta* from *Christ*, to be accountable to none in matters of *Religion*, but their own little *Congregation, Church, or Body*, in which, as in an *Ecclesiastick Corporation* or *free Burrough* of *Religion*, they may hang and draw, exercise *high and low Justice* upon mens souls as they list in their little *Conventicles*; yet here the *poor Papist* finds so much of a rude and exotick *novelty*, such a grosse shew of *Schisme*, such variety, such an inconsistency, such a plebeian petulancy, such pitiful and ridiculous affectations, and arrogating of *Church-power* in some of the *pebs*, and such contempt of it in *others*, that he cannot think it is
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other than some pieces of *Josephs bloody coat*, or some *torn limbs of his body*, compared to what Splendour, Order, Strength, Beauty, Unity, Decency, and Majesty in Doctrine and Discipline, in Faith and holy Duties, was formerly to be observed, even to the envy & admiration of sober Papists, in the *Church of England*; how much more in the *Ancient and Catholick Churches* grand Combinations, from which these petty fractions and crumbings of Christians seem most abhorrent and dissonant?

This goodly Cedar, then, of the *Church of England* being thus broken and hewn down, and nothing like it, or comparable to it, planted in its room, but such *Shrubs* and *Mushrooms* as grow of themselves out of the rankness of the earth (vulgar humours and passions) under whose shade any Egyptian *Vermine*, *Frogs*, or *unclean Birds* may hide themselves; no wonder if the *Papists* triumph in their *sufferings* and *constancies*, if they despise all our *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *Anabaptistick*, and *fanatick Novelties*; if they rejoyce in that *vengeance* which they conclude God hath made upon our *Schismes*, *Errours*, *Obstinacies*, and *Persecutions* against them, by our mutuall *confusions*.

Hence must daily and necessarily follow secret inclinations and accessions to the *Roman party*, by all those who are not well grounded in the *Reformed Religion*, or not much prejudiced against the *Popish Errours*, or are indifferent for any *Religion* which is most easie or pleasing. These at length will warp to the *Roman party*, as the most specious of any: so that unless there be a speedy *restauration* of the honour of the *Church of England*, I see not how it is possible to prevent that *fatall relapse*, either to *Romish superstition* and *slavery*, or else to a *dreadfull persecution*, which will in time necessarily follow those *dissipations* and *destructions* of this *Reformed Church*, its *Ministry*, *Government* and *Religion*; which some men have already too much, & still do, beyond measure, so industriously promote, to the excessive joy and gratifying of the *Popish party* and *designes*, which are not onely invasive upon the *honour* and *freedom* of this *Nation*, but highly *scandalous* to our *Reformed Profession*, and dangerous to our *consciences*; especially as we yet stand convinced of the *Errours*, *Superstitions* and *Sacriledges* of the *Romish Religion*, since it lapsed from the *Primitive Institutions* of *Christ*, the *patterns* of the *Apostles*, the ancient *Communion* of *Christian Churches*, and the fraternal *Coordination* of *Bishops*, who were alwayes united in orderly, happy, and harmonious *Aristocracies*, rather than subordinate to any one *Monarchical Supremacy*, as to *Ecclesiasticall Power* and *Jurisdiction*: however they had such *regulation* and *primacy* of order, by *Patriarchs* and *Metropolitans* among *Bishops* and the *representers* of severall *Churches*, as became wise men, that were numerous when they met in great *Councils* or *Church-Assemblies*.

CH A P. XV.



Cannot but (here) recommend it to the most serious consideration of all wise and worthy Christians, who make conscience, and not policy, of Religion, as Christian and Reformed. That, however the soberest sort of Christians in Engl. do in many, and possibly in most

The wide and just distances between the Reformed and Romanists.

things necessary to salvation (which are not very numerous) agree both charitably and cheerfully with those of the Roman Church, as to our common Faith in Jesus Christ, and hope of Salvation by his merits, in the way of an holy life and good works; yet, as it will never be hoped, that the Papists shall return to a communion with us, while we are so divided among our selves, and daily excommunicating each other from Church, and Christ, and Heaven; so it will be very difficult and dangerous, both in point of conscience and prudence, of sin and safety, for you or your posterity, to return to a plenary and visible Communion with the Papal profession, or Roman Conventions: considering how we now stand convinced in our judgements, and so will many of your posterity ever be, untill all Books of controversy, which no purgatory Index can correct, are burnt or buried, by which you and they must needs be so well informed, as to be justly opposite and uncompliant to those Errors, Superstitions and Sacriledges, which the Roman party seeks to impose upon all those that will have visible communion with them; which no conscientious Christian can swallow down, when they appear to him not onely different from, but contradictory, in plain termes, to that Word of God, which themselves, with us, do own to be the rule of faith and manners, the measure of all true Religion: contrary to which, some of their Tenets, Injunctions and Practises seem to us, either to rob God of his peculiar honour, and omniscience, which is to search hearts, to heare and answer the prayers of our souls as well as our lips; or to rob Christ of the glory of his onely Merit, Mediation, Satisfaction, and Intercession for us; or lastly, to rob the Church of Christ of that pure and plenary perception of Christs holy Institutions and blessed Sacraments, to which they adde and detract as they please, performing religious offices, most-what, in such a language as most people cannot understand, and so not be edified, either in their judgements or affections; which ought, in all reason by holy duties, to be either more enlightened, or judiciously warmed and devoutly excited to the knowledge of God, to the love of Christ, to an holy Life and mutuall Charity.

To remove all which Deformities, Disorders and Indignities, put upon religious Mysteries by the Church of Rome, the Church of England, with great Prudence, Piety and Charity, did assert and restore to a Scripturall rectitude, primitive simplicity, and sober decency, the state of this Church and Nation, by a just, necessary, and prudent Reformation of those Romish Errors, Superfluities and Corruptions,

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which had with *great fraud and fallacy* prevailed upon this, as other parts of *Christendome* here in the Western world.

Which great and happy work of *due Reformation* was begun, carried on, and compleated, not by any forraign or intestine Swords, nor by *popular and tumultuary rudenesse* (as in many places) which are the odious methods of the *Devil* to blast, over-drive and pervert due and true *Reformation* in Churches or States; but in Gods peaceable, just, and holy way, by such *publick, lawful and complete Authority*, both Ecclesiasticall and Civil, as this *Church and Nation* had originally in it self, without any *authoritative or subordinate* dependance upon any forraign *State or Church, Prince or Prelate*: however it did in Charity so comply for many years, and correspond with the pristine renown and eminency of the Roman Church, as might most preserve Order and unity in the Christian world; till it felt, as well as saw, the Roman Yoke to be intolerable in honour and conscience.

Which *Independent and absolute State* of this *Church and Monarchy*, as to the originall right and power of it in it self, hath been *unan-*
swerably asserted, as by others, so of late by those very reverend, learned and judicious persons, who have made it their businesse in particular Tracts, to defend this *Church and Christian State*, from the just charge of any unjust *Schisme*, in respect of the *Roman Communion and Jurisdiction*, or *usurpation* rather; resuming upon good grounds, both as to *Divine and Humane Lawes*, that *supreme power* which is inherent and unalienable in this *Nation*, both in *Prince, Nobility, Prelates and People*, for the preserving of true Religion and reforming it, as need shall require, in order to the Honour, Peace and Happinesse, both of *Prince and People, Church and State*; who never did, nor indeed ever could, alienate or give away from themselves and their posterity, those primitive & ancient *Rights or Immunities* of the Nation, which if any had in the *darkness & drowziness* of times by great artifices and pretensions encroached upon, all Reason and Justice required, that when *Prince and People* awaked out of their *dreams* and superstitious *slumbers*, they should reassume those *honorary powers*, and *hereditary priviledges* of *Church and State*, which were cunningly lurch'd or filched from them, while they were dozed or asleep; without which the welfare of this polity and intire Nation, both in *secular and religious regards*, could not be preserved by *honest Magistrates, conscientious Ministers, or wise and valiant Princes*.

Yet, as our wise, godly, and sober *Reformers* (first and last) did, worthy of the Honour and Piety of this *Church and Nation*, vindicate the *civil and religious Rights* of both, in all necessary points and interests of Doctrine and Government: so their charity was no less cautious and commendable than their courage, in this, that as they did duly reforme what they thought amisse, and establish what they judged in Piety and Prudence best; so they did not by any *heat and fury* of popular transport, either *unnecessarily or uncharitably* affect to give any offence to the *Romanists*, by such distances as needlesse and groundlesse *Innovations* must needs occasion, either to that or any other

See B. Bramball, Sir Roger Twisden, Dr. Hammond of Schism.

other *Christian Church* in the world: with all whom they ever aimed, by their *moderation*, to preserve & merit a *Christian communion & correspondence*; not intending to *schismatize* or *separate* from them or their *Christian Predecessors*, as to any *Christian band and tie* of *Christian Verity* or *Charity*; not as to any point of *Faith*, *Morality* or *Sanctity*; not as to any *right Order* and *Catholick succession* of the *Evangelicall Ministry*; not as to that *Apostolick Government, Inspection* and *Authority*, which either was of old, or still is preserved in the *Roman Church*, or any other; nor, last of all, did they intend to vary from them in those things of *honest policy* and *decent ceremony*, which were most commended by the *Prudence* and *Piety* of *Antiquity*: onely they retained and rejected, as they thought most became this *Church* in the use of its *Liberty*, in matters *Ceremonial*; wherein the *Roman*, as all *Churches*, have like freedom left them, to be used with that *Modesty*, *Conscience* and *Charity*, which becomes all *Christian Churches*, without giving or receiving any offence; as *St. Ambrose* long ago expressed his sense to *S. Austin*:

But the aim of our *wise Reformers* (who rather chose to be *Martyrs & Confessors for the Truth*, than *popular Praters* or *Compliers with State-policies* and *private interests*) was onely this, to purge away that drosse and dust which *Christs floor* had contracted by *slovenly labourers* in his husbandry. They cast away the chaff, but retained the wheat well winnowed: they reformed those grosse *Superstitions* in *Prayer*, *Sacrileges* in *Sacraments*, *Superstuties* in *Ceremonies*, *Usurpations* as to this *Churches liberty* and *authority*, with all blind *Innovations* of later date (compared to true *primitive Antiquity*;) all which were as evidently discernable by the reformed or restored light of *Learning* and *Religion*, which God then brought into the *Christian world*, to be upon the face of the then *Roman Church*, as the leprosie of *Naaman* was upon *Gehazi's forehead*; if neither they nor we may be judges, but the *pregnant testimonies* of *holy Scriptures* evidently setting forth the *institutions of Christ*, the *Doctrine* and *Practises* of the *Apostles*, and the *primitive constitutions* of *Churches*. All these further cleared to us (if any thing be dark or dubious) by the *joynt and concurrent suffrages* of the first *Councils*, the ancient *Fathers*, and all *Ecclesiastical Historians*; which, together, ought to be valued far beyond the sense or example of the *Roman*, or any one particular *Church*, as the immovable bounds and unalterable measures of *true Religion*, as to the substance and essentials of it. Nor doth any particular *Church* (though heretofore never so justly famous, as that of *Rome* was) merit the *honourable name* and *title* of *Christs Church*, or *Catholick*, but rather of (so far) *Apostatick* and *Antichristian*, when the *Pastors* and *People* of it do, not by *insensible degrees & unawares* slide into venial errors and small abuses; but after so clear a light and conviction, as the last (*παλινογενία*) *regeneration* of *Learning* and *Religion* hath afforded these parts of the world, they yet wilfully and obstinately persist to corrupt, no lesse than pervert, the *Doctrine* and *Institutions* of *Christ Jesus*, who is the *great Pastor* of his *Church*, and chief Bi-

Matth. 17. 5.

Id pulcherrimum quod verissimum; illud verissimum quod antiquissimum.
Terr.

shop of our Souls, whose voice all parts of it ought *readily to heare*, and *humbly to obey* at all times, without regard to the *antiquity* or *prevalency* of any errors or abuses in former times; to which no time or use can give *authority* or *validity* against the first appointments of Christ, which are every way, as the ancientest, so the best, for Truth, Comfort and Safety, to any Church, and to every Christians Soul.

CHAP. XVI.

Irreconcilable differences between Reformed Truths and Romish Errors, which are as manifest and obstinate.



Shall not need (here) to enumerate at large, and in particular points, those many and great *differences* in Religion, which make *your* and *your posterities* return to the *Roman compliance* and *communion* impossible; if you have judgements to understand, or consciences to act according to their dictates out of the Word of God, understood in the sense of the *Catholick* Doctors and Councils of the first 600 years after Christ. The work is already done by so many able *Writers* in this Church, that it is needlesse to repeat, and scarce possible to adde more weight to what hath been by them alledged, to justify their protestation against, and reformation of the *errors*, *abuses* and *corruptions* of the *Church of Rome*.

Papists pertinacy against the true Canon of Scripture.

He that seriously considers the Fraud, Falsity and Pertinacy of the *Romanists* in that one grand point, the *Canon of the Scripture*, which is and must be (when all is done that Policy and Art can invent) the *main pillar* and *Standard* of true Religion, cannot but grow very jealous of their *honesty* in particular points of lesser concernments, when he shall see, beyond all reply or *forehead*, that they have in the *Council of Trent*, under the highest Anathemas or Curses of all that differ from them, assumed into the *Canon of Scriptures* divinely inspired, written and delivered to the *Church* as the *Word of God*, those *Apocryphal Books*, which however we (with the Ancient Churches) value according to their Worth, Truth, Credit and use, yet we receive them not into the *canon* or *rule* of Faith; because we find for certain, that neither the *Greek* nor *Latin* Churches of old, neither Jews nor Christians, Councils nor Fathers, for 1400 years, did ever so own or receive them. Which *Truth*, after many others, and beyond any other (if I may say it without envy) is exactly and fully cleared of *late* by a person, whose reputation formerly clouded by some *popular jealousies* (as to his Sincerity and Constancy in the Reformed Religion of the *Church of England*) deserves to have its true lustre for Love and Honour with every true *Protestant* at home, as he hath abroad, for that learned Industry, Courage and Honesty, which he hath shewed in that particular, to assert the main hinge of Religion, the *Canon of the Scriptures*, against the *Papists effrontery* in that particular; which hath engaged them in such a *Dilemma*, as is hard

Dr. Cosins his late History of the Scriptures.

hard to be avoyded by the greatest *sophisters* of the Roman party. For if the *Canon of the Scriptures* be such, as they now obtrude, including the *Apocryphall books*, then did their Church erre for so many hundred years before it so owned them for properly *Canonicall*; as *Cardinall Cajetan* confesseth, who saith, that all *Fathers and Councils* in their expressions as to the larger *Canon of Scriptures*, must be reduced *ad Hieronymi limam*, to *S. Jeroms* file. If the *Canon* be such, as we with the Ancient Churches, with *Iosephus*, *S. Jerom*, *Ruffinus*, the Council of *Laodicea*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *S. Austin* in his riper years, and others, did and do hold, as to the Old Testament; then is the *Church of Rome* now in a very great and obstinate error. So that one way or other the *Popes Infallibility* and his party is shrewdly endangered, unless they distinguish (to save their credit) the books into *Protocanonicos & Deuterocanonicos*, Books of Divine Authority and Ecclesiasticall use, as *Sixtus Sen. Bibl. l. 1.* and *Stapleton Fid. doct. l. 9. c. 6.* do.

Cajetan in c. 10. Esther.

Aug. de civ. Dei c. 36. & cont. 2. Gaudentii epif. c. 23.

Hieron. in Pro. Gal. & ad De-metriad.

Ruffi. in Symb.

To tell you further, how undigestible to sober Christians (because *Preter-scripturall* and *Anti-scripturall*) the Roman practise and opinion is, of worshipping and praying to *Saints departed*, and to *Angels*; of worshipping with *Divine worship* the *Images, Crosses, and Reliques*, which they so credulously and highly prize; their so unprofitable using of a Language in their Divine and publick Services, which to common people is not understood; so far from Religion and the Apostles Rule, that it is against all sense and reason, against the end of speech and devotion, which is to instruct or edifie the hearers; their *snarcs of celibacy*, and such vows as many have cause to repent full sore, either that they made them, or no better kept them. Adde to these, their profitable and popular imaginations of *Purgatory*, they applying not onely *Prayers*, but *Masses* and *Oblations*, *Pardons* and *Indulgences*, yea other mens *merits* besides Christs, to those that are *dead* as well as to the *living*: and this in so *mercenary a way*, as makes the most *ingenuous Papists* not a little ashamed, to see *Piety* so much a *servant to Policy*, and *Religion* a *lacquay to Superstition*. Adde to all these so oft decantated Instances of *Papall errors* and *presumptions*, which have so little Scripture for them, one enormous Error both in practise and opinion, which hath so much Scripture-evidence against it, as nothing can be desired more; yet in this, when we would have *healed Babylon*, she refused to be *healed*.

1 Corin. 14. 9.

1 Cor. 14. 19.

Jerem. 51. 9.

This is their so great, rude and sacrilegious *maiming* of the *Lords Supper*, by their partial *communicating* of the *Bread* only to the people, without the *Cup*; then their strange *racking of Christians Faith* against all sense and reason, nay beyond all *Scripture-phraze* and proportion of Sacramentall expressions, or mysterious predications, to believe they doe not receive so much as *Bread*, but another substance under the accidents and shews of *Bread*.

The sacrilegious obstinacy of Romanists in the Lords Supper, as to the Cup, &c.
* *Olim omnes fideles qualibet die cum sacerdote corpori & sanguini Christi communicabant.* Durand. Rat. off. div. l. 4.

What learned *Romanist* can deny, but that both *Clergy* and *Laitie* did, * for above a thousand years, receive the *Lords Supper* in both kinds, after the constant use of all Primitive Churches, the Apostles Practise,

Roman obstinacy and credulity in Transubstantiation.

B. ushers Answer to the Jesuits Challenge about real Presence.

Ποτήριον οὐκ ἐκ νεκρῶν
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
ἀνταρτίους,
πορρωτέρῃ καὶ
ἐνδοξότερα ἀνα-
φύεται. Iren.
l. i. c. 9.

a Lib. de corp.
& Sang. Christi.
Who lived an.
850. Videtur
agnus in mani-
bus, & crucis in
calice, &c.

Exod. 12. 21.
1 Cor. 5. 7.
1 Cor. 10. 4.
Ezek. 37. 11.
Gen. 41. 26.
Dan. 4. 22.

τὸν τῆς ἐν-
χαριστίας ἀγ-
ίου ὡς ἀλ-
φὴν ἐκ τοῦ τῆς
φύσεως Χριστοῦ
σαρκός.
Bertramus li. de
corp. & sang.
Christi. Panis
ille vinumque
figurat Christum
corpus & san-
guis existit.

Practice, and Christs Institution? Nor is there any more doubt, but that the ancient Churches received those *holy Mysteries* with an high *veneration* indeed of that *Body and Blood of Christ*, which was there-
by signified, conveyed and sealed to them in the *truth and merits of his Passion*; but yet without any *Divine Adoration* of the *Bread and Wine*, or any imagination that they were *transubstantiated* from their own seeming *Essence and Nature* to the very *Body and Blood of Christ*. Which fancy of (*Metemphosis*) changing the *Body and Sub-
stance of Sacramental signes* into the bodily *Substance* of the Thing *signified and represented* by them (as the incomparable *Primate of Ire-
land* hath observed out of *Irenaus*) began from the jugglings of one *Marcus* a *Greek Impostor*, or juggling *Presbyter*, who using long *Prayers* at the *Celebration* of the *Eucharist*, had some device to make the *Cup* and *Wine* appear of a *purple, or red and bloody colour*, that the people might think, at his *invocation* the *Grace* from above did distill *Blood* into the *Cup*. After this the *imagination* spread from *Greeks* to *Latins*, by popular and credulous fancies, promoted much by one *Paschasius Radbertus*, who in a legendary spirit tells us of *Flesh and Blood*, of a *Lamb* and a *little Child*, of appearing to those *Receivers* that were doubtfull of Christs corporall presence; so he tells of *limbs* and *little fingers* found in the *hands* and *mouths* of *Communicants*. From hence *Damasen* among the *Greeks*, and *P. Lombard* among the *Latins*, carried on this *credulity*, or vain *curiosity*, using all their wits to make good this strange and impossible transmutation of *disparate subjects* and *substances*: in which having nothing from *Sense* or *Reason*, *Nature* or *Philosophy*, from *Scripture*-Analogy, or *Sacramentall* and *Typicall* predication, frequent in *Scripture* (as the *Lamb* is called the *Passcover*, so *Christ* our *Passcover*; *Christ* the *Rock*, *Vine*, *Door*; these drie bones are the *house of Israel*; the *seven eares of corne* are *seven years*, &c. the *Tree is thou, O King*) to prove the *Miracle*, they flie to absolute *omnipotency*, whether *God* will or no, and shut out all rea-
soning from *Sense*, *Philosophy*, *Scripture*. Nor do they regard ancient *Fathers* and *Councils*: all which, though highly and justly magnify-
ing the great *Mystery*, yea, and the *Elements* consecrated, as related to and united with the *Body of Christ*, as *Signs* and *Seals* of its *Reality*, *Truth*, use and merit to a sinner; yet generally they held them to be *substantially* and *physically* *Bread and Wine*, but *sacramentally*, re-
latively, or *representatively* (onely) the *Body and Blood of Christ*: as the *Council of Constantinople* anno 754 consisting of 338 *Bishops*, did affirm, the *Bread* to be the *Body of Christ*, not *ἐν ὄντι*, but *διὰ τὸ*, not in sub-
stance, but in resemblance, use and appointment. Which *Doctrine*, as *Catholick*, was maintained to the *Emperour Carolus Calvus*, by *Bertramus* or *Patrannus*, anno 880. which was also maintained in *Eng-
land* by *Johannes Scotus* in King *Alfreds* time, untill *Lanfranks* days, anno 1060. who condemned that Book of *Scotus* about the *Sacra-
ment*, agreeable to the opinion of *Bertram*; whose *Homily* expref-
sing his judgement at large against *Transubstantiation*, was formerly read publickly in Churches on *Easter day*, in order to prepare men for

for the right understanding and due receiving the *Lords Supper*.

Nor did the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* obtain in the Church, untill the year 1225, when Pope *Innocent* the third in the Council of *Lateran* published it for an Oracle, That the Body and Blood of *Iesus Christ* are truly contained under the forms of Bread and Wine, the Bread being transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, and the Wine into the Blood of Christ, by the power of God.

Conc. Later.
c. i. Christi corpus & sanguis in Sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis & vini veraciter continentur; Transubstantiatis pane in corpus & vino in sanguinem divina potestate.

Hence followed the invention of *Concomitancy*, which presuming that the Communicant received under the accidents and shew of Bread, the whole Body of Christ, and so his Blood, it was judged rather superfluous than necessary (yea and lesse safe in some respects) for the Lay-people to receive the Cup, or Wine, and Blood of Christ apart, as he instituted, and the Church of old, even the Roman, constantly practised, as do the Greeks at this day, according to what Christ commanded, and in what sense he gave it, and called it *reall Bread and Wine*: for such he took, such he brake, such he blessed, such he gave to the Disciples, when he said, that is, this Bread, is my Body, this cup is my Blood; such *S. Paul* understood them to be, and so declares this the mind of Christ, as he had received it immediately from Christ, *The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?* For we are all partakers of that one Bread. So, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup unworthily. Let a man examine himself before he eat of that bread.

1 Cor. 10. 17.
1 Cor. 11. 27.

Certainly either the Apostles expressions must be affectedly very dark, and his meaning different from his words, or he was quite of another mind than the *Papists* are at this day, who durst, in the all-daring Council of *Trent*, damn all those who follow Christs example, use his words, and are of the Apostles judgement, expressing their sense of the blessed Sacrament in his words; which we think much safer to follow, both in the use of *Sacramentall Bread and Wine*, communicated to all Receivers, and in the perswasion we have of our receiving true Bread and Wine, yet duly consecrated, and so sacramentally united to the *reall Body and Blood of Christ*, which we faithfully behold, thankfully receive, and reverently adore in that blessed *Mysterie*, according to the ancient Faith, Judgement, Reverence and Devotion of the Church of Christ, void of sacrilegious novelties, and incredible superstitious vanities.

If we Christians of the reformed Church of England had no other wall of separation to keep us from the *Papall communion*, than these two so palpable and gross opinions, with their consequences, so rigidly enjoyned upon all Christians under pain of Gods eternall curse; yet both so dissonant from and opposite to the example of Christ and the words of the Apostle; these were sufficient to keep sober Christians at an eternall distance from them, lest (knowingly) partaking of their sins, and abetting their wilfull and obstinate sacrilege, we also partake of their punishment, who in vain serve God after the commandments and traditions of men, contrary to the Divine Word and Prescription.

Rev. 18. 4.
Mal. 15. 3, 6.

Nor

Joh. 14. 21, 24.

Nor will the *silly shifts* and *pitifull salvoes* serve here, which are used by some *Romanists*, whose Learning, Wit and Sophistry are all set on work to take off the *aspersions*, *odium* and *envy* of these grosse and rude Innovations. How childish & ridiculous is it to talk of the *Popes* imaginary *infallibility*, or the *Roman Churches* *usurped Supreme Authority*, in cases expressly contrary to the *Institution* of Christ, and the *Apostles* *explication*; from whom the Church of *Rome* professes to derive their *Religion*! Nor may they with any foreheads or modesty, becoming good Christians, so rudely *vary* from them; if they desire to have the *name* and *merit* of faithfull and good Christians; whose greatest Liberty, Duty and Honour is, if they *love Christ*, to keep his *commandements*, and neither for *pride* nor *policy* to warp from them, and after clear *remonstrances* to refuse to return in case of straying to a conformity with them: which *obstinacy* makes little for the *Popes* *infallibility*, or *Rome's* *supreme Authority*, never challenged by *Popes*, or owned by any other *Bishops* in the Church for 600 yeares after Christ, nor by *Pope Gregory* the Great, who, as an holy and humble Bishop, abhorred the title and pride of that name, *Universal Bishop*, as appears in his works, and others of the *Ancients*, of whom I gave a particular account in my *Hieraspistes*, p. 249. Yet these two are the *main hinges* on which the *unhappy disputes* of *Christendome* do turn, and the *chief anvils* on which the *animosities* between *Protestants* and *Papists* are now hammered, as otherwhere, so here in *England*. The ruine of which famous Church is the *greatest prize* which the *Romish party* hath gotten since *Luther's* dayes, who began, not without his passions and infirmities, that *pious Apostasie*; which being found just and holy, moved, as other Churches, so this of *England*, not to forsake the *communion of the Church of Rome*, so far as it was or is a *Church of Christ*, but onely so far as it seemed to have been oppressed with a *Synagogue of Satan*, deformed with such *sinfull deformities* and *sottish fedities*, besides their *Court-tyrannies*, as became no Christians to endure, who were either not in the dark (and so could see the need they had to get out of such a dungeon, full of mire and darknesse) or were at their *own dispose*, as was the state of the Nation and Church of *England*, depending on none, nor subject to any, but God alone.

These so oft *recocted Crambes of Popish controversies*, as I delight not to aggravate, so I am forced here to touch some of them, to shew you (*my honoured Countrey-men*) as what cause the *Church of England* had to *reform her self*, with what prudence she did it; so how inconsistent it must be with good *conscience*, for us in *Engl.* to *revert* to the *Popish Communion*, being of so different perswasions from them: which wretched *Apostasie* (being the grand design and agitation of *Roman Counsels*) will in time draw this Nation away from *Gods rectitudes* to *mans obliquities*, if the *Roman furnace* and *bellows* be so plied and advanced for them by these operators of severall *sects* and *factions*, whose end will be, whatever their aime is, quite to *melt down* the former *fashion* of the *Church of England*, and its well-

re-

reformed state of Religion, that it may by degrees run into the Roman mould and form.

CHAP. XVII.



Not that I repeat these differences, in order to encrease or continue *uncharitable bitterneſſes* among any good Christians, whoſe hearts are *honest*, though their judgments may be *erroneous*: the bleſſed God (who is both *light* and *love*) knoweth that I have not any deſign to *widen the ſad breaches of Chriſtendom*, or to hin-

Necessary ſeparation and diſtance from Rome, without uncharitable-
neſſe.
1 Joh. 1. 5.
& 4. 8.

der the *charitable closings* of them, ſo far as may ſtand with *good conſcience* and *Catholick truth*; whoſe rule and ground ought to be the *Word of God* rightly underſtood, which is its own beſt interpreter, and plain in thoſe things of Duty and Perſwaſion, of Faith and Devotion, which are moſt *neceſſary to ſalvation*.

2 Tim. 3. 16.

I confeſſe I cannot but vehemently approve (being now paſt *juvenile heats* and *popular fervours* in Religion) the pious and learned endeavours of thoſe excellent men, who after *Melanchthon*, *Caffander*, *Saravia*, *Wicelius*, *Thuanus*, *Grotius*, *Cafaubon*, and others, have not onely ſeriously deplored the ſad *rents* and *wounds* of *Chriſtian Churches*, but fought to pour in *Wine* and *Oyle* of *wholſome* and *unpaſſionate counſels*; not *palliating* apparent errors, yet not aggravating needleſſe *jealouſies*, nor inflaming *mutuall angers*, in order to gratifie either the ſacrilegious policies of *Princes*, or the pride of *Popes*, or the factiouſneſs of *people*.

I have no *Antipathies* in me, contracted by any Education, Cuſtome, or Acquaintance, againſt the Learned, Wiſe, and Worthy Romaniſts (or any others) either as men or Chriſtians: in both reſpects I love and eſteem them, for their many excellent parts and works, which are worthy of commendation and imitation. To them and their pious *predeceſſors*, with whom we in *England* once were in full communion, we thankfully owe (under God) (as did our *fore-fathers*) the ſucceſſive honour and happineſſe of our being baptized, and admitted to the *priviledges* of Chriſts flock and people: to them we owe that *conſervation*, for the main, of true *Religion* as Chriſtian (although it were wrapped up in ſome either rotten rags or unhandſome clouts (as Chriſt in the Manger) for many years,) the ſubſtance of which our *Reformation* in *England* no more changed, than the Angel did the perſon of *Jehoſhua* the high Prieſt, when he bid take away from him the *filthy garments wherewith he was clothed*, and to put on him *change of fair and goodly garments*. We owe to the *Romaniſts* (though ill husbands of Religion in later ages) that *Word* and thoſe *Sacraments*, which they conſerved and tranſmitted, like *candles* put into a dark lanterne; by which, when we came to open the *light ſide*, we ſaw both our and their *deviations* from the good old way, which is Gods right way: to which we rather chuſe to return

Zach. 3. 3, 4.

under the name of *pious novelty* and *just reformation*, than obstinately to continue with them in their *pristine aberrations* and *inveterate deformities*. Though they were our *Fathers* in Nature and Religion; yet we think it not onely lawfull for us, but our duty, without any brand of *disobedient children*, to cure that *leprosie* or Hereditary disease which we had contracted from them our lesse healthfull *parents*, especially when themselves have preserved for us and afforded to us that *receipt of Gods Word*, which teacheth and alloweth us the proper *medicine* and *cure*.

The successfull use of which is not more *comfortable* to us than *commendable* in us, notwithstanding our Progenitors obstinacy to continue in the same *deformed maladies*, after they have seen the happy *experiments* of its Vertues and Remedy upon us; who never gloried in, or designed any new *Christian Religion*, but onely the just Reformation and recovery of the *old* from those crazy distempers and dangerous diseases, which by ill times and ill orders it had contracted.

1 Cor. 13.

1 Pet. 4. 8.

1 Cor. 8. 7.

Vid. Papists
reply to Cha-
rity mistaken,
against Dr.
Potters offer of
Charity.

I well know how little all *Religion* signifies without *charity*; that, next to grosse *Ignorance*, *Immorality*, *Unbelief*, and *Impenitence*, *Uncharitablenesse* is the *pest* and *poyson* of the Soul, which infects beyond the *Antidote* of *Gifts*, *good works* and *Miracles*. I consider that many imperfections and failings are *veniall* with true *charity*, which covers a *multitude of sins of infirmities*; but no *perfections* are acceptable to God, or available to the enjoyer of them, if destitute of *charity*: that the measure of a Christian is more by his *heart*, than his *head*, by his humble and honest *affections* than his high and puffing *speculations*: that in the bosome of the Church, as many perish by the rock of *uncharitablenesse*, as the flats of *ignorance*. Therefore, however I see the *Papists* are most-what so *supercilious* and *high in the in-step*, that they not onely deny us Protestants of all sorts, even the most noble, sober and moderate (which were in the *Church of England*) their *charity*, but they despise all our *charity* to them; yet I cannot think it my duty to requite *evil with evil*, or uncharitablenesse in them with the like *unchristian passion* in my self, but rather to requite *evil with good*, to commend what is good in them, to own with *thanks* any good from them, to *pray* for them, to be ready to do all *offices of Christian love* to them, to keep all inward *Christian communion* with them, and to be cheerfully disposed to exercise all *actual communion* with them, in all such holy *Doctrines* and *Duties* of Christian Faith & Worship, as agree to the *Word of God*, and the mind of Christ, which are the *centre* and *circumference* of all *Ecclesiasticall union*: that as the guilt and fault of *Schisme* and *Herefie* is retorted on both sides; so, I trust, it will onely be charged there, where wilfull *Errour* and *Uncharitablenesse* are found, but not on the Integrity and Candour of those who are onely driven and forced so farre from *visible communion*, because they doe withdraw from what they saw to be grosse *Errour*, *Idolatry*, or *Superstition*, according to the *rule of Christs Word*; and triall of his *Institution*, evidently cleared by the *Apostles* and

and Primitive Churches. Contrary to all which, unlesse we will (even this whole *Church of England*) wholly comply with the *Popes Interests* and *Roman Errours*, they loudly *excommunicate* us, renouncing all *communion* with us, as with *Schismatics* and *Hereticks*, fitter for fire and faggot than *Christian fellowship*.

This notwithstanding on the *Romanists* part, yet I think it my part, and all true lovers of *Reformation* and *Christian Union*, not to slacken or abate that *Charity* and *Christian good will*, which is due to all men, and especially those that professe to be *Christs Disciples*, of the Household of Faith, where the Sick and Lame and Blind are parts of the Polity, and Members of the Oeconomy or Family; to pray night and day impartially, that God would remove out of his Church on all sides, whatever doth offend his pure eyes, and any good *Christian*; that he would give both *Protestants* and *Papists* grace, unpassionately to consider from whence the one are false by humane policies, and to what the other transported by popular zelotries; that whatever pride and peevishness is on either side, might be composed and laid aside, by such *Generall Synods*, *Free Councils*, and *Christian correspondencies*, as might bring forth some happy accord and harmony among *Christian Churches*; that those sad and superstitious principles of everlasting *Schisme* might be removed, by which on one side they think, because in many things they were right, therefore in nothing they could erre; on the other side, because in some things men have mistaken and erred, therefore they can be in nothing right: for to this height both *Papall* and *Antipapall* Christians are come, that each thinks their greatest piety consists in perfect and implacable *Antipathies*; that their most commendable Zeale for Religion is that which is farthest from moderation, Christian temper or Charity; that where they like not all, they must loathe all; that nothing is (afterward) (with good conscience) to be used which hath once been abused; that all things must be popularly cried up, either upon the account of their *Antiquity* or *Novelty*, without regard to that *verity* and *charity* which are the life and quintessence of true Christianity.

Although I shall, by Gods gracious assistance, keep that station and distance from *Papish Errours*, where my judgement and conscience, guided by Gods Word, hath set me; yet to leave the *Romanists* without excuse, as much as in me lies, I doe most earnestly desire, and should most industriously promote, such a *Christian* and *Catholick* accord, as were most for the honour of Christ and the peace of *Christendome*. I know the youthfull fervours of some are jealous of all such motions, and for fear of seeming luke-warme, they resolve to boyle over all bounds, till they quench both Truth and Charity among Christians, and make way for *Atheisme*, *Turcisme*, *Confusion* and *Barburity*. These hotter heads possibly dread what I calmly desire; that such a grand *Catholick Convention* of able *Ecclesiasticks* in these Western Churches might, by the consent of Princes and chief Magistrates, be so orderly convened with Free-

dome, Impartiality and due Authority, as might enable them to consent in one *Canon* or *rule of Faith* and *good manners*; that the clear and concurrent *sense of Scriptures* might be owned by all, in which all things *necessary* are contained either literally, or by just deductions; that what is *dark* or *dubious* should be left *indifferently* to Christians use and judgements; that all would agree in the same ancient *fundamentall Articles of Faith*, contained in *primitive Creeds*, also in the same *Sacraments*, or *holy Mysteries*, to be devoutly celebrated, so in the same way of *good works* to be practised; that we might all have the same *Catechise*, the same *publick Liturgies*, so composed, that all Christians might with Faith and Charity say *Amen* to them, and in their severall *Languages* understand them; that a *Commentary* on *Scriptures*, and *Sermons* containing all Christian necessary *Doctrine*, might be agreed upon; that neither *curiosities* nor *controversies* should be couched in *publick Prayers* or *Preachings*; that all might enjoy the same *Catholick Source* and course of *Ecclesiastick Ordination, Ministry, and Authority*; so tempering *Government* and *Discipline* in the Church, that none should justly think others too much *exalted*, nor themselves too much *depressed*; that *Catholick Customes, ancient Ceremonies* and *Traditions*, truly such, being consonant to Gods Word, and practically interpreting the *meaning* of it, might be observed by all, leaving yet such freedome in other things to *particular Churches*, as might be most convenient, yet still subordinate to, and to be regulated by, the judgement of such a *General Council*, contrary to which none should affect extravagant liberty, to the ruine of Christian Charity.

Blessed Lord! What good Christian could be injured by such a *Christian accord* in the *main concernments* of Religion, which cannot be *impossible* in the nature of the thing, because it was *of old* enjoyed, and many hundreds of years generally preserved among all *Christians* and *Churches*, of any name and repute in all the world? Nor did either the heat of *Persecution* or *Prosperity* (as warm and soultry weather) dispirit this *charity* of Christians; who might still be as capable subjects of so great a *blessing* from God on earth, if *Passion, Prejudice, Partiality* and *private interests* on all hands were *laid aside*, without parting with any true and reall interest that concerns a wise or good man, either in *Conscience* or *Honour*, in civil or religious regards.

CHAP. XVIII.



High blessed accord, so good and so pleasant to behold, how much more to enjoy, being not onely possible, but most desirable and commendable among all good Christians, two great Impediments or obstructions seem to me chiefly to hinder, as to man (besides our ill deservings on all sides at Gods hands:) which, however I do not hope by my weak shoulders to remove, they being like the Grave-stone on Christs Sepulchre, whose sad and massy weight requires some mighty Angel from heaven to do it; yet I cannot but here express my sense of them the more sensibly, by how much I see the miserable distractions of the poor Church of England, and the advantages given by some mens late immoderations and madneses, to alienate the very best and soberest of the Roman party from all propensity or thoughts of any happy close, by reforming, and so reconciling the parts of divided and distracted Christendome. Which evil effect (now more exasperated than ever) I here instance in, as one of the saddest consequences following the divided, dissolved and deplored state of this Church of Engl. which was the grand mirror or example of Christianity and Reformation, from which neither Romanists nor others did so much withdraw by many degrees heretofore, as now they do.

The first great hinderance is, that extreme pertinacy and height of those of the Roman party, who so much magnifie themselves, their chief Bishop, their Church and Communion, upon the specious names of Antiquity, Infallibility, and Primacy, as if no Church or Christians in the world were to be considered, other then as novices, ignorants and underlings, in comparison of the Roman Name and Majesty. Their Antiquity is not denied by sober men, but their great Age is evidently attended with many decayes and infirmities, which are novelties; from which even primitive Churches were not wholly free, both as to Humane frailty and Divine reproofs, as we read in the Epistles of the Apostles, and of Christ to the seven Churches. Nor doe I know any priviledge the Roman Church hath above others, unlesse they could make good their Infallibility, either as to their chief Bishop, or as to any Council, in which he should preside. That their persons have erred in Doctrine and Moralities, that they have varied from, and clashed against each other in their publick Decrees and Councils, yea and from not onely pious Antiquity, but the Scripture-verity, is so evident in what my self have here lightly touched, and others amply demonstrated, that no ingenuous and honest Romanist at this day can deny it.

For the affected Supremacy or Primacy which they so glory in and challenge, not onely before, but above and over all Churches, not as a matter of order and precedency, but of power and authority; as there is no Law of God which requires this, or any Church so farre to own that

Two grand Obstructions of all Christian accommodation in these Western Churches,

Mar. 28. 24

1. Great Bar, The Roman Pride.

Rev. 2. & 3.

that of *Rome*, or to be *subject to it*; so nor did the ancient *Ecclesiastical Lawes* and *distinctions* lay more to the *Roman Inspection* or *Jurisdiction*, than the *Suburbicarian Regions*, which extended 100 miles from the City. That the *Roman Bishop* was owned, as the first or chief *Patriarch*, in Order and Precedency, in Place or Vote, was not a regard to the *persons of the Bishops*, or their *authority*, as if it were more than *other Bishops* by any *Divine* or *Humane right*, but a regard to the *pristine Majesty of the City*, and the *Apostolick eminency* of that Church, in which the two great Apostles, *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, had not onely placed much of their *pains*, but ended their *lives*.

Lay aside the *Roman pomp* and *insolency*, no sober man but will allow the *Bishop of Rome* his *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical Primacy*, as King *James* and other Protestant Princes offered long ago: nor would any of the great *Reformers*, *Luther*, or *Calvin*, or *Cranmer*, have grudged this, if the *Bishop of Rome* would have submitted either to a *General Council*, or to the *Word of Christ*. If the *Roman Arrogancy* will needs claim and usurp more than its due (which was heretofore rather invaded and challenged by them, and connived or winked at by others, than ever given or granted to them by any power of *lawfull donation* or *concession*;) yet this cannot hold good by any former *subtily* on their part, or *simplicity* on the part of this or any Nation and Church, to the prejudice of that *fundamental Liberty* and *Honour*, which are inseparable from the free people of this Nation and Church, as men and as Christians, untill the *Roman power* hath made them *Vassals* again, as a *conquered Nation*, and *dependent Church* upon that *Scepter* and *Mitre* too: which thing as yet was never done since *Rome* was Christian, and, I hope, never will be.

How much more worthy of the Learning, Prudence, Antiquity, Gravity, seeming Piety and affected Majesty of that *Roman Church*, were it, for them to glory in nothing so much as in the *knowledge of Jesus Christ* and *him crucified*; in conforming all things of Religion to his Word and example, which hath the truest *Antiquity*, onely *Infallibility* and *eminency* upon it; yea, and where they see, as by the *light of the Sun* at noon-day, there hath been either *aberration* from, or addition to the *rule* and *pattern* of Christ, through the ignorance, or error, or policy of former Ages and Persons, there to return with such holy and handsome *Reformations* to a *conformity* with Christ and the ancient *Roman purity*, as will make no lesse for the glory of the present *Church of Rome*, than it was some *eclipse* and *diminution* to their predecessors, to suffer so much *tares* to be scattered among *Christ's good wheat*, which by *Apostolick hands* was first *sown* and *watered*, to mighty *increases* for many hundreds of year? The misery is, when knowing and learned men grow *wilfull*, and serve their own and other mens *secular interests* more than that of *Christ* and mens souls, they chuse rather to *over-load* the *foundation* of Religion, than to lighten it of *needlelesse superstructures*. How little could it hurt them, honestly to restore the *cup* to the people, as was sometimes done to the *Bohemians*, at the importunity of the *Nobility* and *Clergy*,
and

and offered to *Queen Elizabeth*, as *Sir Roger Twisden* proves, provided she would acknowledge the Popes *Supremacy*; where (as *Luther* urged against *Eccius*) if the *Blood of Christ*, as is pretended by Papists, be given Lay-men by *concomitancy* with the *Bread or Body*, sure they are as capable of the Cup in Christs method, as in mans novelty and variation? What could it lessen the Romanists, if Christians being on all sides taught the *reall presence of Christs Body and Blood*, with the *benefits of them* in the Sacrament truly offered, and reverently received by every *worthy Communicant*, the *modus* of the Presence were left undefined, uninforced upon any Christians belief, after the *primitive freedome*; which rather *admired and adored* that *Mystery*, than *disputed* it, or *determined* precisely of it?

So in other things, as *praying to Angels and Saints*, *worshipping before Images*, *praying and offering for the dead*, in order to *mend their condition*; how would it no way abate *Christian verity*, or *comfort*, or *charity*, to lay these Superstructures of straw and stubble aside, when we all believe that we have by Faith in Christ *accesse* to the *Throne of Grace*? besides, men would more take care to *live and die holily*, when they lesse expect *other mens devotions to relieve them after death*. These and many other humane and impertinent, because unprofitable, *additional*s to *Sacraments* and *holy Duties*, how easily might they be spared without any losse to Religion, as with great advantages to Christian and Catholick Communion? Nor should these just *Reformations* prove any *diminution* to the estates or honours of the *Roman Church-men*, if I might have any vote or influence in so happy an *agreement*; which last jealousies and feares in matter of Honour and Estate, are, I believe, the great wall of *partition and terrour*, that keeps off and *scares* the wary *Romanists* from any thought of *Reformation*, since they see the *Deformities*, *Uncertainties*, *Beggeries*, *Ruines* and *Vastations*, which at last follow some mens *Reformations* of Religion, of *Churches* and *Church-men*, if they be suffered to run on as far as popular humours have a mind to gratifie their passions with the *Spoils* and *Scorns* of Religion and *Church-men*.

This indeed is, in my judgement, the second *great bar*, the *unmovable obstruction* and *unexcusable scandall*, which lies in the way of any Reconciliation, faire Accommodation, and Christian Communion among these *Western Churches*: which in all probability might, by Gods blessing, have much advanced ere this time, not onely *just Reformations* of what was really amisse, but *happy Unions*, in stead of those *Rents and Separations* which are now every where *predominant*, if those of the *Roman party* had seen those *sober bounds*, that *Christian moderation*, and those *uniform fixations* among *Reformers*, in their Doctrine and Manners, which did become so good a work as *Reformation* is. Nor were the most sober, learned, grave and impartiall of the *Romanists* so much against such a discreet and settled *Reformation*, as they saw flourished in *England*, beyond any *Church* in all the world, in which *due regard* was had to *Primitive Order*, and *Catholick Antiquity*, to the just rewards and dignities of *Church-men*, together

2. Great Bar;
The transports
of Reformers.

See M. Hookers
Preface to his
Ecccl. Pol.

ther with the *sanctity & solemnity* of true Religion, until they discovered that *immoderation, violence, unsatisfiedness, tumultuariness, giddiness* and *transport*, which long ago, even here in *Engl. murmured* and *mutinied* against the *Happinesse* and *Honour* of this flourishing *Church* and *State*; mens *Prejudices, Passions, and private Interests, tyrannizing* over their *Reason, Religion, Charity, Obedience, and Consciences*, still clamouring for further *Reformation, and threatening violence*, if they might not every one set up their *fancies in Religion*, under the name of *through-Reformation*, and bring in *intolerable licentiousness*, under the colour of *Christian Liberty*, talking so much of the *pattern in the mount*, till they have laid this *Church* and its *Religion* in the *valley of death* and *shadow of darknesse*; so eager not to have an *hoof left in Egypt*, that they have engaged themselves and this whole *Church* into a *red sea*, and brought it to an *howling wilderness*: nor is it easie to be seen, without *multiplied miracles*, how they will ever bring *Christian Religion* to any *land of Canaan*, a *state of rest* or due *Reformation*, either here in *England*, or other-where.

Which we must ever despair (hereafter) to see. make any progresse among the *Romanists*, either as to private mens *perswasions*, or whole *Churches Reformations*; especially since the late *terrors* of some *English Super-reformers* have given so loud an *alarm* to all wise *Princes* and sober *People*, especially to all prudent *Church-men*, assuring them that there is neither *bottom* nor *bounds* of some mens *preposterous reformations*: their *spirits* are the *black Abyſus* of *immodesty, injustice, disloyalty, cruelty, sacrilege, inhumanity, barbarity*; their *teeming fancies* are *everlastingly spawning* with new *inventions*; their *restlesse humours* are *always like a Sea* ebbing and flowing, casting up *mire and dirt*; their *lunatick Religion* aims to abolish the use of all *those things* which have at any time been abused, though never so holy and good in their *use and institution*: they condemn every *House, every Church*, as well *materiall as rationall*, to *Ruine* and utter *Desolation*, on whose *walls* they fancy there are, or ever have been, any *spots of leprosie* or *superstition*, though neither *incurable, nor infectious*, nor indeed any way dangerous to *Religion* or mens *Salvation*: yea, they have such *malevolent, spitefull and envious principles* in their *spitefull and gainfull Reformations*, that they judge all things in *Religion* to be *unclean*, out of which they may make any *temporall gain* or *benefit*; that *Bells and Steeples, Cups and Chalicees, Churches and Chancels, Glebes and Tithes*, all *Ecclesiastick Honours* and *Revenues*, are *Popish, Superstitious, Antichristian*, never sufficiently reformed, till utterly *alienated*, and confiscated to the *publick Exchequer*, or their *private purses*; that neither *Church* nor *Church-men* are duly or thoroughly reformed, till they are made like a *barren wilderness*, who were as the *garden of God*; till, like *Naomi*, they be empty and destitute of all *worldly comforts* and *supports*; till they look like *Pharaoh's lean Kine*; till *Ministers* preach and pray themselves into absolute *hunger* and *thirst*, their *souls fainting within them*, and their *eyes failing*, while in *vain* they look to be *satisfied with bread*.

These

These are the holy sparks, these the blessed flames of *uncharitable* and *unquenchable* zeale, which the *Romanists* see burning in some mens *reforming* breasts, so long, till they become *predatorious* and *adulterous*, *consumptionary* and *culinary*, *false* and *base* fires, which are not to be maintained, but by such sacred fuel as pristine Piety, Charity and Munificence bestowed on the *Church* and *Church-men*, for Gods service and Christs sake. Thus *covetous* hands and *sacrilegious* hearts hold the nose of Religion so long to the *grindstone* of their *Reformations*, till they have utterly defaced the Justice and Charity, the Order and Beauty of Christian Religion: nothing is well reformed (they think) while there is any thing left, at which they can repine, either in the *hospitable* houses or at the *charitable* tables of *Church-men*.

Certainly the *Romanists* must needs be eternally resolved against such *Reformations*, as follow the dictates of mens *stomacks* more than their *consciences*, and serve mens *bellies* more than the Lord, whom they scruple not to rob and *spoyl*, while they pretend to purge his *Temple* and reform his *Ministers*, ever finding fault with the Church, while any thing is left to *Church-men*, or any booty yet to be extorted from the *Clergy*; never thinking them or their Religion sufficiently *circumcised*, till they are quite *excoriated*, *exsected*, *eunuchised*, that is, made so poor and *dispirited*, so mean and *embased*, that they are wholly unfit and unable to do any thing that is Generous, Ample, or Charitable, either in their Studies, Preaching, or Living; aspiring no higher than that *vulgar softnesse* and *popular easinesse* of some mens praying and preaching, which costs men of *competent boldnesse* and *voluble tongues* neither much Study, Charge nor Pains, beyond a few hours loose *meditating*, and as much time in confident Praying or Preaching, as raw and confused notions can stretch into.

When once the *Clergy* (or Ministers of Christs Church) are thus reduced to be as poor and mean in Spirits, Parts, and Estates, as *hackney horses*, which have long journeys to go, and little provender given them to eat; when *Ministers* of the Gospel, the Preachers and Professors of Divinity, are (one and all) *levelled* to the condition of *Peasants* in *France*, or *Boors* in *Germany*, when they are endowed with *Scotch stomachs* and *stipends*, either at the mercy of the *impropriating Laird*, or at the sad charity of godly and well-affected people to Mammon; when *Church-men* appeare in *England*, as they have for the most part in other *Reformed Churches* (and now in many places here) *thred-bare*, *indigent*, *necessitous*, exposed to all *shamefull* and *mechanick shifts*: Then, O then, these *gracious Sacrilegists* and godly Reformers can at once endure them and despise them, without finding any great fault with them, when they find nothing but beggery and ignorance attending them; then their Preachers shall be what they will, in Title and Name, *Apostles*, *Evangelists*, *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, *Moderators*, *Pastors*, *Shepherds*, *Angels*, *gracious* and *precious men*, men of God, &c. though they be never such *silly sots*, *shamelesse sycophants*, and *slavish flatterers*, either to Prince or People; provided they neither have nor crave any thing. It matters not how

little Learning, Piety, or Prudence they have, provided they have no *courage* in their hearts, and no *money* in their purses: they will not then dare to have many *reproofs* in their *mouths* against their good *Masters* and *Dames*, their *Lords* and *Ladies*, upon whose *Alms* and *Trenchers* they must feed, and upon whose *Frowns* or *Favours* they either *thrive* or *starve*.

CHAP. XIX.

The equity & charity of severe and sacrilegious Reformings.



His, this hath been the *project* and *plat-forme* at which some *mens* *Reformation* hath aimed, even here in *England*, the better to perswade *Papists* to renounce their *Superstition*, and embrace the *Reformed Religion*, which (like a sharp *Razor* or *keen Ax*) however it hath yet spared some *Underwood* and *Copices* of *inferiour Ministers*, *Presbyters* and *Independents* most what (for the better *shelter* and *cover* of their *designs*;) yet they have *felled* to the ground all the *fairest trees* and *choicest timber*, whose *bark*, *boughes* and *bodies* afforded most *aboumage* to the *fellers*: Not that these *rees* were *uselesse* or *fruitlesse*, *faplesse* or *decayed* in this *Church*; but some *Reformers* had *evil eyes* at their *goodly bark* and *breadth*, their *stately heights* and *tops*. What *wise* and *impartiall* men at *home* or *abroad*, in *present* or *after-ages*, but must, and doe *confesse*, that the greatest faults of most of the *dignified Clergy* in *England* were their *fair Houses* and *Revenues*, their *Manours* and *Honours*? For they were never legally charged or convinced (either as to their *Persons* in particular, or their *Functions* in generall, as *Archbishops* or *Bishops*, *Deans* or *Prebends*) of any such *misdeemeanours* as deserved, by any *Law* of *God* or *Man*, the *forfeiture* of all their *lawfull Enjoyments* and *Ecclesiastick Preferments*; which were as the just *rewards* of their *personall Worth* and *private learning*, to the *publick*, *nationall*, and *honorary encouragements* of their *calling* and *profession*, to the *dignifying* of *Christian Religion*, and the *magnifying* of *wise* and *moderate Reformations*; such as became the *Honour*, *Piety*, *Gratitude*, *Munificence* and *Majesty* of this *English Nation*, towards its *God* and its *Clergy*, being blest of *God* with *abundance* of all good things, and no lesse with excellent *Governours* and able *Preachers*, as well *Bishops* as *Presbyters*, who well deserved whatever the *pristine noblenesse* and *bounty* of this *State* had bestowed on men of *Learning* and *Desert*, as *publick Ministers* of *Religion* sent from *God* to his *Church*: whose true and just *reformation* was no *diminution* to their just *enjoyments*, or *deserved preferments*; that so it might be no *discouragement*, *check* or *hinderance* to others, from embracing such an innocent *reformation* of *Christian Religion*, as consisted with *Piety*, *Equity*, and *Charity*, with the *Glory* of *God*, the good of *mens Souls*; also with the *Dignity* of *Church-men*, and the *Honour* of this *Nation*.

Contrary

Contrary to, and destructive of all which, many men, as in other places, so of late in this *Ch. of Engl.* (which was the most complete pattern of excellent Reformation, keeping a mean between *doting antiquity* and *affected Novelty*, between *Papall Superstition* and *popular Immoderation*) have discovered such ill will and *envious eyes*, not onely against the *Clergy* and *Church of England*, (which was heretofore honourably and handsomely reformed) but against all *National Churches*, and *orderly Ecclesiasticks* in such Churches; that they do not think it enough (as *Calvin*, *Beza*, and the *Augustan Confessors* at first did) for *Bishops* and *Church-men* to forsake their convicted Errours, and amend their scandalous Manners, where they are really amiss; but these severe *Super-reformers* expect, yea, forcibly require, that all *Clergy-men* should be so sordidly tame and plebeianly patient, as not onely with silence to permit, but with a *Scotizing zeal* humbly to invite, to the utter ruine, as of their Order and Function, so of their Honours and Enjoyments, those *Lay-ravens*, *Cormorants*, and *Harpies*, who can not onely devour and digest the *Libraries* and *Household-stuffe*, the *Livings* and *Estates*, the *Flesh* and *Blood* of *Bishops* and other *Church-men*, but like *Ostriches* they can greedily devour and wonderfully digest the *Timber*, *Lead*, *Stones*, *Iron* and *Glasse* of all *materiall Churches*. There are many *throats* so wide, and *gules* so gluttonous in *England*, that they can swallow down goodly *Cathedrals*, *Bishops large Houses*, whole *Colledges* and *Chapters*, with many large *Manours*, as easily as gilded pills in *syrup*: Thus *reforming Churches* and *Church-men*, by rising them of all their publick *Patrimony* and *Endowments*, till *Churches* and *Church-men* are left, like the *poor man* in the *Gospel*, *naked* and *wounded*, exposed to the transient, extemporary and arbitrary *Charities* of such as shall passe by; who, like the *Priest* and *Pharisee*, may be great *professors*, but little *relievers* of Religion or religious men, who owe their *Wounds* and *Necessities* to such rude, unjust, and cruell *reformers*, who loudly command all *Romish Churches* and *Church-men* to abhor such *Reformation*, as their ruine and utter undoing.

For these wild and vile *methods of reforming* will do as much good, in order to win upon the *Papists*, or to stop the prevailing and spreading of *Popery*, as the *Popes exactions* are wont to do upon the *Fewes*, in order to their conversion; who (as *Sir Edwin Sands* tells us) must forgoe all their *Estates* when they turn *Christian*, to shew the sincerity of their conversion; that so his Holiness may have the happiness of the *Confiscation*, as they will have of their poor Conversion: a *threshold* (certainly) so high, at the very *Church-porch* or entrance to *Christianity*, and so to any wise mans *reformation*, that few will ever desire to go over it, into any *Church* or *Reformed Profession* of Religion.

Sir Ed. Sands's Survey of the Western Churches.

Therefore I judge it a most cruel principle and scandalous practise (taken up by some sharp *Anabaptists* and other hungry *Factionists* here in *England*, fomented by some subtil *Jesuits*, in order to make the *Reformed Religion* odious and ridiculous to all the world) which

Aqs 3.6.

seeks to treat all worthy *Bishops*, true *Ministers* and *deserving Church-men*, after such a base & penurious rate, that tells the world they cannot be worthy *Preachers* in their esteem, till they be not worth a groat; never sufficiently reformed, till they be quite ruined; never truly holy, till they are deadly hungry; then onely throughly reformed and purged of all their dross, when they may truly and sadly say with S. Peter, *Silver and Gold have we none, either for Charity, Hospitality, Civility, or Necessity.*

1 Tim. 5. 17.

Which *Apostolick poverty* and *Primitive beggary* hath been of late years, and still is, the state of many *venerable Bishops* and other worthy *Clergy-men* in *England*, and is threatned to all, in order to make good that *Canon of the Apostle*, which requires *double honour* to those that rule well, and labour in the Word and Doctrine. How much it hath been, will be, or is ever like to be, to the further advance of any true Reformation here or elsewhere; how worthy measure it is to be meted to reverend *Bishops* and other grave *Ministers*, that had not criminally offended any Law of God or Man; how worthy it is of the Honor and Magnificence of this Church and Nation, I leave to God, to all good men, and specially to your selves (*O my nobler-minded country-men*) to consider of and judge; who are witnesses with me, how many grave *Bishops*, and other both great and good *Divines*, have lived many moneths, nay many years, as they do to this day, meerly upon extraordinary providences, or small pirtances, attending many times *Elias* his *merciful Ravens*, miraculously to feed their famished Souls and distressed Families.

Noble and potent *encouragements* (no doubt) to invite the *Romanists* at home or abroad, or any other prudent persons that have either wit or sense, to embrace such a reformed Profession of Religion, which (besides other Novelties and Scandals, not easily washed away or excused) hath that brand of *Sacriledge* upon its hands and forehead, spoiling its chief Professors and Preachers of that *double Honour* (*Maintenance* and *Reverence*) which in persecuting times were zealously paid to the *Pastors* and *Bishops* of the Church, who, after the new modes of some mens covetous and cruel reformings, must be stripped of all those Honours and Enjoyments which pristine Piety and Bounty consecrated to Gods Glory, his Churches Service, and the encouragement of his Ministers: who, having difficulties enough in other respects to contend withall, ought in all Reason and Conscience to be redeemed from the intolerable pressures of poverty and contempt; especially in an age which is wantonly wicked, and impiously petulant against all Governours, especially those that are spiritual.

CHAP. XX.



Or is this *sin* of *sacrilegious severity* to be *palliated*, as some *Polititians* and *Parasites* endeavour, by pleading, 1. That the *Estates* of *Bishops* and *Cathedrals* were in few mens hands; 2. That the generality of the *Clergy* was untouched and unconcerned in them;

The excuses and pleas for sacrilegious excesses answered.

3. That what they had was too much for them; 4. That *Religion* had no advantage by them; 5. That the *Publick* needed those *Revenues* for other uses; 6. That some amends hath been made to the *Church*, by many *Augmentations* given to small *Living*s and godly *Ministers*.

All these are *Fig-leaves*, which cannot cover the *shame* of that *Sin*, nor absolve the consciences of the *Doers* and *Approvers*. To each of *them* it may be replied, 1. Though they were in the hands of few men, yet these had a just and personall right to *those Estates*, no way forfeited by their misdemeanours; no one honest man, to gratifie a multitude, may be injured or deprived of what is his *own* by all *Laws* of God and Man. 2. *Bishops*, *Deans* and *Prebends*, though they were few men *comparatively*, yet influentially they were many, by the eminency of their *Places*, their *Learning* and their *Preferments*; which though few persons could actually enjoy, yet many were encouraged and excited by their example, to deserve such preferments by their worth, though they never attained them. 3. They were great decorations & advantages of *Honor* & *publick Respect*, given by the *Nation* to the whole *Function* of the *Ministry*, as the *Ornament* of the *Head* and *Eyes* are the *Crown* and *Glory* to all parts of the *Body*. 4. To say those *Preferments* and *Revenues* which some *Churchmen* enjoyed, were too much for them, is a speech more worthy of *Nabals*, *Judasses*, *Ananias*, and *Sulians*, than of *Just*, *Gratefull*, and *Reformed Christians*: they must have very *evil eyes* against God, his *Church*, and his *Ministers*, who grudge those means as too much for twenty, nay an hundred of them, which some one *Lay-man* can now possesse and engrosse; whose worth, for *Piety*, *Learning*, *Charity*, *Hospitality*, or any usefull *Vertue*, is not comparable to the meanest of those men whose *Estate* he enjoys, and whose *Bread* he eats. 5. If there had been no other advantages to *Religion* by those *Preferments*, *Dignities*, and *Revenues*, but this, that so it became the *Honour*, *Justice*, and *Policy* of our *Reformation*, both for the avoyding of *Rapine* or *Sacriledge*, also for the encouragement of the prime *Pastors* of the *Church*, to conciliate respect both to them, and in them to all other *Ministers*; these had been reasons enough, beside the *Merits* of the persons, and *Justice* of their property, to have preserved their *Estates* from such *spoyl*. 6. For the *publick need* of *Church-revenues*, and *Churchmens Estates*; as no honest *Man*, so no wise and worthy *State*; ever needs any thing which he cannot with

Ans.

with justice attain; no mans or States *Necessities* can justifie *Injuries* against any one man, much lesse against many, and those Church-men, yea deserving Church-men. 7. Besides, they that pretended the publick want of these *Ecclesiastick Revenues*, had farre greater of their own; nor should the *Ewe-lamb* have been taken away from the Church, where the State had so many rich *Flocks*: in publick necessities the *Priests Lands* should be last spent or invaded, after the method of *Joseph's Piety*; nor should they be ever quite *alienated*, though their Revenue were for a time *borrowed*. 8. God knowes there was in *England* no such necessity, but Plenty, Superfluity and Luxury; however *Lay-men* should rather *begge*, than *rob* God or his Church. 9. Nor was ever either *Prince*, or *Nation*, or *Family* the richer (in a few yeares) which fettered their nests by *Church-revenues*. Witnesse our *Henry the 8.* who took away vast Estates, both movable and immovable, from *Monasteries* and other Collegiate Churches (which seemed but the superfluities of Religion, the wens and excrescencies of a Church) yet he spent more still, and left the *Crown* much poorer than he found it: witnesse also his great Engine the *L. Cromwell*, who got an Estate neer to the value of 2000 l. *per ann.* yet a little before the *Kings death* he lost his *Head*; and in the third generation the Heir of his Family exchanged the last remnant of all that estate in *Eng.* for a little Land in *Ireland*, where he might live lesse noted and molested by Law-suits. Commonly *Sacriledge* makes an evil bargain, even as to this world, but ever as to another. 10. Lastly, as to the *amends* made by laying some *Impropriations*, and by them making *Augmentations* to some Ministers Livings; these are but a few *feathers* in stead of the *body* of a fair *Fowl*; nor are they upon other termes than *arbitrary Donations*, not *fixed Revenues*. The mending of small and incompetent Livings is a work worthy of the Honour, Riches, and Piety of this Nation; but *Peter* ought not to be *robbed* to *pay Paul*: the waters of the *Sons of the Prophets* might have been healed without stopping up the *wells* and *fountains* of their *Fathers* and their *Assistants*, which were of old from many Generations; which hath given great scandall both to *Reformed* and *Roman Churches*: few will ever desire such Reformati^ons, as extirpate *Bishops*, and confiscate all *Church-revenues*.

CHAP. XXI.



*C*ertainly covetous Principles and sacrilegious Practices are more pernicious to true Religion, both as to the Profession and Power of it, than any superstition can be, that holds the foundation: For Superstition is but as an Itch, or Scab, which may easily be healed, and Religion restored to its Health and Beauty, as was

Sacriledge a great pest to Religion and stop to Reformation.

done in England; but Sacriledge is a Canker, which eats up the flesh, and frets the very sinews and bones of Religion, defacing and destroying all the Beauty and Loveliness, all the Strength and Stability of Religion, all its Honour and Majesty, as to outward Polity and visible Profession; yea, and it infinitely abates all the inward power of it, as to the Reverence, Value, and Love of it in mens hearts. Superstition is but as Mistletoe, which (in time) may grow upon old fruit-trees, which are of a good kind, and it may easily be pruned off; but Sacriledge is like the very peeling or barking of a tree round about, which will infallibly starve the Tree, and in a short time quite kill it.

Besides, Sacriledge hath greater insinuations and temptations on mens minds than Superstition, in as much as worldly Lusts or earthly Affections urge more upon men, than those that are of a pious and spiritual notion, such as move to Superstition by a kind of over-boiling or excess of Devotion, which makes men prodigall of their Estates & Lives too: But Sacriledge is a Mischief so levelled to those covetous, envious and despitefull humours which are naturally predominant in mens hearts, that every one is prone to be courted by it, to be tempted and inclined to it, out of hopes that some gain may accrue to them by the spoils of the Church and robbery of Religion. Hence many common people heretofore seeming to be godly and peaceable Christians, when once the hope of gain appeared (though never so filthy lucre) have been suddenly and strangely zealous to drive the principal Pastors of the Flock, and chief Shepherds of this Church, out of their Estates and Honours, to utter Poverty and Contempt, under the colour and clamour of Reformation; which was (as they pretended) to be so mended and perfected, as might invite all the world, Papists and others, to admire, imitate and embrace the Beauty of such a Bride, such a new Jerusalem coming down from Heaven, but in a storm and whirlwind of Civil and Ecclesiastick dissensions, between which it was to be stripped of its chiefest Ornaments and Encouragements, and must have henceforth either no Bishops and orderly Ministers, or these no ample Estates or due respect; no double honour, beyond what Tenuity and Contempt afford. Which festring scratches have no more the true lineaments or marks of religious and liberall Reformation, than Baboons, Apes and Monkeys have of humane Beauty, Procerity and Majesty.

Titus 1. 10.

That

1 Tim. 6. 10. That *maxime* of the *Apostle* is in no experience more verified than in those of the *Churches* interests and true Religion, That *Covetousnesse* or *love of Money* is the *root of all evil*: for it doth not onely *famish* the souls of such *rapacious wretches* of all true grace and comforts, rising either from the love of God, or the care of their own and their brothers spiritual and eternal good; but it *prompts* them to all manner of *injurious evils*: it being impossible they should be truly *holy* in any kind, who are so *unjust* and *unthankfull* in the *highest degree*, despising their God (whose property or peculiar *Church-revenues* are) also his *chief Ministers*, who being by God and man appointed to *feed the flock of Christ*, ought not themselves to be famished or debased; no nor should they want (much lesse be undeservedly deprived of) those temporall encouragements in the *work of the Lord*, or *Gods husbandry*, which give both *credit, authority* and *comfort* to true Religion, in times of Peace, and in a land of Plenty.

2 Tim. 3. 3.

Of which Blessings when once true Religion is miserably spoiled, and so exposed in its Ministry and Order to all Distresses and Scorns, no man can wonder if *Popish Superstition*, and all *Factions* of ungodly Appetites, do mightily thrive and improve by the ruines of such *Reformed Religion*; no wonder if *Atheisme* and *Irreligion*, if *barrennesse* and *leannesse*, if *Egyptian darknesse* and *death*, prevail in a short time over such people and their poor plebeian *Pastors* too, whose blood will be required of those *sacrilegious Reformers*, who shall thus deform reformed Religion, impoverish a famous *Church* and flourishing *Clergy*, embase a rich, a renowned, and an ancient *Christian Nation*, to the indignity and injury of the *publick*, as well as the danger of their own *private souls*; to whom that sin of *Sacrilege* is rarely forgiven, because they seldome have the grace truly to *repent* of it; for Repentance cannot be true (as *S. Austin* saith) unlesse *restitution* be made, which few *Sacrilegists* ever do, or dream of.

Job 31. 12.

Hence (as the learned *Sir Henry Spelman* observes, by instances of his particular experience in many Families) further growes that *moth*, not onely of mens *consciences*, but of their *Estates*, which devours them unlesibly; a *secreet pest of Families*, which destroyes at length all their *encrease*: which that learned Knight had observed within sixteen miles compasse of his own dwelling in *Norfolk*, where so many *Estates*, first raised out of *Abbey-lands*, were now quite extinct, or almost undone; but so many others in the same compasse, continued in flourishing or competent conditions, who were of far ancienter standing, and not enriched with any *Sacrilege*; for so he esteemed the dissolving of religious Houses, destroying of Churches, &c. of whose *Superstition* and *Forfeiture* true Religion should have had the advantage; as the censers were holy, in which strange Fire was offer'd.

Num. 16. 39.

Yet might that former *Confiscation*, which devoured so many Churches, Chappels, and Religious and Superstitious Houses, seem modest and veniall, in respect of some mens later attempts and designs against all serled maintenance of Ministers. A *Christian Church* might well subsist, as those in primitive times did, without *Monks* and

and Nuns, without *Monasteries* and *Nunneries*, without *Abbots* and *Abbeses*, without *Abbies* and *Priories*; but not well, if at all, without *Pastors* and *Governours*, *Bishops* and *Presbyters*: these were *Primitive*, *Apostolick*, after *Christs own pattern*, followed by all Churches in the world, necessary to the *well-being*, yea to the complete *being* of a Church, in any Order, Policy, and regular Communion. Nor is the *honourable support* of Church-Governours and Ministers more *comely* than *necessary*, upon *politick* as well as *Ecclesiastick* Principles, either by occasional *Donatives*, and spontaneous *Oblations*, as in times of primitive Zeal and Persecution, or else by settled *Dedications* and fixed *Revenues*, which were afterward in times of Peace plentifully given to God and his Church, for the support and honour of an Able, Hospitable and Charitable *Ministry*. As it had been *high Sacrilege* to have taken away, by stealth or force, those portions which were given to *Ministers*, when their *Presbyters* were yet (*sportularii*) depending on the *bag* and *basket* of *Christians oblations*, and the *Bishops dispensations*; so is it no less sin to take away those *settled Revenues*, which were invested in God for the use of his *Servants*, the *Governours*, *Guides*, and *Ministers* of his Church, both for their Maintenance and Honour. Injuries are no less in taking away Lands than Goods from men that are the *just owners* of them; nor doth the Clergy in these evil times more stand in need of convenient Sustenance than due Respect and Reverence, which is hardly had where Poverty appears.

Yet since the *noon-day of Reformation* hath gloriously shined and continued in this *Western world*, this (*Meridianus Daemon*) *sin of Sacrilege* (as rankest vermine breed in warmest weather, and horridest *Monsters* are gendred in richest Soiles) hath grown most bold and violent, an *Epidemicall* & unblushing sin, aspiring to so full and unrestrained a *Liberty*, as hath not onely much afflicted other *Reformed Churches* long ago (of which great complaint was made by *Luther* in *Germany*, and *Knox* in *Scotland*, before they died) but the *venome* and *infection* is come into the rich and generous Nation of *England*, to so pernicious a measure and degree, that it reacheth from the *crown of the head* to the *sole of the foot*.

Heretofore (indeed) *Sacrilege* was not so much a *Plebeian* as *Princely sin*, the attempt not of *Pygmies* but of *Giants*, not of the *Populacy*, but of *Popes*, of *Kings*, of great *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*; these onely durst adventure to put so rude *affronts* on God and his Church, by alienating, defrauding, detaining, appropriating & confiscating what they could of *holy things*: against which adventurous Sin many learned and worthy men, in all Ages and Countreys (as in *Engl.*) as well *Lay-men* as *Ecclesiasticks*, have wrote by most *unrepliable demonstrations* from the *Law of Nature* and *Nations*, from principles of Reason and Religion, from Scripture Canons and imperiall Constitutions; all which nothing but a covetous *violence* and blind *fury* can *gainstay* or *resist*.

But now (while the *Prince* abhorred *Sacrilege* no less than *Idolatry*)

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See the excellent History of Scotland by the Arch-Bish. of S. Andr. in the life of Mr. Knox.

B. Andrews
ὁ πανν.
Dr. Barjere,
Sir H. Spelm.
Sir J. a. Semple,
and others against Sacrilege.

every petty, pragmatick, yea poor peasant, dares to adventure upon sacrilegious projects and practises: 'tis sport to common people to plunder & pull down Churches, to deprive Ministers of their legal & Evangelical Maintenance, to strip this Church of its ancient Portion and honorable Patrimony, which is the *fuel* and *oyle* to keep the holy Fire of Devotion on the *Altar* of God, and the bright-shining Flame of true Doctrine in the *Lamps* of the Temple: 'tis now the Presumption and Ambition of mechanick and vulgar Spirits to rob God of his Service, People of their able and honourable Ministers, the *Flock of Christ* of its worthy Shepherds, and the *Souls of people* of those sacred Portions and Provisions, which are in order to an Eternal Life. The meanest peoples impudence dares (now) to dispute, detract, usurp, profane, confound, and challenge as their own, *all things sacred*, both the Work and the Reward, by a Spirit so licentious and insolent, that it is thought (by many of them) a great offence, for any man to write or preach against this enormous and crying sin of *Sacrilege*; yea, many Ministers, in other things of hot spirits and sharp tongues, yet in this are (*βωβου*) mealy-mouth'd, of soft and filken tongues, and therefore doe not, because they dare not, in the least sort, quench against this odious sin of *Sacrilege*.

* Malac. 3. 8.

Quod si sacrum sacro
crove consecra-
tum clepserit
vapseritque par-
ricida esto. Lex.
12. Tab. l. 1.
cod. Justin.

Rom. 2. 22.

Θεὸς μὴ ἀν-
εξέρχεται μὴ ἀ-
νὼν ἢ ἀνθρώπων
ἱερεῶν.
Cl. Alex.
Tetrius peccat
Deum ludifi-
cans quam neg-
ligens. Ibid.

Sit anima mea
cum Philo-
phis.

Which the very light of Nature abhorred as *Parricide*, and Hea-
thens condemned as the Murther of Parents; which the true God
implies by his earnest *expostulation* and sharp *redargution* to the Jews,
* Will a man rob God? (that is, any man that is not a Beast) but ye
have robbed me, even this whole Nation, by acting and assenting; for
the Sin is not less crying or criminous, because a popular or nationall
sin. The Jews granted it parallel, yea superiour to Idolatry, as the
Apostles Appeal to a mans Conscience inferres, Thou that abhorrest
Idols, dost thou commit *Sacrilege*? Idolaters own a God, or Gods, under
the Names and Figures of Idols; whom they honour and adorn with
costly Temples, great Gifts and large Revenues, even to a prodigali-
ty: but *Sacrilegists* either own no God, or they mock their God, ma-
king a *spoyl* and *sport*, a *play* and a *prey* of their *Numen*; which is the
highest indignity can be offered to the Deity; as rising from such
vile and Atheisticall Principles, which worse presume thus to de-
fraud and abuse their God, than not at all to own him or deny him.
Nor have there been wanting such signall strokes of providence in all
Ages, avenging this Sin even in the eyes of the Heathens, that men
could not but confesse, Doubtless there is a God that judgeth the
earth.

And certainly, as among Christians this sin of *Sacrilege* is at this
day a great scandal to all Jews, Mahometans and Heathens; so among
Protestants or the Reformed Christians, it is no less offence to Pa-
pists, and an obstruction to their Reformation: for as Averroes chose
rather to bequeath his soul to herd at last with Philosophers, than
with the Papists, who profess to worship, and yet to eat their bread of
God; so many Papists resolve rather to live and die in their liberall
superstition, than conform to these penurious Reformers, who make

no scruple to worship, and yet to rob their God, to steal from him with their hands (like holy Cut-purses) while they speak to him, and look him familiarly in the face as Friends.

That I may speak my mind freely, in this point, before I die (out of love to my God and Saviour, to his Church, to my Countrey, to the honour of true Reformed Religion, and the happinesse of Posterity) I confesse this sin of Sacriledge seemes to me, as of the greatest magnitude, so of the saddest weight, and most malignant presage, against, not onely private Persons and Families, but against any Church and Nation that owns the true God, and his Son Jesus Christ, in their Worship, Ministry, Order and Service. Nothing portends greater Maladies and Plagues of Religion, than when this Comet blazeth in any Christian Church or State. Commonly great Ebbs of Learning and Religion, with great Floods of Ignorance and Atheism do follow, when nothing is counted sacred and inviolable; when all things are counted godly which are gainfull, and reforming which are ravening; when (upon any civil Fewds and Breaches, wherein Church-men cannot but be one way or other involved) Lay-men presently think they have (as the plunder of War) a good title, not onely to the Libraries and Lands, the personal Goods and Estates of particular Ministers, but even to the constant Revenues and perpetual Patrimony, wherewith the Church is endowed in the name and right of God Almighty, for the Order, Honour and Support of his Worship and Service. Nor do many covetous wretches make any scruple what they do in this kind, if they have an Order under the hands of such as have power in their hands: as if any Order or Act of any poor Mortals (made but yesterday) could either prejudice and annull, or out and dispossesse God or his Church, or his lawfull Ministers, of those just Rights, Titles, Donations, Possessions, and Acquisitions, which either a Ministers private and honest Industry hath, by Gods blessing and the favour of the Laws, obtained, and no way forfeited, or which other mens Piety and Bounty hath humbly and thankfully long ago devoted to God, his Church, his Service, and his Ministers, agreeable to the lawes of the Land, and the will of God, who commands us to honour him with our substance, graciously accepts such gratefull oblations from us, and precisely forbids us so far to mock him, as not to pay our own voves, much more to rob him of the fruits of other mens devotion and voves, whose Donors sealed and confirmed those their (Anathameta) holy Gifts and Consecrations to God and his Church, with dreadfull execrations and just imprecations of Divine Vengeance, on any that shall presume to alienate the Gift from God, and violate the last Will of those pious Benefactors, who are dead many ages ago. Truly I cannot see how either Committees, or Soul-diers, or Parliaments, or Princes (all of them but momentary poore worms, clothed in specious pompous Titles) can pretend any good Title or Authority to Gods derogation and diminution, who is the Lord Paramount, the principal and proprietor in the Churches Estate, and in Church-mens publick Goods, which they have upon the ac-

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Prov. 3. 9.
Mal. 1. 10.
Mal. 3. 8.
Prov. 20. 25.
Eccles. 5. 4.

Prov. 20. 25. It
is a snare to the
man who de-
voureth that
which is holy,
and after voves
maketh inquiry.

count of his ſervice, as his *ſalary* and reward; for which his *Word* is not onely a ſufficient Juſtification to Givers and Enjoyers, but it ought to be a ſufficient Caution from ever ſharking and alienating thoſe things which are not (*bona caduca & mobilia*, but *ſucceſſiva & perpetua*) momentary and movable goods, but ought to be as laſting as true Religion and the Service of God among mankind.

Nor do I think this execrable ſin of *Sacrilege* more deſperate and damnable in its chief Authors, firſt Actors and Abettors (dying impenitent, that is, without reſtitution) than infectious, peſtilent & damageable to Poſterity and After-ages, who after this example will, like Locuſts and Caterpillers, in time, not onely devour all things that are holy, and leave nothing but Beggery, Contempt, Plebeian and Stipendiary Dependency, for the Alimony, Honor and Encouragement of Gods conſtant Miniſters and holy Miniſtrations; but infinitely diſcourage all Chriſtian Liberality, Gratitude and Munificence, from dedicating any thing of ſetled Emolument to the Service of God and uſe of his Church, which will be in worſe condition than the ordinary Hoſpitals, or the Halls and Companies of London, who are capable of any Endowments. Which I more fear, becauſe I find that the moſt popular, panick, and compliant Preachers, who, in all thoſe ruffling times wherein this Sin marched moſt furioſly and triumphantly, have had many opportunities to have given ſome check and ſtop to it by their preaching or writing before both the great and the many; yet not one of all thoſe grand Maſters (otherwiſe Boanergeſſes, Sons of Thunder enough) have ever (that I have heard or ſeen) ſaln upon this execrable ſin of *Sacrilege*, by pen or tongue, to reprove it or reſpreſſe it: nay ſome of my own coat have made no bones to be Actors and Applauders of it, to eat the Fleſh and gnaw the Bones, which ſome Lay-men (as over-gorged) have left, who probably would not have ventured thus on holy things, if they had not been animated by ſome *Pulpiteers* to prey upon the Church and Clergy. Yea, ſome Preachers have been not onely perſwaders to invade and alienate Church-Lands, but themſelves have purchaſed them to their private Eſtates and ſecular uſes, to the perpetuall infamy of their Names, and horreur of their Souls and their Children, that ſhall enjoy thoſe ſacred morſels.

Hence is it that the warmeſt and moſt over-boiling Reformers of later dayes, never ſo much as ſummoned, arraigned, queſtioned, or cenſured this Monſter of *Sacrilege*, this reforming Extortion, before their new Conſiſtorian tribunals. The lean ſin of *Sabbath-breaking* (even to a poor mans gathering a few ſticks, or earning a penny to relieve his hungry belly, or walking abroad to reſreſh his ſpirits) this is oft ſcared, caught and ſcratched (together with ſwearing and drunkenneſſe, private, perſonall and petty ſins in compariſon) in the renewed nets of State-Acts and Ordinances; but the fat ſin of *Sacrilege* ever goes ſcot-free, as if it had the Priviledge of Parliament, not to be arreſted: it was never yet called to the bar of Lords or Commons, never examined by civil Juſtice, never preſented or promoted by the reverend Scot-Engliſh

lish Assembly, which were as the grand *Inquest*, the *Promoters* or *Apparitors* so long to the *long Parliament*.

For even these *Rabbies* sitting so long in *Moses his Chair* (and helping to displace all Bishops, with all dignified Church-men, from their Convocations and Cathedrals, upon I know not what supposed misdemeanours) yet in their large *catalogue* of *scandalous sins*, which they had long studied, and at last, with much *gravity*, presented to the *Honourable Houses*, in order to a *Presbyterian perfect Reformation* of all things amiss, as to *Conscience* and *Religion* in Church and State, they had not either *so good memories*, or *so good courages*, or *so good consciences*, as to reckon among that *black rabble*, or to impeach, no not so much as to mention, or once to name, either the sin of *Sacriledge* or of *Schism*. Good men! sure they either over-saw these *sins* in the crowd (though they are (one of them at least) higher by the shoulders than most they there enumerate;) or they saw that a dispensation of course was to be granted to these sins, which became so popular and epidemick, yea so specious and gallant, as being clothed with the *spoiles* of the Church, and wearing the *Liberties* of the people for their *Liveries*.

It is not a lesse true than pertinent *observation*, which a very prying and perspicacious eye hath made, as to those larger *Annotations* on the *English Bible*, printed 1646. (by persons of commendable Learning and Industry (some of them) if they had been of more *impartiality*;) These *Annotators*, in every place through the *Bible*, where the Word and Spirit of God *signally* commands them to brand the sin of *Sacriledge* with a *black mark*, as one of the *Devils hindmost herd*, do so *slyly* and *slightly* passe it over, as if they had neither seen nor smelt that *foul Beast*; as if there were no Gall in their pens, no Reproof in their mouths, no Courage in their hearts against this Sin: they scarce ever touch it, never state it, make no perstrictive or invective *stroke* against it: which he thought could not be their ignorance, or *inadvertency*, but the cowardise, cunning and parasitisme of the times; in which they were content, for some *Presbyterian ends*, to connive at *Sacriledge* in those good Lords and Masters, whose charity they hoped (yea I heard some of them profess they expected) would turn all that stream which Bishops, Deans and Chapters enjoyed, to drive the *Presbyterian Mills*, to keep up the honour of Ruling and Teaching Elders. Otherwise it had been impossible that any thing besides a *studied silence* and *affected palpation* in men of any light and sight, could have so gently slid over that place of *Achans sacriledge*, Josh. 6. 7. or that of *Belshazzars*, Dan. 5. 2. where they blame his drunkenesse, but not his *sacrilegious profaneness*, which the emphasis of the Text more points at than the other. Nay, upon *Acts* 5. they urge against *Ananias* and *Saphira* the sin of *Lying*, *Covetousnesse* and *Hypocrisie*, but not that of their *Sacriledge*, and defrauding God of what now was his, and not theirs, being put out of their power by pretended donation of the whole, which was the *capital crime*, withdrawing and purloyning from God and the

Church,

καταλαβόντες
Callide inter-
vertere aut
surripere quip-
pam, ne ad
domini no-
titiam & usum
perveniat.

Church, part of that estate which they had pretendedly devoted (*in solidum*) the whole to sacred uses, and so put it out of their own power to resume or detain it, as S. Peter tells them: yea, on *Rom. 2. 22.* these soft-fingred Censors very gently touch that rough Satyr of *Sacriledge*, where it is expressly put in the balance with *Idolatry*, and overweighs it, as the more enormous. So on *Levit. 25. 34.* where the *Levites lands are forbidden to be sold*; and on *Gen. 47. 22.* where *Joseph's Piety and Pharaoh's Policy* forbear to buy or sell the *Priests lands*; and on *Ezek. 47. 1. & 48. 14.* where, in order to support the *Evangelicall Service and Ministry*, care is taken to appoint an holy portion of land to be laid out for the *Priests* as an holy *oblation to the Lord*, which might never be sold.

In all these places, which are as a bright cloud of witnesses against *Sacriledge*, these wary Annotators shut their eyes, as if they could not see the prodigie; there is *altum silentium* in all their *Glossaries*; this *Agag* was to be spared; by a grave and prudent *silence*, they doe not so much as put in any caution against it, much lesse passe any crimination or condemnation upon it: but as if they were *Chaplains* at once serving the Lord, their Bellies and the Times, as partaking of the *Table of the Lord*, and the *Table of Devils*; so do they rather coaks than crush this *Cockatrice*; seeming (forsooth) fearfull of appearing *superstitious* men, or but *luke-warm Reformers*, if they damped some of their good Masters zeale, by bitterly inveighing against, and justly damning this darling and damnable sin of *Sacriledge*; which puts on the form, not onely of *Godlinesse* and *Reformation*, but of *Thrift* and good Husbandry, to save the publick purse in the necessary expences of a *Civil Warre*; which in some mens desires, as I believe it had never been begun, but onely in order to destroy the *Government of the Church*, and confiscate those Revenues, so (all things computed) I no lesse believe that the *State* or *secular purse* hath had but a dear penniworth of those Church-Lands, at so vast a charge as hath attended the War, first commenced by *Presbytery* against *Episcopacy*.

CHAP. XXII.



High Flames having soon consumed the *Lands, Houses,* and *Revenues* of Bishops and Cathedrals (whose honour was the publick Honour of this Nation, of this reformed Church, and of every sober Minister) grew so *masterlesse*, that they threatned not onely the Livings of Parochiall Ministers, but the very *Nurseries* of Learning, the *Schools* of the *Prophets*, the *Colledges* and *Lands* of both *Universities*; which seemed to be spared and reprieved a while by the loud *outcries* of those men who had there got into the *warm nests* of other Birds, whom they had driven from thence; but the wide jawes of some *sacrilegious* spirits did, and do still gape and grin upon these Ecclesiastick and Academick remaining Morsels, grudging that they are not satisfied with them: nor will they faile to be devoured in a few yeares, if persons of *Soveraign power* and Nobler spirits doe not protect them, as hitherto they have done, from that *ever-craving leech* of *Sacriledge*, which lives unsatiably crying Give, give, in some *Lay-mens breasts*; nor may they be too confident of every Parlament to be their Friends or Defenders.

The insatiableness of sacrilegious spirits unrepresented.

A notable alarm and instance of which danger the Lord *Herbert* gives in the reign of our *Henry* the 8. who as an *Helduo* or *unsatiable gulph*, having swallowed up, digested and egested as much *Treasure* and *Lands* as would have purchased a *good Kingdome*, and maintained it in all equipage, both Military and Civil, becoming Majesty, yet still *indigent* and *neecessitous*, he was offered by the House of *Commons* in a *Parlament* toward his later end, all the *Lands* and *Houses* of the two famous *Universities*, to be confiscated to his *Exchequer*, by a most mechanick prostitution of the Learning, the Honour, and the Piety of the Nation. But that *dreadfull Prince* told them, not without a just scorn, that he had too much of a *Scholar* in him to *destroy* two such *Universities* as the world had not the like. And he had so much of a *Christian Prince* too, as not to *destroy Bishops* and *Cathedrals*, or to take away their *Houses* and *Estates*; but he rather added to them, and erected four new *Bishopricks* out of the *Lands* of some *Collegiate* and *Monastick Churches*. Had he with the same moderation and justice then restored *Impropriations* to the Church, for the competent maintenance of Ministers in all places, he had done a work so glorious and usefull to Religion, as might have expiated all other his Royall Extravagancies.

Hist. of Hen. 8.

For my part, I am confident the just God will visit this *sin of Sacriledge* upon any Person, Family or Nation, that are guilty of it: nor will the *Controversie* ever be taken up till either full vengeance, or due restitution and redemption be made, of what was Gods portion, for the Order, Honour and Maintenance of his Service and this Church, no more than *Israel* could stand in battel, while *Achan* and the

Joth. 7.12.

2 King. 23.11.

the accursed or devoted thing was among them. The *Safety, Honour, Peace, Plenty, Happinesse*, and chiefly the *Piety and Religion* of any Nation, professing the Name and Worship of the *true God*, all these will fatally decay, and be upon not onely great hazards, but diminutions and distresses, while Professors of *Religion and Reformation* make God the *Father*, and Christ the *Godfather* of any *Sacriledge*, as if it were as *acceptable a service* to them, to take away from such a *Christian and Reformed Church* such meanes as was fit to maintain (and anciently devoted to) the honour and encouragement of Christs Ministers and Governours of his Church, as it was to *burn the Chariots*, and *hough the horses of the Sun in pieces*. 'Tis true, all that is dedicated to *false* (that is no) *Gods*, is an injury, and a *sacrilegious robbing* of the *true God*; therefore those Donations may lawfully, in some mens judgements, be taken away: but none ever allowed true men to be false to the *true God*, to *rob and defraud* him, who is the *maker and giver of all*. Shall Christians grudge to give that to Christ, yea and rapine that from him which others have given to him, who is the *repairer and restorer* of all? No, good Angels can guard those men or that Nation which they see guilty of robbing that good God they professe to worship.

Certainly Sacriledge is the *more notorious sin*, and of deeper die, by how much it is committed *among Christians*, and most where they professe to be most reformed, who should best know how much they owe to God, how they should *value* the gift of his *Son Jesus Christ* to die for them, and the *feet of his Messengers*, who preach those glad tidings to poor sinners.

Nor can I but observe, how God hath already visited with no small or light *strokes of his vengeance*, as the whole Nation, so in particular, the sinfull and shamefull silence even of those Ministers who were so cold, cunning and indifferent, as to the reprovng of Sacriledge and Schism, provided they might (in other designs) gain their *processe*. They and their *dictators* too have, for the most part, both in *England and Scotland*, reaped nothing but Shame and Infamy, Reproch and Contempr, which is the shadow ever following Sacriledge, even among honest Heathens and true Christians, while they could liberally declaim and lift up their voices like *Trumpets*, in an Oratory not more loud and popular, than *flat and insipid*, against a few decent and innocent *Ceremonies*, against a handsome and wholsome *Liturgie*, against learned, godly and reverend *Bishops*, farre their betters, against Ancient and Catholick *Episcopacy*, which preserved the Order and Unity of the Church; but in the great concerns of *Gods Glory*, this *Churches Honour*, the *Clergies Maintenance*, the *good of mens souls*, and the *credit of the Christian and Reformed Religion* (which were all so invaded by a bold and resolute Sacriledge, threatening all settled Livings and Maintenance of Ministers and Scholars) there they *peep and mutter*, like *Obs and Pythons*, whispering as out of the *earth* and their *bellies*, not from their hearts, more *dubiously* than the *Oracles of Apollo*, and more *obscurely* than the *Sibyls leaves*. Thus artificial

Sacrilegi Dis
exosi, homini-
bus infames.
Valer. Ma.

ἰς τὰς γῆρας
ventriloqui.
Isa. 8.19.

ciall are some men at the swallowing of *Camels* and sticking at *Gnats*.

I doe not forespeak or *imprecate* a further evil day upon any, but rather I pray for Personall, yea Nationall *Repentance*, *Amendment* and *Pardon*; without which I am confident God will vindicate his great Name, and the name of *Iesus Christ*, together with the Honour and Principles of both *Christian* and true *Reformed Religion*, from so great a scandal as *Sacredge* is, against all those men, whatever they are, their Parties and Posterities, who not onely dare to commit it, but to *conniue* at it, yea commend it, yea to boast of it, yea impute it to the *impulses* of Gods spirit, to their zeal for *Religion*, and to their aimes at a perfect or through *Reformation*. After all which *noise* and *rattle*, God knowes, much is more *deformed* than ever in Religion, both as to the Polity and power of it, the outward Order and inward Efficacy; nothing truly *reformed* by robbing the Church, but onely the tenuity of some mens former *fortunes*.

If the persons of any *Church-men* in *England* had by their misdemeanour legally forfeited their use and enjoyments of such *holy things*, as they had in Gods name, and as the Churches servants; yet certainly the whole Church and Nation had not lost their right in them; Posterity could not consent to be deprived of those advantages of Learning and Religion, and I am sure Gods title to them can never fall under any *forfeiture* or *escheat*, whose speciall patrociny those *Demesnes* were. In the Goods and Lands belonging to the Ministry and Church of Christ, for the Service of God, for the Education and Maintenance of his *Ministers*, for the well-ordering and Government of the Church, and Relief of the Poor, who ever presumes to impropriate them by meer Power, or purchase them to his private Estate, had need have either a very good *penniworth* of them, for they will destroy more than they bring, or a better title than *Ananias* had to what was once his own, or than God himself hath to them, when once devoted and given to him; yea, they need more power to *preserve* such Estates to their use and their Posterities, than God hath to *blesse* or *curse* both them and theirs.

I have read it as an observation made out of many Authors, that the holy vessels of the Temple, which were taken from *Jerusalem* by *Titus Vespasian*, and tossed up and down to many Countreys and Cities, in *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, did (as the Ark among the *Philistins*) carry alwayes a *storm* and *calamity* with them, with such a sacred horror, that no man durst *melt* them or divert them to secular uses or private benefit, untill they were at last brought out of *Africa* from *Carthage* (as I remember) to *Constantinople*, and there dedicated by a Christian Emperour to the service and honour of Christ, in the goodly Church of *Sancta Sophia*, which *Constantine* the Great built and endowed with many goodly both Vessels and Revenues, as *Eusebius* tells us, yea and commanded all goods taken from Christian Churches in former times to be restored.

Sacredge, what fair face soever it carries, hath the taile and sting of a *Serpent*; nor can any man die with peace, or hope for the prosperity

In Sir H. Spelmans discourse of Sacredge. MS.

Euseb. l. 10. c. 5. Hist.

1 Sam. 21. 5.
22. 18.

prosperity of his Family after him, who knowingly is guilty of that Sin. Modest and Honest Christians will not (no not in their extremities) take from God and his Church so much as a *shoe-latchet* to make them rich; *David* would have been famished (I believe) rather than by force have taken the *Shew-bread*, or *Priests portion* from them, which was a work onely fit for *Doeg*, who durst take away their lives.

CHAP. XXIII.

Pleas for Sa-
crilege an-
swered.



Know it will be pleaded by some (that are more politick than pious, *Religionis trapezita*) 1. That civil Politicks have the absolute *supreme power* over all things of civil Rights and secular Enjoyments, to dispose of them as seems most for the publick Safety, Profit and Honour; 2. That whatever is acted, passed and possessed by such Authority, seems valid and unquestionable; 3. that those Lands and Revenues which nourished *Bishops, Deans and Prebends*, were superfluous, if not superstitious, as to the point of Christian and Reformed Religion; 4. That if there be any fault in any mens first invading and alienating *things sacred*, yet private possessors, either by *gift* or *purchase* of them, are afterward in no fault, as having the highest civil Right to what they so enjoy; 5. Besides divers Princes and States have disposed, as they pleased, of Church-Revenues.

To all these pretensions every mans own reason and conscience will first and best give answer, if it be not partiall, and bribed by its own *private gain*: but to open the eyes of such as are willingly blind, I must tell them, in words of sobernesse and truth, with all due respect to whatever powers are ordained of God as supreme among men, 1. No man, as to his own private civil Estate (to which he hath a good right in Law) would think it just, without any fault done by him or proved against him, to be deprived of it, and turned out of all by any reason of State. How then can he think it just, as to any Church-mens Ecclesiastick Estates, that they should be outed of their Estates, to which they have both a civil and religious Title, both Gods Right and Mans Donation? No Christians should offer that measure to Christ and his Ministers which they would not have offered unto themselves. 2. Though *civil politics* may have the *supreme power* over particular mens Estates, among men, yet 'tis a power (*sub graviore regno*) subordinate to Gods Sovereignty, and ought to be subject to those *rules of Reason, Justice and Religion*, which he hath given mankind, and especially Christians: the greater any mens Power is, the more strict the Piety and Equity of it should be; for they are subject to erre and to sin no lesse than private men, and are no lesse punishable by Divine Vengeance, both singly and socially: whole Nations may rob God, and be accursed of

of him. 3. *Civil polities* in their due *conjunctures* are indeed justly counted *supreme* upon earth, being, as they ought to be, *free and full*; when all Estates, called, convened and concerned in publick Counsels and Transactions, have liberty to *plead* and *vote*, *deny* and *grant*, to *hear* and *argue*, to *judge* and *determine*, according to the conscience of all, and not according to the *prevalency* and *bias* of any one party, nor exclusive of any mens consent which ought to be had in *such cases*, either as to the right of Enjoyment, or as to the *joynt, legislative* and *supreme power*, which onely can make a legall alienation of any *civil rights*. 'Tis evident that the most united and excellent Parliaments in *England* for Piety and Peace, did abhor and avoid Sacriledge as a sin against God, his Church, and all good men. The Kings of *England* were bound by Oath to preserve the State and Rights of the Church; nor were *Peers* and *People* lesse bound in duty and gratitude to God and man, than if they had been sworn. 4. It doth not appear by any Law of God or Man, in Reason or Religion, that any *humane* or *civil power* hath any authority or jurisdiction to the prejudice of Gods Rights and Interest, whose the Estate and Revenues of the Church are in Fee, as chief Lord, being *dedicated* to his Service, Worship and Glory, and are indeed in no mans property, however in *Church-mens use*, as Gods Tenants. The acts of *power* and *will* may prevaile among men, and hold good in *Westminster-Hall*, in *foro soli & humano*; but they cannot give a right in *foro cæli & conscientia*, before Gods *Tribunall*, or in a mans own Conscience, which regard not actuall and arbitrary Power, but internall Right and Equity, which forbids any injury to be done to any man, and specially to those that are the Ministers or Servants of Christ and his Church, whose injuries redound to God himself. Good Christians must consider not *quid factum valet* among men, but *quid fieri debuit*, as to the exact righteousness which God requires. The dividing *Christs garment* among the *Souldiers*, and *casting lots* for his *Vesture*, was not sufficient to give them a good title to his Clothes as their fees, when Christ was so partially and unjustly condemned. 5. The practise of some *Princes* or *Common-weals* is no precedent or rule for Christians to follow, no more than *Feroboams reason of State* to prevent the return of *Israel* to *Dauids* house justified his *Calves*. Yea, though we read some tolerable or good Kings of *Judah* did make bold with the *Treasures of the Lords house*, to redeem themselves, and both *Church* and *State*, from *hostile invasions* (as the ancient Clergy oft fold their rich Vessels or Chalice of the Church, to redeem *captive Kings*, as our *Richard the first*, and other *Christians*) yet this is recorded by the Spirit of God to their diminution, though it were but borrowing the *gold* of the *Doors*, and *superfluities* of the *Temple*, with a purpose (no doubt) to restore them in *better times*: but we never read that any Prince or People of any note for *Piety*, did ever take away the *Lands* and *Houses* of the *Priests* and *Levites* of old, nor those *Revenues*, *Tithes* and *Oblations*, which were the honourable or necessary *subsistence* of Evangelick Ministers, the very livelihood of man

Mal. 3.
Acts 5. 35.
Ye men of Israel, take heed to your selves what ye intend to do, as to these men.
John 19. 23.

2 King. 18. 16.

Josh. 7.

ny worthy men and their Families, the publick rewards of learned Men and usefull Vertues, also the honorary encouragements of all Ministers, and advantages of Christian Reformed Religion, especially in *Engl.* where Governours in some eminency will be found as necessary for the order and well-being of the Church, as Ministers are for the praying and preaching part. 6. If the first Alienators of holy things be, as principals, *sinners* and *sacrilegious* against God and his Church, I fear it will be hard for those to *excuse themselves* of being *accessary* to the Sin who (knowingly) accept or purchase them at the second or third hand; however the title may by power be made good among men, yet sure there is no Power valid, or Title good against God, nor can injustice stand before his exact justice; if no wise or honest man will deal in dubious Estates or crackt Titles, as to civil Bargainings and Purchases, much lesse where God and the Church, besides particular men and Ministers too, make so pregnant Claimes and clear Titles by Law, that nothing but absolute will and power of man can be brought to make good the contrary. Nothing is more for the honour of a Christian Nation, than to have no men in it that would buy Gods Portion, and the Churches Patrimony. 7. He that had bought the *Wedge* and *Garment* of *Achan* *ignorantly*, might have been *excusable*, as to any complication with, or comprobation of his Theft and Sacriledge; yet, no doubt, he must have restored them, as *Anathemas* devoted to God, if he expected any Peace or Comfort: but whoso had *knowingly* bought or received them of *Achan*, could not but be guilty of his sin, and under the same *condemnation*; nor could *Israel* ever recover its Courage, Strength and Honour, till the camp was cleared of those both goods and persons, who stood before God under the brand, offense and high guilt of *Sacriledge*. 8. Every mans own experience or conscience will give him the fullest convictions, as to this sin: and I am of opinion, that no mans Estate is so *fat* and *thrifty*, by what he hath at first, second, or third hand taken or detained from the Church, but he feels the sharp stings and gnawings of his own misgiving *conscience*, besides his *samished* and *fearfull* soul; which justly *dreads* to look *Judgement* or *Death* in the face, when he knows how ill account he can give either of *goods* unjustly taken and detained from the right owners of them, or (willingly) bought at under rates from a second had. If *personall* and *private* injuries done against the estate and livelihood of any one poor man, will oppress the greatest oppressor at the last day; where will they appeare who are found oppressors of *many men*, and these religious men too, yea and Ministers of God and his Church, for the good of the souls of many thousands for many generations?

Nor will it excuse some men, that they are (upon occasion) *zealous* to relieve poor Ministers and other distressed Protestants abroad, if they help to undoe and impoverish their own Pastors at home. Sacriledge is certainly a scandall not to be so easily wiped away from the face of any Reformed Church and Religion, if it were either the principle,

principle, practise, or approbation of any, which it never was, is, or will be: nor can so great a sin be so cheaply expiated by any men, with almes given to relieve some poor men in their distresses.

But I have done with this *Viper*, this *Dragon*, this fiery flying *Serpent*; against whose poyson and fiercenesse I know no *Antidote* sufficient, but a pure heart, innocent hands, and a good conscience: nor is any charm potent enough to resist its contagion among mean and mercenary spirits, when once it comes to be an indulged and exemplary mischief, fortified as with a Law, yea consecrated as the brazen serpent, for an healing Emblem, that is, a Lay-meanes to reform Churches, to regulate Clergy-men, and to recommend Christian Religion, which must all be impoverished that they may be improved. No armes are strong enough to give check and repression to its insolency, but such thunder-bolts as *Jupiter* is said to have used against *Typhæus*, or *Briareus*, or *Excaladon*; such Giants as designed to pillage the Gods, and to sack Heaven it self, whom the Poets fancied to be cast into those *Tophets* or burning Mountains, such as are *Atna*, *Vesuvius*, and others; the fittest terrors of everlasting burnings to scare men from Sacriledge, which is a mischief (a *Dequaxia*) beyond any that can befall true Religion, or mankind, especially when it pretends most to befriend and regulate Religion. Such Sacriledge (as a clandestine persecution) is worse than any open hostility: for this invited even enemies to embrace a profession adorned with such saintly patience and heroick constancy; but the other alienates all, both, Friends and Strangers from such Religion as (is *felo de se*) cuts its own throat, mocks and strips its Saviour, thieves from its God, impoverisheth and debaseth his Priests and Ministers, gives nothing but scandals and offences to all men of any just Principles and generous Piety, not onely to Divines and Preachers, but to Princes, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Lawyers and Souldiers, both Protestant and Papist, who have any value of their Saviour, respect to their God, gratitude to their Preachers, or love to true Religion and true Reformation.

Not but that I know many men, in a licentious and presumptuous Age, which nothing but daily thunder-bolts can confute, like deaf Adders, after all is said that can be against Sacriledge, yet flatter themselves in the good purchases they make of Church-lands. They reply with great confidence, that many grow rich, who dwell and trade in Sacriledge-alley; that Church-lands afford as good Crops and Rents as any other; that many prosper under this imaginary curse, which is rather in Church-mens fretfull fancies than in Gods displeasure; that if it be a sin in the first Alienators, yet the after-Purchasers are not concerned in the guilt, many of them thriving and leaving their substance to their children.

My answer is, It is very true (as King *John* scoffingly said) That *Stagg* may be fat which never heard *Muse*. *Belsazzar* might drink pleasant Wine out of the Vessels of the Temple: many Pirates (as the ancient Moralists observed) had fair winds after they had pillaged the Temples of their Gods: many enjoy the warm sun, who are out of Gods

See Bochartus
Geog. S. de Sicul.
phœnicibus. l. i.
c. 28.

Qui super im-
positi spirans
per montis bia-
tus Aeternus vo-
mit ore ignes.

Excaladi
dustum qui
saucia membra
revinctus spirat
inexhaustū fla-
granti pectore
sulphur. Clau-
dian. de Aetn.

Object.

Ans.

Dan. 5. 2.

Hab. 2. 11.

Eccl. 10. 8.

Jerem. 35.

1 Timoth. 6. 5.

Object.
Plea against
Restitution
from indemnity
of the Purchasers.

2 Chron. 25. 9.

Gods blessing; without which, not onely *leanenesse enters into mens souls*, amidst their greatest worldly enjoyments, but *terror* also, sooner or later, seizeth on them. No mans Estate can be justly esteemed prosperous which lies obnoxious to *Gods curse*, as theirs expressly doth, *Mal. 3. 9.* even to an *whole Nation*, who are *robbers of God*. Without the *continuell feast of a good conscience*, fulnesse it self becomes *famine*. No man can with comfort *build or dwell* there where the *beams and stones out of the wall cry against him*, as a *sacrilegious invader or possessor*. There must needs be *gravell* between those *teeth* which eat that *bread* which belongs to the nourishment of those who ought to *feed the flock of Christ*. I am sure no *sacriledge* can at present enjoy a *secure and serene title* before God; and for the future, it is in many instances to be verified (*vix gaudet scitins heres*) such estates seldome descend, and if they do, are seldome enjoyed with *Blessing and Comfort* by the *third heirs*, whose teeth are set on edge by those *sower grapes which their fathers have eaten*. A *Serpent* doth sometime or other *bite the hand, head or heart* of such who *break down the hedge and fence of Gods Church and Vineyard*, which cannot be duly *dressed*, if Gods *Husbandmen*, the *Pastors and Ministers*, be weakened and impoverished: with whose spoiles as I resolve, by *Gods grace*, never to be enriched, either by *Purchase or Gift* upon any terms, so I with the like resolution to *all my friends*: & (as a *Father*) I do impose it by way of solemn charge upon my posterity (lesse arbitrary than that injunction of drinking no Wine, observed by the *Rechabites*) that they never buy or accept any thing which they find is by any *pretence, power or presumption* whatsoever, alienated from *Gods Right*, or the *Churches Patrimony*; that is, such things as have, according to the Evangelical tenour of Gods will and Word, been *dedicated or given to Gods glory and worship*, either in *piety or charity*, either for the maintenance and support of Christs Ministers in particular, or for the general *honor, polity, order and government* of them and the whole Church; which is, in my judgement, as sacred and inviolable, both in *Equity and Charity, Honour and Humanity*, as what is once, and so irrevocably, if lawfully, given by way of *almes* to the poor; for this concerns but the *momentary*, the other the *eternall life of poor mortals*. In earnest, no Religion can be carried on with due reputation, which turns *godlinesse into unjust gain*, or makes secular *advantages*, by perverting of things devoted to Divine uses, to spiritual and sacred ends: of which sin I fear too many in *England* have been and still are guilty, both as *actors and abettors*, under the name and pretence of I know not what *Reformation*.

But men of Consciences rather Legall than Evangelicall, will be ready to object, (in behalf of such Proprietors as have given valuable *prices*, rather than good *consideration*, for such *Revenues* as have been alienated in the heat and roughnesse of times from the Church) as *Amaziah King of Judah* did to the *man of God*, *What shall I doe for the hundred talents which I have given?* &c. What shall Purchasers do to have *recompence*, who have adventured their Estates in such

Bar-

Bargains upon publick Justice, Protection and faith? Must they be wholly losers of their bargaines, yea and must their *money* (like *Simon Magnus's*) *perish with them*, as will follow, if they hold not what they have thus bought?

My Answer is, First, many of them had such Bargains, as they can be no great losers, if they should freely restore the peeled and remaining Lands to the Church; as it might perhaps lessen their Profit a little, so possibly it might much encrease their Peace and Comfort. But to make the way of *Restitution* lesse clamorous, and most equitably conscientious, I humbly conceive, that as the publick Purse, to save mens secular Estates, had the benefit of those *Church-confiscations*, and sales in most *expensive thrift*, which seemes to me lesse commendable, and lesse comfortable; so the Wisdome, Justice, Piety and Honour of the Publick shall do worthy of it self, to find some such way both to buy in *Impropriations*, and to make such *restitutions* as may be least *oppressive* to any particular man: which is no very hard work, much lesse impossible, if mens Hearts were as large, and their Purses as free for the means of *saving their souls*, as for their *civil safety*, which every year costs as much as in one yeare for all would in great part effect this most Honourable, Just and Religious work, of restoring to God, his Ministers and his Church, those things which fall under so *dubious* a title at best, that few *Lawyers* of Learning and Conscience can find *salvoes* sufficient to satisfie those grand Objections, which *Reason, Scripture, Ecclesiasticall and Imperiall Laws*, make against the *dispossessing* any Church of those Donations and Enjoyments which are Gods in chief.

Ans^r.

CHAP. XXIV.



Hat sober, wise, and wary Christian, not wholly carried down the stream of Envy and an evil Covetousnesse, can henceforth wonder to see those of the *Roman party* obstinate in their *erroars*, and *hating to be reformed*, while they see *Reformation* thus marching, like *Fehu*, furiously, looking in every quarter for the prey and spoiles of the Church, as if it were carried on not by the meeknesse and bounty of *primitive Christians* and *Pious Princes* (such as *Constantine, Theodosius, Valentian*, and others of former times) but by *Achmats* and *Selimusses*, by *Saracens, Tartars, Turks* and *Crabats*, men like *evening-wolves*, devouring all they can rap and rend from the Church, where ever they prevaile; such *spirits of burning*, which (like *flaming fire*) leave all things like a *parched heath* and *barren wildernesse* behind them, which they found well *planted* and *watered*, beautifull and plentifull, like the *Garden of God*, while the Church enjoyed its *nursing fathers* and *carefull preservers* of its *Polity* and *Support*, its *Order* and *Honour*, its *Revenues* and *Rights*, both *Humane* and *Divine*.

The Romanists discourage-ments as to the Reformed Religion by Sacriledge.

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The *Ecclesiasticks* of the *Roman party* are not onely very numerous, but (many of them) persons of noble families, excellent breeding, great learning, generous spirits, and choice abilities, for Affaires civil and sacred; every way as well meriting and employing those advantages of *Estates* and *Honours*, which they lawfully enjoy, as any of those are like to doe, who would by force, or under specious pretensions, deprive them of those enjoyments; who can think it strange, that such persons of eminency, with all their *Relations*, *Friends*, *Clientels* and *Dependences*, are very unwilling to come under the hands of such rising Reformers, such mad shavers of Religion, who design not onely to cut off some part of the long locks and over-grown haire of Church-men (I mean the Riot and Luxuriancy of their Manners, which are the reall deformity of any Christian, much more of any Clergy-man) but they intend to treat them as *Hannu* did *Dauids* Messengers, or as the *Philistins* did *Sampson*, shave them so bare and close, make them so curtailed and crompt, that all their strength, beauty, esteem and honour shall depart from them, not onely in the sight of people of better quality, but even before the very abjects of the people; who may afterward safely contemn and scorn them, as persons unable to doe them good or hurt. Who sees not that some mens cruel severities and rude reformings, if they had their wills, are not to be satisfied with the wooll and fleece of Church-men, but they study to flea off their very skins? They gape like the pit, and enlarge their monthes like hell, while any Estate is yet left to the Church; not onely goodly mannors, and fair houses, which have properly belonged many hundred yeares to Church-men and the Church of Christ, but Glebes, Tithes, yea, the material Churches and Chappels must all goe down the unsatiable gulphs, the sacrilegious Gules of some lack-latine Reformers; nothing ample or settled must be left to any Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, be they never so sound in Doctrine, exemplary in their Lives, of excellent Abilities, and charitable Spirits, as many were heretofore, and still are, in England.

The greedy godlinesse of some Reformers would have all Preachers such spiritual persons as should, like Chameleons, live onely upon the aire, their own and the popular breath, with little or no corporal sustenance, urging much that primitive poverty, which, armed with the conspicuity of miracles, and attended with primitive charity in Christian people, was no diminution, but advantage to the Bishops and Ministers of the Gospel; for they then lived among believers of so generous liberality & grateful beneficence, that they were the cream and flower of Christianity, esteeming their Preachers dearer than their right eyes: But we alas are faine among unsatiable leeches & tenacious vultures; in an age ingeniously wicked, to mock God, to rob the Church, to deceive and damn their own with others souls, full of the dregs of hypocritical cruelty & covetous formality; which loves the goods of the Church of Christ as much as those in former times did the good of it, when by their munificent bounty, Christian Princes, Nobility and Gentry, bestowed those many ample and honourable endowments on the Church of Christ, and
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his Ministers in all Countreys, where the state of Christians was peaceable and plentiful;) which gifts now were the great *baits* of some *sacrilegious Reformers*, who to be sure love the *world, themselves*, and their *mammon* very well: how they love God and Christ, the *Church* and the *Clergy*, I list not to judge, but leave it to be known by their *good works*, by the *great things* they have either done or suffered for *Religion*; by the *cost* and *charges* they have been at from their private purses, to make a *gainfull Reformation*; by that zeale they have to eat up the Houses of God, to *serve God* in a way that may *cost them nothing* to be sure, and next, get them some good Booty and Advantage from the Church, while any is to be had.

I therefore appeale to all men of any equitable, honest or ingenious Senses, Is it expectable, that persons of so much Learning, Reason, Prudence and Experience, as the *Roman Clergy* generally are, should ever think of approving, much lesse of embracing such a *Reformation*, which (besides other foul spots cast by some upon it, unsuitable to any thing of true Religion) evidently threatens the utter ruine of their Honour and Livelihood, yea of their very *Order* and *Function*? Will any *sober Papist* wash in this *Jordan*, in order to be clean, which he sees not onely so troubled and tumultuary, but so violent and excessive, that, like a *rapid Torrent*, it overflowes all banks of Modesty, Moderation, Equity and Charity, carrying down all before it, and overwhelming at once both Churches and Church men: it hurries them away (without ever hearing them plead for themselves) into the gulph and precipice of Poverty and Baseness, of Dishonour and Contempt, of Disorder and Confusion.

What grave and well-advised *Romanists* wil not be much upon the reserve, as to any thoughts of *Reformation*, when they see that under that colour they are sure to be *undone*: They must lose all those personall *acquisitions* and honorary *enjoyments* which they have obtained by the will of the dead, by the *lawes* of any *Christian Nation*, by the proportions of Equity and Gratitude, by the *indulgence* of God, & the *merits* of Christ: yea, though they should be content to admit of all *reall Reformations* in doctrine and manners, yet still they must, by a *pious stupidity* and *asinine sanctity*, consent to have themselves and their whole Order deprived of all those necessary Supports, comely Ornaments, and just Honours, which were most fitting for the Christians God and Saviour, for Christian Churches, and Ministers of the glorious Gospel: all these must be wasted, alienated and *embezzelled* from God, his Church, and his Ministers, in order to gratifie either the exorbitant *luxury* of some riotous Prince, or the more thrifty covetousnesse of some State and Common-wealth, or the ever-craving and envious necessities of some private mean-spirited people, till they see Deformity, Beggery, Contempt, Confusion, and all Irreligion, dancing, like Satyrs and evil Spirits, among the Ruines of Religion, and amidst the Desolations, not of the *pomp* so much as of the very power and profession, of true Christianity.

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The evile eye of
some Reform-
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Which dreadfull effects must needs be much in the eye and abhorrence of every pious and prudent man, who sees by evident experience what some mens *Reformations* doe mean, when they not onely grudge at all setled, just and honourable maintenance of *Ministers*, which they would fain swallow up and divert another way; but they are further as studious to demolish and devour, as ever their fore-fathers were to build, even those publick Monuments of *pristine Devotion, Gratitude and Magnificence*, which became Christians, above all men, to their bountifull God and blessed Saviour. Even those goodly Cathedrals and other materiall Churches (which never cost their defacers one penny to build or reaire them) these must, if some men may have their wills (and they have had it, God knowes, too much) be so robbed of all their great endowments and ancient Revenues, that nothing must be left so much as to reaire them, or keep them up for the honour of Christ, and the use of Christian people, for the Service of God and the Glory of the Nation: no, they must be so pillaged and stripped, that they are exposed to the injuries of Wind and Weather, and at last left so bare and naked, without covering as well as reaire, that they must necessarily drop down with their own weight, daily mouldring away, and burying themselves in their own rubbish; out of which some wretched Sacrilegists aim to extract and scrape some profit to their private purses, by a most prodigious kind of prodigality and unthrifty thrift, which reduceth the cost of many thousands of pounds, and the publick Monuments of Piety and Honour, to a pedling private gain, or a three-half-penny account, sacrificing so many sumptuous piles of many hundred yeares duration to the Purser, Kitchen and Bellies of some pittitull and proling Reformers: all which sacred and stately Structures were once consecrated to Gods Glory, and dedicated to the publick celebration of holy Duties and Mysteries, in the Name, and for the Honour of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Can you (O my noble and honoured Countrey-men) imagine, that sober Ecclesiasticks, or others among the Papists, are so blind, as not to see these sad Events, and to foresee their own Calamities in other Countreys, if they should give way to some mens rude reformings? If a sober and setled Reformation (such as was sometime so conspicuous and renowned in the Church of England,) if this did heretofore any way invite or incline many Romanists to embrace it, as some did, with the safety of their civill Profits and Honours, as well as the Advantages of Gods Truth and Piety; and if the unjesuited Papists could have found in their hearts (as many did) to apply to that Reformation of Religion, which preserved, together with the Sanctity, Integrity and Majesty of true Religion, the honest Interests of deserving Church-men, as well as of other Christians, from those popular Rapines and sacrilegious Exorbitances, to which the Envy, Baseness, Rusticity and Covetousnesse of vulgar Spirits are prone to be transported: yet cer-

tainly, now, they cannot but with Shame, Horrour and Disdain, look upon, speak, or think of those *bonndlesse* and *bitter Reformationes*, which some in later years have aimed at and endeavoured in *England*; which will endure, 1. First, no *Liturgy*, or *Uniformity* of *Devotions* in publick holy *Celebrations*, by which to avoid those either Defects or Excesses, those Partialities and Prejudices, those Improproprieties and Scandals, which necessarily attend holy *Duties*, and the minds of people, while all Prayers and solemn Consecrations are left to the Varieties, Sufficiencies, or Deficiencies, to the *private* and *extemporary confidences* of every Man and Minister that lists to officiate. 2. Next, it will endure no Ancient and Authentick *Ordination* of Ministers, nor any degree of Eminency, Order, or Government among the Clergy, but all must be left to a *Presbyterian parity*, or an *higgledy pigglede* of Preachers, yea and People too; in which Young and Old, Gray and Green, *Novices* and *Veterane* Ministers must be levelled and jumbled together. Notwithstanding *God* and *Nature*, *Age* and *Yeares*, *Gifts* and *Graces*, *Prudence* and *Gravity*, *Piety* and *Policy*, have distinguished them, and made them fit to be superiour and subordinate in Reason and Religion, in Piety and Policy, as Fathers and Sons; yet these must all be blended and confounded in I know not what new *consistory Chaos*, which at every meeting creates its raw *Moderators* and unexperienced *Presidents*, turning by a *continuell Circumgration* and *multiplied Epicycles*, its *Heads* into *Tayles*, and its *Tayles* into *Heads*; its *rulers* into *ruled*, and its *ruled* into *rulers*. 3. Last of all, the new Modes of some mens *Reformings* will not endure that any *Churchmen*, as Ministers, should have any thing certain or settled, as their own, whereon to feed, unless it be their *nailes* and *fingers ends*; no nor any constant either *Mansions*, where they should dwell, or *Churches*, where they should meet with *Christian Congregations*, to worship and serve the God of Heaven, in that Order and *Beauty of Holinesse* which becomes his Name, his People, and Publick Service in times of Peace and Plenty.

CHAP. XXV.

A plea for
PAULS and o-
ther Churches
in England.



F such odious, scandalous and sacrilegious Proportions of some mens *Reformations* were any way disputable, or less discernable in every City, Town, and Corner almost of the Land (to which (as *Cuckoes* in *April*) this evil Bird of *sacriledge* is *flown*, every where crying with its harsh and unwelcome note, *Give, give,*) yet there is one instance of its *malignity* and *deformity* so great, so visible, that as it cannot be hid, so I cannot be silent of it, even in that *imperiall chamber*, that overgrown *Metropolis* of this Nation, the Rich and Renowned, the Opulent and Populous *City of London*; where that vast and *stately Temple*, which was once dedicated to the *honour* of the *true God*, and the *service* of our *blessed Saviour*, distinguished by the name of the *great Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, *S. PAUL*, whose Gospel sounded even to this *Island*, this Church (I say) hath *engraven* upon its Ruines, and written on its dust, the dreadfull *Characters* of what thousands will interpret either a *sacrilegious* Covetousnesse, or a great *contempt* of Religion, or a Negligence and Indifferency, as to any sense of publick Honor & Nationall Renown, there being not the like spectacle to be seen in all the Christian World. All which, both *Forraigners* and *Domesticks*, present Age and Posterity, will be prone to impute to the exceeding Disgrace and Reproach of that large & *luxuriant City*, which hath nothing in all that mighty *forrest of buildings*, comparable to that *magnificent pile*; on whose unrepaired and (in a few years) irreparable Ruines, the *irreligion* of some mens *Reformations*, besides the dishonour of that *City* (that I say not of the *whole Nation*) will be so written and recorded in the heaps of many generations, that no time will wholly *remove* the one, or *obliterate* the other.

Especially when it shall be remembered, how vast a *charge* was not many years since laid out, and how great a progresse was made, by the Art, Industry, Piety, Munificence, Care, Cost and Honour of that *City* and the *whole Nation*, toward the *reparation* of that *stupendous Masse*: three parts of four were so *admirably* restored, even beyond their *primitive beauty* and *strength*, that they needed not to fear the *teeth* of Time, nor the *corrosions* of that fuliginous aire for many hundreds of years; such Cost and Art conspired to its Restauration and Preservation, that in all probability *Pauls* might have lasted a Monument of pristine Piety and modern Magnificence, the Crown and Honour of that *City*, as long as the world endured; nor should have suffered any other *fate* than that which threatens, in not many *centuries of years*, to *shake heaven and earth*.

But now (alas) all this great Care and Cost is (for the most part) *quite lost* and run to wast, for want of adding a little more, to have *gloriously* completed what was *generously* begun. What ingenuous soul (not eaten up with an *envious* Eye and a *sacrilegious* Spirit) did

not

not find vehement Regrets, honest Pity, and sharp Remorses in his heart, when he saw that goodly *Temple of God* turned to a *stable* by a military either *necessity* or *liberty*; when (passing by) he discerned all the *scaffolds* which supported those *ponderous arches* (till the sides of the Building were confirmed) pulled down, not without the danger and dread of those which removed them, to burn or sell them; when (after this) he beheld the *lead* which covered it flayed off by piece-meal, and turned to *private advantages*; when last of all he was afraid to passe through the *Isles*, or come near the *Arches* of that great *structure*, for fear it should fall upon him and oppress him with those horrid heaps, which every moment threatned to fall, their cement being dissolved by *rain* and *weather*?

To this *Tragick posture* is that *stately structure* reduced; which was the noblest ornament of that great and renowned City, as it were the centre of its *stability*, *magnificence*, and *honour*: yea, it was justly reckoned among the chiefest visible instances of the Christian *glory* and *renown* of this Nation; while both Natives and Strangers beheld it not without a sacred *horreur* and unwonted *admiration*. I pray God the Ruine of that Church be not a presage of other Ruines, which will be more unwelcome to many of that City, when their seiled Houses shall become ruinous heaps.

I know there are of later years, so many *pedlars* and *enterlopers* in Religion, that they are in danger to spoil the grand trade of true *Reformation*, which ought to be carried on by a publick joynt stock of Christian Counsel and Charity: for their *gainfull godlinesse* aims not onely to make all Ministers of the Church so mean and miserable, that they shall have just cause to envy the *poorest peasants* and the *meanest mechanicks*; but they further design to reduce all our *material Churches*, or *Houses of God* in the Land, to such *sordid deformities*, that these shall have cause to envy, not onely the spruce and costly *Houses* of these thrifty *Reformers*, but their very *Barns* and *Stables*, which they will have more *substantiall*, and in better repair, yea more decent and cleanly, than our *Churches*, into which *Christians* (as Gods Harvest) are frequently gathered together, to serve and worship their Saviour, to praise, adore and admire the God of Heaven. Psal. 83. 12.

While there is no end of the Cost and Curiosity, the Beauty and Richness of their private Dwellings, yet are these *Church-worms*, these *moths* of *Reformation*, ever murmuring & repining at what charge is bestowed, even by other men, either long since, or late, upon our *Churches*; and with a most *supercilious demurenesse* and *affected zelotry* (the better to colour over or conceal their *sacrilegious spirits*) they are heard very oft to cry out, *To what purpose is this wast*, this excessive, yea, *superstitious cost*? What need is there of such goodly stones, such *stately pillars*, such *massive timber*, such *costly coverings* with lead; when we may serve God at a cheaper rate, full as well, nay farre better, in a Barn or Stable, in a common Hall or Parlour? Alas, God dwells not in *Temples made with hands*, nor is he pleased with such *prodigall expences*, in order to his worship: how much more acceptable were

Objection.
Math. 26. 8.

were it to him, if this money were bestowed on the *Poor*, those living Temples of Gods Spirit :

Ans.

These are the penurious Principles which some *whining Reformers* use, to save their purses, yea, and to fill them, as occasion serves, with the spoiles both of Churches and Church-men too; which some men, I believe, have already done, without giving (that ever I heard) any portion as Almes to the Poore : and for hire, some poor labouring men have been so conscientious Christians, that they would not be employed or hired by them on any terms to pull down Churches, lest they should do the work and receive the wages of *iniquity*.

I cannot but answer these *men* according to their folly and presumption; the rather, because they pretend Religion and Reformation of all things to a *spirituall way of worshipping and serving God*, which they understand may reach their Hands, Eyes, Tongues, Heads and Hearts, but not their Purses. That is their *Noli me tangere*, the peculiar and reserve exempted from Gods claim and title, not contained in any Commission of Religion, yea precisely excluded out of the *new Copies and Schemes of Reformation*, drawn different from all ancient *Originals* of *Judaick or Christian Devotion*, by men that are very wise in their owne eyes, and very wary to save their purses. I pray God they be as carefull to save their *souls*.

Prov. 3. 9.

1 King 8. 27.
Act. 17. 24.

Prov. 8. 31.
Rev. 21. 3.

That these *new Masters* may not too much triumph in their own fancies, they may please to understand, that we other Christians, who love to serve God in the *beauty of holinesse and handsomnesse*, who are ambitious to honour God and his worship with our *substance*, we are not so *uncatechised*, as not to know almost as well as these *supercilious and parsimonious censors*, that the *Divine Imensity* is so farre from dwelling in a comprehensive or inclosed manner, in Houses made with hands, that the *Heaven of Heavens cannot containe him*; he onely is his own Heaven, a Center and Circumference fixed in and full of himself, alone comprehensive of his own incomprehensible excellencies : yet (under favour of these Seraphick Teachers) the *high and holy one that inhabits eternity* delights to dwell among the Sons of men; not onely in humble Spirits, contrite Hearts, and believing Souls (by the speciall and invisable residence of his Grace and Spirit) but also in such visible *manifestations* as are specially circumscribed by times and places; where it may not improperly be said the *Lords name* is placed, while there it is solemnly called upon, blessed and praised by the Congregation of the *Lords people*, who meet together to worship the Lord in such places, as not onely fit their own *conveniencies* best, but carry some proportion to their *affections*, Honour, Reverence, Devotion and Relation toward their great God and glorified Saviour, even before the *sons of men*, who by the light of Nature require and expect that the *Divine Majesty* should be worshipped, not in places of *profane and common use*, but such as are specially separated from them,

them, and dedicated or consecrated to holy *Services*, agreeable to that relation they bear to the *most holy God*, as *houses of Prayer*, and so *houses of God*, such as the *blessed Apostles* and the *Lord Jesus* himself disdained not to frequent, among the *Jews*, as the place of *public worship*, consecrated to God.

'Tis true, our God needs not such *Houses*, as to his *Omnipresence*; but he requires them so far, as they are *evidences* of our respects to him. Nor are Churches onely intended for the *conveniences* of Christians to meet together, that they may sit *warm and dry*; but they serve further to expresse (when God gives us Peace and Plenty) that *high esteem* and *honour* we bear to our God; also the love we have to the place where his *Honour* dwels (as to *visible Service* and *outward Communion*;) lastly, they serve to tell the world how *large-hearted* and *liberall-handed* true Christians and well-reformed ones can be toward their God and *Saviour*, not onely equall to, but beyond, if need be, to what *Heathenish devotion* and *Romish superstition* did pretend. If such costly and stately *fabricks* of Churches were lesse needfull, in respect of the proportions of Love and Respect we ought to bear, and expresse to the Glory and Service of God; if Christians, at first, might well want them, when they could not in their Poverty and Persecution either have or enjoy them; yet in a settled and flourishing State, as *Eusebius* and others tell us, Christians were ashamed and most impatient, not to shew forth by the *cost* and *state* of their Churches, what was their zeal for God, and *high honour* to their crucified Saviour. Goodly Churches and *Princely Cathedrals* every where grew up on the sudden in all the Christian world, like *Tulips*, or fair Flowers in a Garden, when the *winter of persecution* was gone, and when the *spring-time of peace* began to shine, as in the blessed time of the Great *Constantine*; then began *Christian Churches*, *Oratories*, or *Dominicals*, to out-shine the *Temples* of the Heathen Gods, the *Palaces* of Princes, the *Balneos* and *Theatres* of free Cities: these great and lasting Foundations were the *Trophies*, or *triumphant Arches* of Christian Religion, every where erected, and witnessing that it had, by the *blood of the Lamb*, and the patience of *primitive Martyrs*, happily conquered the malice of Satan, the *wisdom* and *power* of the World.

Lastly, if we Christians needed no such Churches for Christs Honour and our own conveniency, yet *Jews*, *Turks*, *Heathens*, do need them, as notable marks of our *high* and *honourable* regard to our God and Crucified Saviour; yea they are indeed notable pregnant *Monuments* to all spectators, of the *Antiquity* of Christian Religion, and of the *munificent Devotion* used by our *Forefathers*. To me, I confesse, any Countrey seems desolate, that hath not the fair Land-marks of Churches; nor can it ever be either Honour to our Nation, or any Advantage to the true Reformed Religion; as it will be a great scandal to all that are not Christians, also a great advantage to the Popish party and profession, for us in *England*, or elsewhere, now to soile and deform our Reformation, by the Rapine and Ruine of those Churches which our Forefathers builded.

Mat. 3.

Mark 14. 15.

John 12. 6.
Acts 5. 3.

I find that (in point of Thrift) men of narrow hearts seem so much *children in understanding*, that they usually alledge *Scripture*, as the Devil did, *partially* and *fallaciously*, which ought to be applied according to its severall scopes and intents; not so to magnifie Gods *transcendent* and *invisible Majesty*, as therefore to avile or debase his *outward* and *visible Ministry*, or *Glory*, which is specially *present* at such times, and in such places, where his Worship and Praise are celebrated. These *sharking Sophisters* cannot but remember, that our *blessed Saviour* chose for the first Celebration of his *Supper* (which is the *highest Mystery* and *solemn solemnity* of *Christian Religion*) a large *upper room* ready furnished; the fairest (no doubt) for Space and Ornament in that House: To shew us, that Christians are not confined to *Caves* and *Cottages*, nor ought they to affect *Barnes* and *Stables* for their *holy Conventions*, when Gods indulgence gives them means and opportunities to enjoy other accommodations, more becoming that Order and Decency which God requires and expects of us in his Service, unlesse himself *hinder*, and deny us those comely advantages. No men are branded with blacker and juster marks of *Vilenesse* and *Unworthinesse*, than those who either grugged at, or secretly defrauded, or forcibly took away what was once *dedicated* or given to the Worship of God, the Honour of Christ, and the Benefit of his Church. Thus Christ, the Disciples, and all Christians, ever counted and called *Judas* a *Thief*, a *Traitor*, and a *Devil*: so *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, by their *sacriledge*, gave occasion to the first *thunderbolts* of *Church-censures*, which strook them dead upon the place. Who was ever more odious than *Dioctetian* and *Julian* the Apostate (a man otherwayes of great *Learning*, severe *Justice*, and *Stoicall Moralities*, as *Ammianus* gives us account of him, who followed him to his death) yet is his name execrable for a *witty Persecutor* and a *perfidious Sacrilegist*, while he scoffed at those *goodly vessels* of Gold and Silver; also at the *fair Basilica's* or *Cathedrals*, in which the *Galilean* (as he called our blessed Saviour) was served, when he had a mind to *confiscate* the Churches Goods and Treasures, that he might the better pay his Souldiers.

CHAP. XXVI.



Certainly there are *pious prodigalities* and *holy superfluities*, not only lawfull and convenient, but most comely and commendable among Christians, yea in some respects necessary: when Gods indulgence gives them *peace and plenty*, then they ought to be ashamed to serve God *niggardly*, to serve themselves with the best, and God with the *refuse*; to afford him onely such expressions of their Duty, Honour and Devotion, as cost them *little or nothing*: it is then a sin arguing a *Nabalitick* and *vile heart*, to meditate nothing but *vile* and *illiberall* things for God; to use in Christian *solemnities* no other but vulgar *conveniences* and *Kitchin-accommodations*, such as their extemporary and every-dayes *thrift* allowes to their very Beasts and Servants; no way *proportionable* to the bounty of God, or answerable to that *Majesty* they professe to adore in their Redeemer *Iesus Christ*, who not onely expects, as a *free-will-offering*, but requires, as a proportionable and *acceptable service*, that we honour him as becomes us, even before the Sons of men; that the glory of the *Gentiles* may be brought to Christ, and such *munificence* of Gold, Myrrhe, Frankincense, and things equivalent, as may import to *Aliens* that Christians esteem their Saviour as a *great King, Priest* and *Prophet*; yea, as a *God*, deserving to be worshipped with the best we can *present* him withall: which (as *Isidore Hispal.* observes after *S. Austin* in his *Civ. Dei*, and others out of *Varro* and other *Heathens*) were the methods they were taught, even by the light of Nature, to exalt and magnifie the Names and Honour of their *Gods*, by *Houses* far more costly and stately than private Edifices, judging it fit to pray in better rooms than they eat, and drank, and slept in. They added to their *Temples Images* of their Gods more ample than humane and ordinary Dimensions; they adorned all with *solemn Ceremonies*, and such accurate Eloquence, as chose rather to set forth the Praise and Majesty of their *Gods* in the *Grandeur* and exactnesse of Verse, than in the flatness, vulgarity and loosenesse of Prose; that by all means they might *conciliate* an high Respect and Veneration to their *Gods*, not onely from the *Worshippers*, but from the very *spectators*.

It is a shame that *Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, Venus, and Esculapius*, Gods that never lived, nor died for their *Worshippers*, should boast of their *Temples*, to the upbraiding of Christians; or that the *Jewes* and *Mahometans* should have cause to suspect us of a disesteem and flight of our God and Saviour, who lived among us and died for us, by our neglect of the places where we Christians meet to serve our God and Saviour. While we ambitiously dwell in *seiled houses*, *Gods houses* lie wast: poor mortall worms affect Palaces for themselves, and crowd their God, the King immortall, into a Cottage.

Z z

The

Of pious munificence becoming Christians.

Malac. 1. 8.

2 Sam. 24. 24.
Isa. 31. 5, 6.

Match. 2.

Isid. l. 8. Ety-
mol.
Magnificentiam
& cultus &
sermonis ad De-
orum & religi-
onis honorem
homines primi
excogitarunt:
Hinc templa
Dei in privatis
domibus pul-
chriora, simula-
cris corporibus
humani am-
pliora, laudes
eo. ii. augusti or-
eloquentia ce-
lebrabantur,
certis numeris
inclusæ; Inde
vatum & poe-
tarum versus, &
Hymni ad Deos,
&c.

Hag. 1. 4.

Mark 14.4.

The pouring of that costly ointment on our Saviours head, was not that which he either absolutely needed or required; but he deserved it, and all that could be rendred to him, as tokens of Love, Honour and Gratitude: and we see he was so far from finding fault with it, or complying with the *thrifty* and *thiervish baseness* of Judas, that he accepted it kindly, he justified it publickly, and commended it highly, as worthy to be recorded wherever the Gospel is preached; that it might be an everlasting example of *generous Grace* and *liberall Love*, capable to give check in all Ages to such *dangerous Christians* and *penurious spirits*, as are prone, under pretences of Piety or Charity, or any reforming Frugalities, to quarrel at or condemn parallel expressions of munificent Honour and heroick Gratitude to *Jesus Christ*: for the honour of whose name, I thought it my duty thus farre to vindicate, against *sacrilegious Vastators*, the *sanctity* and *sumptuousnesse* of those places where the honour of our God and Saviour eminently dwels, in the solemn and publick celebration of his Name, Praise, Merit, and *Divine Majesty*; who abasing himself to the *shame of the Crosse*, and now *ascended above* every created name of Power and Honour in Heaven and Earth, ought not to be in any respect treated in such a vile fashion, as if we thought *meanly* of him, or with the *Samosatenians* and *Arians*, esteemed him no other than (*ψιλλὸς ἀνθρώπος*) a meer Man, to be served in as mean or meaner way than we serve our selves; which seems the sense of some wretches, who are glad to see Churches lie like Hog-sties, full of filth and confusion, and to be made even as Jakes and Dunghils; (which fate *Nebuchadnezzar* threatned to those that spake any thing amisse against the true God.) A light and example which, I confesse, I take to be as little to the credit or encouragement of any reformation of Religion, as it is no advantage to a *beautifull face*, which possibly is a little foul and besmeared, to scratch and tear its skin till the blood come, in stead of washing it clean.

Phil. 2.

Dan. 4.29.

I could not forbear to insist on this subject; in which, if I offend some *penurious* and *sacrilegious spirits* of the present Age, I hope I shall please and promote the desires and designs of more *generous posterity*, in whose dayes it may be God will restore the captivity, repair the ruines, & wipe away the reproches unjustly by *papists* & others cast upon this Church and the true Reformation, which indeed never owned any such Principles or Practises as favoured of *Sacriledge*, which is a taking away from our God, and the Lord *Jesus Christ*, from his Church, his Ministers, such things as are dedicated to his Worship and Service, to the Churches Benefit, and his Ministers Maintenance, Order and Honour; without which Religion cannot flourish, nor indeed well subsist, especially among such Christians, as under pretense of love and zeal for Reformation as friends, daily pillage and spoil Religion as its cruellest enemies.

C H A P. XXVII.



T was a speech in old times of better significancy than sound, *Luxus Clericorum Laus est Laicorum*, The Splendour or Pomp of the *Clergy* was the Praise and Honour of the *Laity*: not that Church-men should at any time be riotous and luxurious in their greatest abundance; but it is the commendation of Christian people (as indeed of all men) so to entertain the Ministers of their *God*, and Dispensers of their *Religion* (specially in times of *peace* and a Land of *plenty*) as may set them and their Profession furthest off from Poverty, and its inseparable companion, *vulgar contempt*; that *Church-men* might have, not onely wherewith to keep up the outward Decency & Majesty of *Religion*, but to maintain themselves and their families, at such a proportion as may extend to *charity*, *liberality* and *hospitality*. The habits and exercises of which vertues become no mens Hearts, Hands and Houses, better than *Christian Ministers* and Rulers of the Church: nothing more confirming the Doctrine they teach of Gods *munificence* to mankind, than their *living* so, as to be ever *giving*; Religion is never so acceptable to common people, as when they not onely hear the *Word* and see the *Ceremony*, but taste the *sweetnesse* and *substance* of it in the reall fruits of its *bounty*.

The main hinderances & unlikelihood of a conjunction between Protestants & Romanists.

Which pious Policy and charitable Craft in former dayes kept up the credit of Religion, both while it was *Roman* and when it was *Reformed*, to as high a pitch in *England*, as in any Nation under Heaven; while the *Clergy* enjoyed those blessings of Gods and mans Donation, which enabled many an one of them to *build* and *endow* many such noble foundations of *Churches*, *Colledges*, *Hospitals*, and *Almes-houses*, that any one of them now goes beyond all that ever *sacrilegious spirits* did or designed, either for Gods *honour* or mans *benefit*, if all their good works and thoughts were summed up and put together, (though indeed those men are incapable of doing any *good work*, as to Charity, who are guilty of sacred Robbery; stoln Sacrifices were not to be *consecrated to God*, no more than *dead carcasses*.) Every History of *England* shews at large what good and great works *Bishops* and other *Church-men* in *England* did, not onely in their *Papal Celebacy*, but in their Primitive and later *Conjugacy*; fruits indeed of pious and Princely Magnificence; such as now neither the joint abilities of the indigent and peeled *Clergy*, nor the gripple charity of whole *Counties* can or will so much as keep up or repair; no not so much as to the very fabrick of those fair *Churches*, which were the honour of Cities, Counties, and the whole Nation:

Deut. 14. 21.

Whose vast *Revenues* being taken away both from *Churches* and *Church-men*, no wonder if the fordid vastations of them and their deplorable decays, as that of *S. Pauls* in *London*, and of *Ely-Min-*

ster in that Isle, every where appear as shamefull, scandalous, and prodigious Spectacles to all ingenuous persons, to *Papists* both at home and abroad; also to all *Forraigners*, Christian, Mahometan, or Heathen, who come into this Island, who may easily see such sights, as rather proclaim *Saracenisism*, *Barbarisism*, and *Atheisism*, than such a sense of *Christianisism* as possessed our noble Progenitors, who were ashamed to seem base and niggardly toward a bountifull God and Saviour. Every City in *England*, besides other Towns, had such stately and durable monuments of pristine Piety and Charity in them, as were hardly to be destroyed by the malice of Time, in many Centuries, if the sacrilegious petulancy and malice of Man had not so assaulted them in these last few years, that the care of learned and ingenuous men is now how to preserve their Memories and goodly Fabricks, in the Pictures, and printed Types or Effigies of them; whose beautifull Structures are daily threatred with everlasting and irreparable ruines.

I am the more sensibly sorry and ashamed, to see these deplorable and execrable ruines, because I know they are great reproches to my Countrey, as well as to the *Reformed Religion* professed in this Church. The better sort of *English* people were ever esteemed as Valiant, as Generous, as Munificent, as Charitable, as Hospitable, as Pious, and as Devout, as any civill people under Heaven: I know not by what evil fate or genius we are now so changed, that many men do not onely repine and envy at all plenty and splendor, bestow'd on Churches and Church-men, nor do they onely suffer, through lazinesse and neglect, those goodly Temples to lapse and decay; but they do with covetous hearts, and cruell hands, industriously seek to strip and pull them both down: which, I am perswaded, no Christian under Heaven, either *Greeks* or *Latines*, *Russians* or *Abissines*, *Georgians* or *Armenians*, Reformed or Roman, would ever either act or permit, if they had the honour to enjoy such stately Houses of God among them; they would infinitely disdain to appear so degenerate from the patterns of paternall piety.

Yea I should injure the very *Jewes*, *Turks*, *Persians*, *Tartars*, *Indians*, and *Chineses*, if I should believe they would suffer such stately Edifices, being dedicated to the service and honour of their Gods, to run to ruine; if they were masters of them, doubtlesse they would both preserve and imploy them to such uses as they thought holy. Yet these are the beames that afflict some mens eyes in *England*, these the Camels they long to swallow down, under the pretended hunger and thirst of special Reformatiōs; whose impudent appetites have dared of late years publickly to petition the demolishing of all Church-edifices whatsoever, pretending they have been guilty of superstitious abuses: which (if so) is yet the fault of the Persons, not the Places, which are (without doubt) as capable to be consecrated by pious uses and holy duties, as defecrated by any past superstitious abuses: besides, no publick Edifices of Churches should, upon this account, ever be preserved in the changes incident to the various opinions

nions and perswasions, the outward modes and fashions of Religion; every form seeming to such as differ from it to have in it something either impious, superfluous, or superstitious, by its Antiquity or its Novelty, by its omissions or admissions.

If these sad and sordid *spectacles*, which have so foul an aspect of sacrilegious profaneness in respect of our *materiall Churches* (which are the most visible *tokens* and publick *badges* of religious Honour and Reverence in any Nation) if these cannot but scandalize and scare any sober & ingenuous *Papist*, from any thought or inclination to approve or adhere to any such *immoderate & immodest Reformations*; how much more will any honest-hearted *Romanist* loath and abhorre the very name of such Reformers, as he sees daily spitting upon, and casting dirt in the faces of their own *Fathers*, the *Bishops* and *Ministers* of their *Christian* and *Reformed Religion*, so much heretofore authorized & revered by the voice of the whole Nation in its Parliaments: whom yet some men have not only sought to *lop & crop* to the very *sub* (as to former endowments of Estate and Honour) but they aim (still in order to farther *Reformations*) to grub up the very roots of all Religion and Learning, of Civility and Sanctity: they would *depopulate* and *desolate* the very *Nurseries* and *Schools* of able Scholars, excellent Preachers, sage Counsellours and prudent Governours, both in Church and State: all *Universities*, *Colledges* and *Free-schools*, must be robbed of their Lands and Revenues; there want not those who long to see them confiscated, and to make private purchases of them; who would fain have leave to treat the *Colledges* and Scholars in them, as *Beares* are wont to do the poore Bees, when with their rude and mercilesse *pawes* they teare in pieces and overthrow their *hives*, that they may plunder them of their *honey*. Which abomination of utter desolation had ere this befallen all *Scholars*, as well *Lay-men* as *Clergy-men*, in *England*, if Gods good providence had not set some bounds to the endlessse projects of sacrilegious Reformers, by the Moderation, Learning, Justice, Generosity and Prudence of those, whose great power, and greater minds, were (onely) capable to curb that plebeian petulancy and mechanick importunity, which not content to have taken away the *liberall mangers* and *large provender* of faire Estates and Honours from the Clergy of *England* (with which all were dignified, though but few enjoyed them) have further sought to *muzzle* the mouths of the most laborious Oxen, grudging the meanest and painfullest Ministers (who are generally so lean, that they are reduced to *skin and bone*) the tenuity yet left them of *Hay*, *Straw* and *Stubble*; any thing of settled and secure Maintenance, in their little, and many times *litigious livings*. Which cruelty, however at present it would infinitely gratifie and fatten the *Popish party*, to see all *Ministers* and *Scholars* (which are the *light* and *life*, the rationall part and intellect, the very soul and spirit of any Nation) in such a Reformed Church as *England* was, thus treated and abased; yet they cannot but stomach and scorn all *Reformation*, that hath such scratches of sacrilegious Cruelties and rapacious Practises,

Practises, which are as the Mothes of Religion, the very *Mice* and *Rats* of Reformation, the effects not of piety and purity, but of *envy* and *fury*, great rocks of offence to all sober men, to all good Christians, to all ingenuous *Papists*, setting them (no doubt) at everlasting distances and defiances from all Reformations of Religion, which have such brands of Covetousnesse, Contempt, Sacriledge, injustice and confusion upon them.

When these two precipitious *Rocks*, and high *Cliffs* of distance, can be closed, between which lyeth that deep *Gulph* of mutuall antipathie, hatred and abhorrence, which keeps sober *Protestants* and moderate *Papists* from passing over or conversing, as Christians, one with another; When (on the one side) the Romanists will not be ashamed, ingenuously to own, and conscienciously to reforme, such things as are evidently and grossly amisse, yea confessedly such, if *Scripture*, *Antiquity*, *Catholick* and *Primitive Testimony*, yea and many of their own best *Authors* may be Judges, (such as are (for example) The taking away the cup from *Christian people*, The peremptory defining the manner of Christs *presence* in the *Sacrament*, and imposing an explicite belief of it contrary to all senses, common reason, and *Scripture Analogy*, The worshipping of any creature, or *God* under the form of it, as in Bread, Images, Angels, Saints, Reliques, The fallacious pedling with *Indulgences* and *Purgatory*, The adding to the *Scripture-Canon*, The imposing new articles of faith, besides other intolerable practises of Papall arrogancy and Tyranny, carried on by Jesuitick Policies, Principles and Practises, against all rules of Morality and Piety, Honor and Humanity;) when these, and some of the like rank leaven, are recanted and removed from the *Roman party*;

On the other side, when the *Protestants* and all that pretend to any name of *Reformation* shall be ashamed, under any cloak of Piety or *Christian Liberty*, either to rob from God and his *Church*, from his service, and speciall servants the *Ministers* of the Gospell, or not to restore to them what is theirs by all Lawes, Divine and Humane, by right of *Testamentary Donation*, by religious consecration, by civil sanction and confirmation, by long use and peaceable fruition, no way forfeitable by Man, or alienable from God, whose the fee, right and property is, as a gratitude and homage payed to the Honour, Worship and service of his great *Name*; When Papists forbear their *Superstitious Sacriledge*, and Protestants their *Covetous Sacriledge*; when the first restore the Truth, Purity, and Integrity of *Christian Religion*, which they have long detained in unrighteousnesse; when the other restores that Order, Honour, and Estate, which belongs to the support and government, the decency and Majesty of Christ, his *Church*, and true Religion:

Then, and not before, may we expect some happy close among these so divided *Western Churches*, whom first *Papall* policy and pride, now *Plebian* loosenesse and insolency, on all sides factious and schismaticall, covetous and cruell practises, have now no lesse divided

divided than former different Doctrines, opinions and ceremonies did, the reconciliation of which many learned and peaceable men have seriously studied, soberly proposed, and charitably endeavoured. The want, & almost despaire now (without multiplied *Miracles*) of which most desirable atonement, & the sad consequences which must needs attend the continuance and increase of desperate defiance, implacable violences, and cruell immoderations on all sides, these, these (I say) are calamities more deplorable than any that a Christians eyes can behold in all the world, since they are at once the sin, shame, and misery of Christendom; besides the scandall and scorn of all the world. It being a farre sadder sight, to see Christians thus *rob* and *spoile*, thus *worry* and *wound* one another, than to see them persecuted by Heathens and Infidels, Jewes and Mahomerans: as it is farre more horrid to see *men* fighting with one another, than beasts; or brethren, than strangers. Without any doubt, the mutuall *animosities* and *barbarities* exercised by Christians on all sides, as they will in time open a doore for *Turkish power* to prevaile against them, so (meane while) it makes Christians turn *Turkes* one against another. Besides that these *unchristian Practises* on all sides do leave not onely the looser sort of men and women to an *Atheisticall* indifference as to any Religion; but the more sober and just Christians on every side (*Protestants* and *Papists*) are so scandalized and perplexed, that they do not wel know what *course* of Religion to hold, nor how to *steere* between the grosse *errors* on the one side, and the base *rapines* on the other: It being an hard choice for a serious and honest Christian, whether he should keep Communion with *superstitious* and *Idolatrous Papists*, or with schismaticall and sacrilegious Protestants; the one refusing to be justly *reformed*, the other deforming even *Reformation* it self.

Amidst which miserable distances and disadvantages of Christian Religion, this sad event and *burden of the Lord* may be too easily foretold by one of the *smallest Prophets*, That as *Atheisme*, *Profanenesse* and Irreligion is like to get ground on all sides, through the deformities, immoderations, varieties, & inconsistencies of Religion, so (to be sure) the *Papall party*, repoute & interest will daily prevaile every where, (as of later yeares it hath) against those of the Protestant and Reformed profession: since they see even the most famous, settled and flourishing Church of England, (which was the *Mirror of Reformation*, the noblest standard of Religion, the ablest *Antagonist* against *Romish* pride and superstition in all the world,) *this*, even *this*, sought now to be so reduced, so battered and divided, so peeled and spoiled, distressed, deformed, dissipated and despised; and this even by those that pretend high to *Reformation*, which must, they say, be attained and perfected by utter devesting, even this so famous a Church, and its deserving Clergy, of their former Honour and Estate, Order and Government, Authority and Dignity, Revenues and Reputation, Uniformity and Unity; all which heretofore they enjoyed by the mercy of God, and good will of such Princes and Peers, *Parlaments*

laments and People, as were the best Christians and best reformed, who justly abhorred those sacrilegious and *sharking arts*, which make either Religion or Reformation, Preachers or true Professors, either avaritious, or beggerly and necessitous; which their Wisdome and Piety knew would be the way to undermine and obstruct all true Religion and progresse of Reformation; all experience teaching us, that mankind is naturally prone rather to follow *liberall Errours* than *niggardly Truths*: few men will adhere to *hungry Holinesse* and *famishing Reformatiōns*, such as some men have designed and vehemently agitated of late years in *England*, little (God knows) to the credit or advance of any true *Reformation*.

It cannot then but be most evident to you (O my noble Countrey-men) and to all wise men, that as the sad condition of the *Church of England* at once pleaseth and hardneth the *Romanists* (who are glad to see her thus wasted, though they abhor the means and methods of her misery;) so the *reall interest* of the true Reformed Religion in *England* seems now much weaker than ever it was, much more exposed to the *objections* and *obloquies*, the Policies and Practices of pragmatick *Jesuits* and other spitefull *Papists*, who with infinite Industry, with all Arts and Alacrity, daily undermine all the remaining parts, yea and the very *foundation* as well as the *reputation* of all *reformed Religion* in the hearts of the people of *England*. Doubtlesse, if *Popish Priests*, which are men of learning and sober lives, had liberty in publick to promote their party, they would draw most men and women after them, in the Novelties, Distractiōns, Confusions and Deformities of Religions, yea and of Reformatiōns here in *England*, in despite of all the orderly and *Orthodox Clergy* yet left in *England*: so little would they consider any stop or impediment, that either *Presbytery* or *Independency*, *Scott*. or *New-Engl.* can give them, who have all been made active and contributive to their own shame, and to the generall ruine of this Church, and consequently to the reall advantages of *Popery*, which professeth great uniformity and constancy in their Religion. Nor can the *subtil factors* for the *Papacy* but expect and hope by degrees, in a few years, to bring in again into *England*, the justly feared and abhorred Inundations of the *Sea of Rome*, in its *superstitions* and *usurpations*: against both which our wise and pious progenitors, both since and before the *Reformation*, did in many Parliaments make severall *cautions*, *provisions*, *Premunire's*, and *sanctions*, to preserve the *liberty*, *honour*, and *purity* of the *Church of England*.

For they well knew, that the *secular interests* and Ecclesiastick designs of the *Church and Court of Rome* ever have been, and still are carried on with a mighty tide and strong current, not onely of *Papal authority* and *popular credulity*, as of old, but of Learning, Eloquence, Riches, Honor, Power, Pomp, Policy, yea & with great plausibilities of Piety, Sanctity, Unity and Charity, of later Ages. All which popular and potent *biasses* will easily and unavoidably over-beare, in time (as to the generality of people) all those feeble resistances or opposi-

oppositions that can be made by such an *equivocall generation* and *dubious succession* of poor, despised and dispirited Ministers, whatever they are, whether of *Episcopall*, *Presbyterian*, or *Independent* characters; who in great part naked and unarmed, unfed and unstudied, reduced to a *sneaking* and *starveling* habitude, both of Body and Mind, of Honour and Estate, will prove pitifull *Champions* for the true *Reformed Religion*; when they shall neither have just Ability nor justifiable Authority, to assert the true and just measures of Religion and true Reformation. Who is there that in after-Ages will adventure his Soul & his Religion with those men & Ministers, that can have neither Learning nor Livelihood capable to bear up with their spirits and parties, or the Authority and Honour of their calling; especially when they are to encounter with such sons of *Anak*, such *Zanzummims* and *Goliaths*, who will ever appear on the Papall side, to defie all Reformation that seems to reproch their deformities?

Alas, will not the *predicant* (or rather *mendicant*) Patrons of so divided Religion and deformed parts of Reformation, seem in their own eyes (unlesse they be strangely swelled with the puffed and breath of Popularity) but as *Zanies* and *Dwarfs*, as *Grasse-hoppers* before them; with their thred-bare Coats, hungry Bellies, and servile Spirits? How will these that never had means or leisure to advance their studies of *Divinity* or practise of *preaching* beyond a modern Synopsis and an English Concordance, being raw and infants in *dogmatick* Truths, perfect strangers to Polemick, Historick, and Scholastick Divinity, to Councils, Fathers, and Languages, how will they be affrighted to read or hear of the great names of *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, *Possevino*, *Perron*, *Petavio*, *Sirmundus*, and many other Grandees of the Roman side, great Clerks, great Church-men, and great Statesmen too, who are able to carry with them Troops of *Auxiliaries*, Legions of Assistants, being as rich as learned, very wise and weighty to use and improve all the strength and advantages they have of Estate and Honour, Studies and Parts, for the advance of their side, in their *Errors* and *Superstitions*? which of late years their followers have done with unhappy successe and great encrease of their *faction* against the *Reformed Religion* of the divided *Church of England*; whose scattered Remains (in a short time) will be like a flock of silly and helpless *sheep*, that have neither safe folds, nor any skilfull and valiant *Shepherds* to defend and rescue them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Roman interests advanced by the petty factions of super-Reformers of Religion.



Or do these *wilely Romanists* exercise their malice against this Reformed Church, onely with their own strength and dexterity, but they have other oblique Policies and sinister Practises, by which they set on work the *hot heads* and *pragmatick hands* of all other *Setts*, who pretend the greatest *Antipathies* to Popery, and yet most promote its interests by their Factions and fanatick Practises; by their heedlesse and headlesse, their boundlesse and endlesse Agitations, which blast all true *Reformation*, and bring in nothing but Division and Confusion.

For among these there are a sort of people who affect *Supremacy* in Church and State too, a *spirituall* and *temporall* Dominion, no less than doth the *Pope of Rome*: there are among them many petty Popes, who would fain be the great and onely Dictators of *Religion*; whose opinionative pride and projects are as yet of a lesser volume & blinder print, but they every day meditate & agitate new Editions of their power, and larger additions to their parties and designes; being as *infallible* in their own conceits, as imperious in their spirits, and as magisteriall in their censures, as the proudest *Popes of Rome*; not doubting to condemn and excommunicate any private Christians and Ministers, yea whole Christian Churches, yea and the best Reformed in the world (such as *England* was) if they be not just of their form and fashion, or if they will not patiently submit to their multiform and deformed *Reformations*, by which they daily wire-draw true *Reformation* to such a small thread, that losing its strength and integrity, it must needs snap in pieces and become uselesse: the strange fires of blind, popular, preposterous and sacrilegious *Zeal* so overboyling true *Religion* and sober *Reformation*, till they are utterly confounded and quenched with such sordid and shamefull deformities, as must needs follow their Divisions, Distractions and Despiciencies, as to all Church-order; Christian unity and Ministeriall authority. Thus many *heady* and *giddy* Professors have been so eager to come out of *Babylon*, that they are almost run out of their wits, and far beyond the bounds of good consciences; so jealous of *Superstition*, that they are Panders for *Confusion*; so scared with the name of *Rome*, that they are afraid of all right Reason and sober Religion; so fearfull of being over-righteous by following vain *traditions of men*, that they fear not to be over-wicked, by overthrowing the good foundations of Order, Honour, Peace and Charity, which Christ and his Apostles have laid in his Church: fierce enemies indeed against the *Idolatry* of *Antichrist*, but fast friends to *Belial* and *Mammon*, to *Schisme* and *Sacriledge*; which having no fellowship with God and Christ, must needs belong to the party of *Antichrist*, which contains a circle of Errours, while Christ is the centre of Truth;

Eccles. 7. 16.

Rom. 2. 21.

Truth : and we know that parts *diametrically opposite* to each other may (yet) make up the same *circumference*, and be at equal distance from the *centre* ; so may Practises and Opinions which seem most crosse against each other, yet, as *Herod and Pilate*, alike conspire against Christ and true Religion, like *vicious extremes*, which are contrary to each other, and yet uncorrespondent with that *virtue* from which they are divided.

They are children in understanding who do not already discern and deplore (what wise and godly men have long ago *foreseen* and *foretold*) that by these two, *Papall policy* and *fanatick fury*, the superstitions of the *Romanists*, and the confusions of *Schismatics*, the happy state of the *reformed Church of England* was alwayes in danger to be mocked, stripped, wounded and crucified : some men already fancy, that they see it weeping and bleeding, crying and dying, using in its sad *expirings* the last words of its Saviour ; first, to her God, *Why hast thou forsaken me ?* next, for her *Enemies* and *Destroyers*, *Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.* While the *Papists* on the one side rob God of his glory, giving religious worship to Creatures: the *Sacrilegists* on the other side rob God and the Church, their Mother, Fathers, and Brethren, of that double Honour, Maintenance and Reverence, Authority and competency, which is due to them, and was seel'd upon them, snatching away the *childrens bread* that they may give it to *dogs*, to greedy and grinning men, authors and fautors of all our *rents* and *confusions* ; who (as the Psalmist expresseth it) *run up and down through every County, City, Street and Village, grudging* if they be not satisfied with the *Priests portion*. Pl. 59. 6.

Thus while the *Papists* too much pamper & overcharge Religion with Pomp and Luxury, with superfluous *Ceremonies* and *Superstitions* ; while the *Fanatics* strive to *underfeed* and starve it to a despicable feebleness and deformity ; both of them are become dangerous enemies to the true *reformed* state of Religion, in this or any Church and Nation, whose best temper and healthfullest constitution is made up of *sincere Truth*, *unfeigned Charity*, *liberall Piety*, *unaffected Decency*, a *duly-ordained Ministry* with *just Authority*, and *uninterrupted Succession*, entertained with *holy moderation* and *humble prosperity*. All which were heretofore as remarkably to be seen in the *Church of England* as in any Nation under Heaven : which now is in danger to be put upon great *streights*, to run between two Seas and Rocks, like the Ship which carried *S. Paul* ; uncertain whether it must be destroyed by *Papall*, or *popular insolencies* ; whether it shall at once be driven and split upon the high rocks of *Popery*, or tossed with the *Herricans*'s of vulgar tempests and variety, till it run upon the flats and shallows of *Sacrilege*, and be swallowed up by *fanatick Quick-sands*.

'Tis true, these insectiles, the later and lesser fry of novell Sects and various factions in *England*, dayly multiplying and dividing in their Opinions, Religions and Reformations, may possibly seem to some men like small *Pilchards* or *Shotten Herrings*, compared to the great *Whales* and mighty *Leviathans* of *Rome* ; neither so dreadfull,

nor so dangerous to the *Reformed Religion*: But wise men may consider that what seems wanting in their *Masse* and *Bulk*; severally looked on, is made up in their number and *activity*: not onely *Sea-Monsters* may sink a ship, but small *wormes*, which grow to its sides and keel, will eat it through and destroy it. It is a great deal of mischief that *Mice* and *Rats*, *Ants* and *Mites*, will do in a little time to great bodies, if they be let alone. This I am sure, some of these petty-spirited, but very spitefull animals, which some men so much despise, have of late yeares so excessively spawned and swarmed by a licentious *superfetation* of *Religions* and *Reformations* here in *England*, that they are become like the numerous *Locusts*, *Flies* and *Caterpillars* of *Egypt*; not onely very busie and importune, but biting and devouring what ever they can light upon; yea many of them, like *Wasps* and *Hornets*, are most exasperated against those sober Christians and Ministers, who are less patient to have their Estates, Liberties, Consciences and Religion, at once destroyed by their gnawing or *corroding Reformatiōs*.

The fruits and effects of which *African mixtures* and confusions, every wise man may easily foretell, being utterly inconsistent with not onely the Sanctity, Charity, Unity, Tranquillity, and Majesty of Religion, becoming this Reformed Church and Christian State, but with the very civill Peace, freedom and secular *Honour* of this Nation. Nor can any sober person tell what any one or all of them, in their *fractiōs* and *factions*, would be at, either in respect of the flourishing of Religion, or felicity of the civil state, beyond (or any way comparable to) what was formerly professed, practised and enjoyed in this Church and Nation, long before *Satan* had leave thus to winnow the *Church*, with Saint *Peter*, or to smite the State, as he did *Job*, with these civill boyles and botches. I know there are some grave and godly men (who are well-affected to the *Church* of *England*, and zealous for true *Reformation* in a settled and happy way) who do not account these Moderne and Minute *Sects*, these broken and divided factions, to be any way very dangerous, and so not considerable to the publick welfare of this Nation, either in Religious or civill respects; because they think none of them to be of a firme and durable constitution, but rather as *Vermine*, bred of putrid water, in warme, unwholesome, and to them most indulgent seasons, between Pride and Peevishnesse, Ignorance and Licentiousnesse, Envy and Covetousness, they cannot either continue long, or propagate any lasting succession, but as *animalls* of a crude, imperfect and equivocall generation, having spent that corrupt matter out of which they have both their production and nutrition, they will (like *Magots*) dye of themselves: as did the *Gnosticks*, *Montanists*, *Manichees*, *Novatians*, or *Catharists*, the *Aerians*, *Euchites*, *Circumcellions*, *Donatists* and others in ancient times, whose folly being made manifest to all sober Christians, it prevailed no further. Such creatures in time, like *Snailles*, wasting their slimy and indigested substance by their own motions. The rage of Hereticks and Schismaticks being like

like that of mad *Doggs*, which after they have a while *formed* and snapped here and there, run themselves to death, and are *tired* by their own *cruell agitations*. Nor will they find many to succeed them, especially when once the wisdom and piety of a Christian Nation so far recovers, as to cut off and curb that popular, licentious and lazy humour, or to obstruct those hopes of profit, pleasure and preferment, which are the *Favonii*, the warme winds, that *impregnate* these creatures. How few would have deserted, and so *desied*, the Church of *England*, (as they have done) if they had not had other temptations than those of conscience or religious persuasions?

'Tis true, I do not look upon these many-headed and mis-shapen factions, which are so highly animated against the Church of *England*, (being most-what like *Monsters*, either *excessive* in their *Seraphick Whimsies*, everlasting Novelties, and affected fancies, or *defective* in that sound knowledge, that humble, orderly and peaceable charity, which becomes true Christians) I do not look upon them as any way apt, or able of themselves to build an orderly and durable structure, no more than the *Brick-layers* of *Babel*, when their *Tongues* were divided: for I find they are commonly like *Rookes*, which strive to make their own nests by rifling their *Neighbours*. Little solid or settled, in Reason or Religion, in Church or State, is expectable from tempers and activities which are like that of *Pioneers* and *Plunderers*, chiefly for undermining and ruining, prostrating and levelling, both Churches and States, all Magistrates and Ministers that are either within their reach and stroke, or without their mark and cognizance upon their *fore-heads*.

Yet give me leave to suggest, yea and to urge upon your most serious considerations (O my *Honoured* and *beloved Country-men*) that the *consequents* necessarily attending the divided opinions and destructive agitations of those that may seem the most petty parties, and inconsiderable Sects now in *England*, must needs be very dangerous, and may in time prove extreamly pernicious to the peace, piety, honour, and welfare of this Nation; not onely in respect of the *Reformed Religion*, whose authoritative Ministry and maintenance they will ever seek to devour and utterly destroy, but even in respect of secular interests, and civill peace.

For the first, (The integrity and true interests of the Reformed Religion,) who, that hath read what I have already, not more passionately then impartially written, can be so blind, as not to see, That the pride, petulancy and despite, the ignorance, licentiousness and covetousness of some of these men, hath been and still is such, that they have not onely sought to waste and deforme, to reproach and defame all that outward order, visible beauty, polity, support and unity, which became so famous a *Church* and *Nation*; but they have further studied to weaken and destroy the most solid and essential parts of *Religion*, by many grosse errors, *damnable Doctrines*, bold blasphemies, high Atheismes and rude immoralities: all which do naturally boile up in the corrupt hearts and violent lusts of mankind,

when

when they have any fire of temptation, or encouragement. What is then so immodest, so impudent against the glory of God, against the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, against the written word of God, against the reputation of the Catholick, or any well-reformed Church, against the Lawes of nature, civill societies and common justice, against the good of men and Christians, their temporall and eternall welfare, which some of these *Abaddons*, these *Apollyons* will not adventure to broach and aber, to act, own and applaud, when they see their *raveries* are apt not onely to amuse the *vulgar people*, but to mend their own *fortunes*, which are the first and neereſt deſignes they aime at, as the chief ends of the agents?

*Finis operantis
& operis.*

But the *end* or *effect* following their *actions*, (though poſſibly not ſome of their intentions) will be this, to prepare by theſe various windings, conſuſed circulations and diſtorted wreſtings of the Reformed Religion, the way for *Roman* factors, *Papall* intereſts and *Feuſtick deſignes*, whoſe learned abilities, orderly induſtry, and indefatigable activity is ſuch, that by that time the *old ſtock* of Reverend, orderly and authoritative Biſhops and Preſbyters, (the trueſt and moſt unqueſtionable Miniſters of the Church of Chriſt,) are worn out in *England*, and the reformed Religion is reduced with its rittular and extenuated *Miniſters* to a meer *medly*, or popular *Chaos of conſuſions*, (the moſt of ſober people being either ſick, or aſhamed, or weary of their home-bred diſorders, and unremedied diſeaſes in Religion) by this time (I ſay) the *Romiſh* agitators will not onely devour all theſe petty parties, and feeble factions of *Reformers*, with as much eaſe as the *Stork* did the *Froggs*; but they will (in time) utterly deſtroy the remaines of the deſamed Doctrines and *deformed Religion*, which your fore-fathers owned, and to the death profeſſed, as moſt true and well reformed, with great Honour, Holineſſe, and Happineſs; which yet the ignorance and inſolence, the Illiteratenes and Ruſticity, the Barrenneſſe and Barbarity of novel Sects have already rendred poor and deſpicable, much to be pitied and deplored both at home and abroad.

I muſt ever ſo far own my reaſon, as to profeſſe that I look upon the Deſamers, Dividers and Deſtroyers of the *Church of England*, (whatever they are or ſeem) to be no other than the perdues or forelorn hope of *Popery*, which by lighter skirmiſhes open advantages to the Popes maine *Battaglio*; the *Vancourriers*, or *Harbingers*, ſent and excited (in great part) from the *Pragmatick Policies* of *Rome*, whoſe grand intereſt ſince the Reformation hath been, not more to advance the Houſe of *Auſtria* and preſerve the Papacy, than to regain the *Church of England* to the *Romiſh* ſlavery.

In whoſe preſent calamities may eaſily be diſcerned a far greater reach and deeper Spirit, than is uſuall to be found in ordinary *Seſtaries* and *Schiſmaticks*, who are commonly of low and mean parts, ſhort-ſighted and ſhort-ſpirited, of very ſhallow wits and extemporary deſignes, rarely aiming at any thing that is of a publick concern, of a grand, notable and durable proportion; but rather gratifying their

their sudden passions and occasionall fancies or correptions, which are pitifully poor and plebeian, seldome reaching higher than the pleasure of *scratching* their own or other mens itching ears with some novel fancies and opinions, or setting up themselves by a sorry *ambition* to be Heads and Leaders, the Pastors and Teachers of some credulous company, which makes it self into some new mode, and very superciliously calls it self *The Church*; not in charity and communion with, but in contempt and defiance of all other *Churches*, Parochiall, Provinciall, Nationall, or Catholick, owning none of the Primitive, Grand and Apostolicall Combinations, or their Successions, to be truly constituted Churches. By such *little arts* some of them feed their bellies and cloth their backs better than heretofore, when they made no such *cakes* for their *Queens* of Heaven, nor Shrines for their severall *Diana's*, but were confined to their lesse *gainfull trades*; some of them feed meerly upon *popular breath*, which, as the wind, will never last long in one point or corner; lastly, some of them keep up their vulgar Pride and sad Ambitions by nothing else but by the fame of their *Antagonists*, the glory they have to contest with, the *Church of England* and her ablest Ministers, who are (in earnest) so much superiour to these sorry Rivals and Ruiners of them, in all Learning, Religion, Vertue, Wisdome, Honesty and Modesty, as the Stars in the firmament are beyond the glittering of rotten *chips* in the dark, or the shining of Glow-wormes in a ditch.

Certainly these petty *parties*, who scarce know what they drive at, and are full of varieties in their Fancies, Forms and Factions, these cannot produce so constant a *current* and so strong a *tide*, as is alwaies urging against the *Church of Engl.* and the honour of the Reformed Religion; but they are driven on by a subtile and secret, yet potent impulse, as waves of the sea, not onely dashing and breaking upon each other, but (all of them) battering the Honour and Stability of the *Church of England*, as the great rampart or *bank* which stands in the way of the *Sea of Rome*, mightily opposing and hindring heretofore both fanatick Confusions, Papal Usurpations, and Romish Superstitions; whose advantages now are evidently prepared and carried on by those, that under the name of *Reformation* will most effectually at last overthrow it.

For after these petty *spirits*, who have been and are the great Dividers, Despisers and Destroyers of the reformed *Church of England*, have a few years longer played their *mad pranks* in this sometime so flourishing and fruitfull *vineyard of the Lord*, (pulling up the *hedge* of Ecclesiasticall Canons, and Civil Sanctions, throwing down the *wall* of Ancient Discipline and Catholick Government, breaking in pieces the *wine-press* of holy Ordination and Ministeriall Authority and Succession, pulling up both *root* and *branch* of holy Plants and regular Planters;) what (I beseech you) can hinder these subtile *Foxes* and wild *Boars* of Romish Power and Policy, to enter in, and not onely secretly, but openly (as occasion shall serve) to destroy all
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the remaining stock of the true *Protestants*, and Professors of the Reformed Religion? who at first soberly protesting against Popish Errours and Deformities, afterwards *praying* (in vain) for a joynt and just Reformation, did (at last) reform themselves, after the rule of Gods Word, interpreted by the Catholick Practise of purest Antiquity.

What (without a *miracle*) can hinder the Papall prevalency in *England*, when once sound Doctrine is shaken, corrupted, despised; when Scriptures are wrested by every private interpreter; when the ancient Creeds and Symbols, the Lords Prayer and Ten Commandements, all wholsome forms of sound Doctrine and Devotion, the Articles and Liturgy of such a Church, together with the first famous Councils, all are slighted, vilified, despised and abhorred by such English-men as pretend to be great Reformers; when neither pristine Respect nor Support, Credit nor Countenance, Maintenance nor Reverence shall be left either to the Reformed Religion or the Ministry of it? without which they will hardly be carried on beyond the fate of *Pharaohs Chariots*, when their wheelles were taken off, which is to be overwhelmed and drowned in the *Romish red Sea*; which will certainly overflow all, when once *England* is become, not onely a dunghill and *Tophet* of Hereticall filth and Schismaticall fire, but an *Aceldama*, or field of blood, by mutuall Animosities and civil Dissentions, arising from the variations and confusions of Religions.

All which, as the *Roman Eagle* now foresees, and so followes the camp of *Sectaries* (as *Vultures* and Birds of prey are wont to doe Armies) so no man, not blinded with private passions and present interest, is so simple, as not to know that it will in time terribly seize upon the blind, dying, or dead carcase of this *Church and Nation*; whose expiration will be very visible, when the Purity, Order and Unity of Religion, the Respect, Support and Authority of the Ministry is vanished and banished out of *England*, by the neglect of some, the Malice, Madnesse and Ingratitude of others, your most unhappy Countrey-men: Then shall the *Israel of England* return to the *Egypt of Rome*; then shall the beauty of our *Ston* be captive to the bondage of *Babylons* either Superstition or Persecution; from both which I beseech God to deliver us.

As an Omen of the future fate, how many persons of fair Estates, others of good parts and hopefull Learning, are already shrewdly warped and inclined to the *Church of Rome*, and either actually reconciled, or in a great readinesse to embrace that Communion (which excommunicates all *Greek* and *Latine Churches*, *Eastern*, *Western* and *African* Christians, which will not submit to its Dominion and Superstition) chiefly moved hereto, because they know not what to make of or expect from the Religion and Reformation of the *Church of England*; which they see so many zealous to reproch and ruine, so few concerned to relieve, restore, or pity?

As for the return of *you* (my noble Countrey-men) and your Posterity

sterity to the Roman Subjection and Superstition, I doubt not but many of you, most of you, all of you, that are persons of judicious and consciencious Piety, doe heartily deprecate it, and would seriously avoid it to the best of your skill and power, as indeed you have great cause, both in Prudence and Conscience, in Piety and Policy: yet I believe none of you can flatter your selves, that the next *Century* shall defend the Reformed Religion in *England* from Romish Pretensions, Perswasions and Prevalencies, as the last hath done, while the Dignity, Order and Authority of the Ministry, the Government of excellent Bishops, the Majesty and Unity of this reformed Church and its Religion, were all maintained by the unanimous vote, consent and power of all Estates.

Nay, the *Dilemma* and distressed choice of Religion is now reduced to this, that many peaceable and well-minded Christians, having been so long *harrassed*, bitten and worried with novell Factions and pretended Reformatiions, would rather chuse that their Posterity (if they may but have the excuse of *ignorance* in the main controversies, to plead for Gods mercy in their joining to that Communion which hath so strong a relish of *Egyptian* Leeks and Onions, of Idolatry and Superstition, besides unchristian Arrogancy and intolerable Ambition; that their Posterity, I say) should return to the *Roman party*, which hath something among them settled, orderly and uniform, becoming Religion, than to have them ever turning and tortured upon *Ixions wheel*, catching in vain at fancifull Reformatiions, as *Tantalus* at the deceitfull waters, rolling with infinite paines and hazard the Reformed Religion, like *Sisyphus* his stone, sometime asserting it by Law and Power, otherwhile exposing it to popular Liberty and Loosenesse; than to have them *tossed to and fro with every wind of Doctrine*, with the Fedities, Blasphemies, Animosities, Anarchies, Dangers and Confusions, attending fanatick Fancies & quotidian Reformatiions, which, like botches or boiles from surfeited and unwholsome bodies, do daily break out among those Christians, who have no rule of Religion but their own humours, and no bounds of their Reformatiions but their own Interests; the first makes them ridiculous, the second pernicious to all sober Christians.

Whereas the *Roman Church*, however tainted with rank Errours and dangerous Corruptions in *Doctrine* and *Manners* (which forbid us under our present convictions to have in those things any visible sacred communion with them, though we have a great *charity* and *pity* for them; *Charity* in what they still retain good, *Pity* in what they have erred from the Rule and Example of *Christ* and his *Catholic Church*;) yet it cannot be denied, without a brutish blindness and injurious slander (which onely serves to gratifie the grosse *Antipathies* of the gaping vulgar) that the *Church of Rome*, among its *Tares* and *Cockle*, its *Weeds* and *Thornes*, hath many wholsome Herbs and holy Plants growing; much more of Reason and Religion, of good Learning and sober Industry, of Order and Polity, of Morality and Constancy, of Christian Candor and Civility, of

common Honesty and Humanity, becoming grave men and Christians, by which to invite after-Ages and your Posterity to adhere to it and them, rather then to be everlastingly exposed to the *profane babblings, endless janglings, miserable manglings, chiding confusions, Atheisticall indifferencies* and *sacrilegious furies* of some later spirits, which are equally greedy and giddy, making both a play and a prey of Religion, who have nothing in them comparable to the *Papall party*, to deserve your or your Posterities admiration or imitation, but rather their greatest caution and prevention: for you will finde what not I onely, but sad experience of others may tell you, that the *fishes and pitch-forks* of these petty Sects and plebeian Factions will be as *sharp and heavy* as the Papists Swords and Faggots heretofore were, both to your religious and civil Happinesse.

CHAP. XXIX.

The danger of divided parties in Religion as to the civill interests of England.



Or however the *feebleness* and paucity of *lesser Sects* and *Factions* in Religion in some places, their mutual Divisions and intestine Quarrels in others (being like the Birds called *Ruffs*, ever brushing and pecking against each other) may make them seem at present not so dangerous or pernicious, in regard of civil Troubles and Seditions, as they have been to the Ecclesiasticall Uniformity, Beauty and Honour; yet later as well as former experiences may not onely admonish, but assure you, that besides the *Roman advantages*, which are greatest and last, the private Passions and various Interests even of these lesser *Factionists* and *Sticklers*, will not seldome nor a little hazard your *civil peace*, when once their severall parties and opinions can get numbers capable to set up their pretensions, under any specious name, either of *Anabaptistick Repentance*, or special Calls and Inspirations, or a *Fifth Monarchy*, or *Christs Kingdome* in this world, or any *Saints* reigning upon earth for a thousand years more or lesse, according as they can get and hold power over mens bodies and souls, and be *supreme* to all intents and purposes, both civil and religious.

I make no great doubt but these men will be found as rigid, cruel and implacable in their heights and soveraignties, as ever those *bloody Papists* were, whose principle was to destroy all they count *Hereticks*, and the others to destroy all they count not *godly & Saints*, because (forsooth) not of their respective parties, either *Papists* or *Schismatics*.

England at severall times, beside other Countreys, hath had terrible *Essays* what such spirits aim to doe (and they will out-doe their own aimes) when their rude hands should be able to keep pace with their *giddy heads, malicious hearts* and *extravagant tongues*. How have they sometime threatned to destroy, not onely Churchmen

men and Ministers, but all Gown-men and Lawyers; yea all others in any power or capacity above them, if incomplicant with them?

You cannot be ignorant how the pulse of such people *bates*, when they have tasted of severall Religions, and sipped of many *Reformations*, which, like variety of *Wine*, so strangely *intoxicate* common men and women, that of friends they grow most insolent enemies against those *Churches* and Christians which they first despise, then forsake, at length divide, and at last destroy, as farre as lies in their power.

Thus desperately disdainfull, unaffable and intractable, grew the *Donatists*, *Novatians*, *Arians*, and others in *St. Austins* time, superciliously refusing all offers of Christian conference and charitable accommodation with him and other holy men of the Catholick Communion: yea some of them unprovoked (as *St. Austin* tells us) put *Catholick Christians* and Ministers to exquisite tortures, casting *unflaked lime* with vinegar into their eyes to burn them out, that they might be as blind in their bodies, as their persecuters were in their soules; railing most bitterly, as *Rosidius* in the life of *S. Austin* tells us, against that holy man and his fraternity of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, because he did mightily discover, and render detestable their *hypocriticall* madnets, for which these *impudent wretches*, and impious pretenders to religion, called him a *carnall man*, a *formall professor*, a *rotten Christian*, an *execrable person*, not fit to live: thus (for the comfort of many unjustly *despised*, and unruly reproched *Bishops* and *Presbyters* of the *Church of England*,) was he treated by these *fanatick Factionists*, who was one of the most excellent lights for learned humility, charitable industry, and modest constancy, that ever God raised up to his Church since the *Apostles* dayes.

I will not odiously repeat to you the well known, yet infamous, seditions and rustick tumults raised in *Germany* by the *Anabaptistick* and other Spirits, to the destruction of above an hundred thousand poor people. Other attempts were made by such *Zelots* upon other Provinces and Cities, sufficient to tell the world what good stomachs some men have to devour all things civill and sacred, when once they can be *Masters of mis-rule*. Their despite is not onely against the learning, livelyhood and lives of *Bishops* and true *Ministers* of *Churches*, either Reformed or Roman, that stand in their way; but all is fuell that comes under their flaming *Fingers*: They long to be sharers and Masters of the Estates, Lands, Places, Profits, Honours, Powers, and Wives of Magistrates, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, and Tradesmen, whose barnes, or shops, or houses are better furnished than these Reformers yet are. Whosoever they, or their Prophets & *Parasites*, should decree, as *John of Leiden* did, to be Reprobates (because not complying with their wild opinions and holy *ravings*,) presently they were branded for *ungodly*; next they were voted as enemies to *Jesu Christ*; at last they were devoted to *Poverty*, *Prison*, *Banishments* and *Deaths*; unlesse they chose a voluntary *Confiscation* and banishment; to

See the History of Jack Cade and What Followed.

See the History of Hacker and Company, in M. C. Combens Elizab. 16.

Aug. Encl. ad P. 12. 1. 2.

Rosidius in vita Aug.

Set forth by Steiden, in his Comm. By others of late in English

escape other mens inordinate fury. Who can marvel that these *abominable desolaters*, in their Principles and Practices, should not be very sparing of those *Supports* which men have for their bodily lives and temporall welfare, where they see them to be such prodigall and pittilesse wasters of all those Ministers and meanes, which might most contribute to make mens soules eternally happy in Piety and Charity? of which the Devil never makes greater havock, than when he obtrudes excessive, needlesse, and endlesse *Reformations*, as his grand Impostures, which, like *violent torrents*, not fill, but trouble and confound all those purer streames and fountains of Religion, which had much more of Christian purity and constancy in them, though not so much of the overflowing fury and muddy inundation.

How can you (O worthy Gentlemen, or your posterity) expect other effects in the sacred or civill concernments of this Nation, when inordinate liberty naturally begets *licentiousnesse* in Religion, licentiousnesse variety, variety animosity, animosity fury, and fury force? the usuall *Climax* or gradation of all popular and irregular motions in Religion. In which common reason and naturall Divinity (much more Christianity) possessing men that there can be for the main but one *true Religion*, as there is but one true God, and his holy will but one, every man is prone first to *presume* that he is in the right; next, he growes so *partiall* to his own perswasions, as to imagine this above all others best, and onely pleasing to God; then he concludes all other wayes of Religion are as *displeasing* and offensive to God, as to himself. Hence he kindles to a zeal in Gods behalf, both to decry all other, and to cry up his own *Religion*; after this he hath potent impulses to propagate his own, and extirpate all others, as an acceptable service and sacrifice to God. This he first doth by words, disputing, writing, rayling, reviling: If these methods of converting and reforming the wicked world will not serve, he concludes them as his and Gods opposers to be obstinate; then he flies to the sword, first in vote, then in use, so soon as he and his party can get number and power sufficient to act with probable safety: such an opportunity he counts a *call of God*, an hand of providence, inviting and directing what to do, in order to set up their new way, against all others never so ancient, never so approved by good men, and prospered by Gods grace and blessing: Yea all old things must be done away, they must make all things new; and their way must needs be the new *Jerusalem* meant in the Revelation.

Thus factions in Religion, like *Crocodiles*, from *small eggs* at length grow to great and formidable *serpents*, with wide *jaws*, and long *tailes*, threatening to devour all that will not submit and conforme to them; warrs, blood-shed, and death, being the stings of those *Scorpions*, whose faces at first seemed as the *faces of men*, faire-mannered, good-natured, and well-minded? which was St. *Austins* charitable censure of the *Euchites* and *Circumcellions* simplicity, so *Luthers* of the *Anabaptists* sincerity, till they saw them growing numerous like

like Locusts, and appearing like horses prepared for *Battail*, having haire and soft dresse like women, but teeth like *Lions*; violent exacters of their own Liberty, but insolent oppressors of other mens.

'Tis evident in all ages and places, That as few men, when they grow many, are capable to use and enjoy with modesty and humility that Christian liberty, which in their paucity and *minority* they craved of their superiours for themselves; so few are willing to grant the same freedom to others, now their *inferiours* in number and power; morosely denying what they once importunately *desired*: which partiality riseth out of such pregnant jealousies and reasons of State, as dictate to all men thus much, That publick *differings* in matters of Religion are very dangerous to the civill peace of those that enjoy power, and are quiet under it; which every party secretly envies, repines at, and seeks to obtain to it self, that it may have its Triumph as well as others, and not alwaies be a *Punie* or *Underling*. We our selves have lived to see upon this account the *Tables* so turned in *England*, that many who heretofore desired a favourable connivence at non-conformity to the *Church of England*, are now most jealous and impatient to grant it to those who are still conforme to it in their judgements, and inoffensive in their practises. The like temper and carriage is expected by all from those they count *Recusants* to them; whom they therefore study to suppress, either *secretly* undermining, or openly extirpating them as rivals and enemies.

Not onely those greater birds, *Popery* and *Prelacy*, who are thought to affect rule in the *Church of Christ* (of which they are most unworthy, if they deserve to be linked with blasphemy and other *villanies*) but all those *little birds*, who first defiled their own nests, then made new ones, and laid their *eggs* in the branches of such Christian liberty (as is hardly granted by them to those that still adhere to the *Church of England*,) even these no sooner live and flutter, but they *cluck* and *flock* together, aiming to grow as numerous as they can: nor will any one of these faile to be dangerous in respect of the civill peace, when once they are confident of the power, as well as the superlative *Piety* of their party, if the *present policies* of State did not poyse and balance one party with another, yea awe one by the other: none of them is of so small courage, and tame *Spirits*, as not to ayme at the *Converting*, *Reforming*, *Ruling* and subduing of all others. The least of these feeble people, like *Coneys* in some *Islands* of Greece, would make a shift to extirpate all the *Inhabitants* but themselves; They no sooner grow up, increase, and multiply, but they are ready to fight, as the *serpents* teeth sowed by *Cadmus*, (which fable imported, as learned *Bochart* tells us, nothing else but the *Phœnician* Colonies armed with brasse, and arriving in the Greek *Islands*, who presently fought by force to subdue all the *Pristine* and *Native Inhabitants*; the same *Phœnician* and *Hebrew* נחש word signifying *brasse* and a *Serpent*) This principle being bred with all pretenders to *mend Religion*, that there is no conscience to be made

made of any civill or Ecclesiastick subjection, no use of Christian patience and submission, longer than they want power to *subdue all things under their feet*, and to assert their due *soveraignty*.

History of the
Netherland's.

Those parties, separations, Sects and divisions, which have of latter yeares unanimously set themselves against the former constitution of the *Church of England*, (which was once far above them) are now grown not onely very pert and rigorous, but so various, and each of them so strangely vigorous, that they are not like the *twinn'es* struggling in *Rebecca's* womb, but like the brats which a Countesse in *Flanders* is reported to bring forth, equall in number to the *dayes of the year*: Nor are they *Infants*, striving without much strength, and with lesse malice, but they are grown adult, manly, *Gladiatorian*, *Cyclopick*; the balancing of whose Spirits is indeed a great piece of art and policy, and may hold while there is so great a Master of *Power* and *prudence* as can do it.

But 'tis certain every party affects *prevalency*, not content to truckle under any other, since they have equally *emancipated* themselves from the authority and subjection to, yea from the Charity & Communion with the *Church of England*, whose authority and eminency was sometime as conspicuous as its order, merit and glory. Such as now disdain her and seek to destroy her are veniall, if by a retaliation of divine vengeance, they ambitiously strive for mastery against each other; each aiming to be like the *Master-pike* in a Pond, which (they think) may lawfully devour those that are of lesser size and growth. 'Tis certain that every faction in Religion hath its feares of oppression, whetting them to mutuall emulations and ambitions, not knowing what party may, like the beasts in *Daniel*, get the better over others, if not by arguments, yet by armes: nothing more frequent than those civill conflagrations or burnings of Cities and Countries, whose first fires are kindled from the Coales of the Altars, from Religious fire-brands cast by Christians in each others faces.

We need not go farther to verifie this presumption, than to the late great *Instances* so remarkable among our selves here in *England*, sufficiently proving that there can be no civill security, where there is such a *Religious variety*, as serves to give both occasion and confidence to different parties, both to excite their private ambitions, and in time to exert them in waies of open hostility, whensoever opportunity is given by any negligence, offence, or distemper in government or governours; upon the least bruise, the ill humours, as in foul bodies, will have such confluence to the *disaffected* part, as easily causes terrible *inflammations*, and many times such gangrenes of poysonous and indigestible humours, as nothing but the *sword* can cure.

Not onely *Germany* and *France* heretofore have felt the sad effects of these *Religious factions*, frequently embrued in the blood of their Countries; but *Scotland*, *Ireland* and *England*, have heretofore had many shaking fits of these Religious feavers, though never
any

any that cost each of them so much letting of blood as these last Calentures, which have infinitely wasted the people and spirits of these three Nations, taking their first popular heats (or pretending so at least) from the zeal each party had for its Religion, not as Christian, which all professe, but as discriminated by particular marks of lesser Opinions and Perswasions, which occasion more discords than all their agreement in other main matters can preserve of Love and Concord, as men, as Countrey-men, or Christians.

How oft since the Reformation in England began, and was perfected (to so great a beauty, for Justice, Piety, Order, Charity, Moderation and Honour, as became the Glory of God, the Majesty of Christian Religion, and the Wisdome of this Nation) have the *struglings* of Religion threatned, and began civil broyles, not onely in Henry the eighth's dayes, both in the North and West (when yet Reformation was much unhewn and unpolished, people being unsatisfied because untaught, as to the just grounds of necessary Alteration) but afterward, in succeeding Princes dayes, especially in Queen Elizabeth's long and happy reign, how infinitely did religious discontents boyle in some mens breasts: insomuch that for want of vent in open flames of Hostility (which the publick Power, Policy and Vigilancy of those times repressed) they bred all sorts of foul *Impostumations*, even to the study of Assassinations, Empoisonings and Treasons; some so black and barbarous, as are unparallel'd in former, and will be scarce credible in after-Ages.

Nor did the discontented *Papists* onely meditate first revenge, then *Soveraignty*, by blowing all up at one blow that was sacred or civil in this Nation; but even that little *cloud*, which at first seemed but as an *hands breadth*, of difference in some outward Forms, Ceremonies and Circumstances of Religion, as Christian and Reformed, this in time grew so full of *sulphurous* or *hot vapours*, that it looked very black when it was not yet very big in England, either by *schismes* or *separations*, being much cooled and allayed, yea in great part dissipated and vanished, through the excellent temper of that Government both in Church and State, which that renowned Queen and her wise Council preserved; which suffered neither Conformity to grow wanton and lazy, nor Non-conformity to be presumptuous or desperate, nor yet too popular, by out-vying the other party either in Piety or Industry.

Episcopacy, as the ancient and onely Catholick Government of this and all other Churches for 1500. years, was then had in due *veneration*, allowed its *double honour*, both in Church and State, in *Parlements* and *synods*; it was treated with great gravity and respect by that incomparable *Princesse*, afterward it was asserted with greater indulgence and passion by King James, who began that Proverb which his Son saw verified, *No Bishop, no King*: yet in the beginning of the late Kings dayes, Episcopacy and the state of the Church was even *pampered* and *cofessed* by so excessive a favour and propensity, as made it seem his *chief Favourite*, not onely for reasons of State, but
of

of Conscience. The Episcopall throne and dignity seemed as immutable as the Kings Scepter and Majesty; so zealously devoted he was to assert it, so fearfull by any *sacrilegious* act to diminish it; such a *Patron*, such a *Champion* for the State *Ecclesiastick*, that upon the matter he was resolved to venture Kingdomes, Life and all upon this cause, and either to swimme or sink with the *Church of England* against the Tide of all Faction.

What could be desired of greater advantage and security, than such an immensity of favour from so potent a *Monarch*, for the indemnity and stability of the Episcopall *interests* and its *friends* in *England*? which in the Beginning of King *Charles* his reign had what they could hope or desire; his benignity exceeding the very hopes of *Church-men*, his Royall favour confirming all those Immunities, Honours, Jurisdctions and Revenues, as sacred and inviolable, which they enjoyed by the Lawes, Priviledges and Customes of *England*; to which the Learning, Gravity, and Merit of many worthy Bishops and other Church-men in *England* bare so great and good a proportion, that few were so impudently envious, as not to think that many, yea most of them, well deserved what they soberly enjoyed?

The heat of the opposite Factions, as *Non-conformists* or *Separatists*, was so much allayed, that it seemed quite extinguished: nor possibly could it have revived to so sudden and dreadfull flames, if the *immoderations* of some mens passionate counsels and precipitate activities had not transported them beyond those bounds which politick, and it may be pious, prudence did require; which easily re-kindled those old differences which had been so much suppressed, that they seemed quite buried in *England*, till they took fresh and unexpected fires from the cold *climate*, but hot *spirits*, of *Scotland*; which finding prepared and combustible matter there and here too, soon brake out to such flames as were not to be quenched but with the best blood in *England*, and the overthrow of the ancient Government both of Church and State, even then when both seemed to be in their greatest height and fixation.

So dangerous, even beyond all imagination and expression, are the sparks of *religious dissentions*, if they be either by preposterous Oppositions provoked, or by imprudent Negligences permitted to ferment and spread in any Church and State, or if they be not by a powerfull way of reall Wisdome and true Piety (which is the best and surest policy) so quenched and smothered, as may take away from all men of any Worth, Modesty and Conscience, any just cause to endeavour or desire any such *Innovations* as those did, who upon *Presbyterian principles* first aimed at, not a totall change of Doctrine, but onely an amendment of Discipline and Government in this Church; which as they seemed in a short time to have obtained beyond their first designs, so in no long time after they were as much frustrated, and soon defeated by other subsequent parties which sprang up upon the like grounds of *religious differences*.

After

After Episcopacy was thrust under hatches, what I pray could be more absolute and Magisteriall, bigger in words, lookes, enterprises, in terrours of others, in boasts and confidences of it self, than the *Presbyterian party* was after once that *Leven*, by a *Scotch maceration* and infusion, had diffused it self, and sowed many peoples simplicity here in *England*, against the *Episcopall* constitution and administration of this Church? How did this high-flying *Icarus* in a short time disdain any rivall, puffing at all its *Prelatick adversaries*, setting its feet on all the *Bishops* and the *Episcopall Clergies* neck, as the *Israelites* did on the five Kings of the *Amorites*, before they were to be slain: which thing was done at *Josuahs* command, who was the supreme Magistrate: but these forward Spirits tarried not for any such command or consent to their dominion, from the Prince of the people; but their new soveraginty sought to spread it self like lightning in a moment to the latitude of these three Kingdomes, impregnated and palliated with many popular petitions for Reformation of Religion, which was in effect no more than the setting up of a sole sovereign and absolute Presbytery. A novelty in any other Reformed Church, whose necessity, rather than choice, drave them upon it: but in *England* it seemed a meer insolency; yet how was it now to be seen flourishing with the *Scotch sword* in one hand, and the *Covenant* in the other? How was it heightened by the name and reputation of *Parlament*? How was it to be Christened and adopted to Christ in *England*, by an *Assembly of Divines*, who were indeed rather the *Gossips* and *Witnesses*, than the *Fathers* or begetters of this alien; which was rather a *Scotch Runt* than of true English breed? For most, if not all the new Patrons and God-fathers of Presbytery, both Gentlemen and Clergy-men, had formerly sworn to, or subscribed, or asserted, or at least cheerfully submitted to the ancient *legall and Episcopall Government* of the *Church of England*. From which they were so suddenly, passionately warped, and partially inclined to Presbytery, that although my self were by I know not what sleight of hand shuffled out of that Assembly (to which I was as fully chosen as any, and never gave any refusall to sit with them, further than my judgement was sufficiently declared in a Sermon preached at the first sitting of the *Parlament*, to be for the ancient and Catholick Episcopacy;) yet the Zeal of some men to put *Presbytery* into its throne and exercise was such, that I was twice sent to by some members of both Houses; and summoned by the Committee of the County where I live, to preach at the consecration and installing of this many-headed *Bishop*, the new *Presbytery*: which work I twice (and so ever humbly) refused to do, as not having so studied its *Genealogy* and descent, as to be assured of the legitimati-on, right and title of sole Presbytery, to succeed, nay to remove its ancient *Father Episcopacy*, not as then quite dead, nor (I think) fully deposed. Yet such was the double diligence then of many English *Divines* (men otherwise of usefull abilities) that they did as officiously attend on the *Scotch Commissioners* to set up *Presbytery*, and to

destroy *Episcopacy*, as the *maid* is wont in pictures to wait on *Judith* with a bag for *Holofernes* his head.

Besides this, *Presbytery* had then fortified it self with a speciall piece of policy, in order to its prevalency and perpetuity; which was, to engage the better sort of *common people*, or the *Masters* of every Parish, and so in effect the whole Populacy, to that party, by indulging them (as Mr. *Calvin* did in *Geneva*) a formall or titular share of *Consistorian* or *Ecclesiasticall* power, under the glorious name of *Ruling Elders*, on whom, as on lesse comely members, they were pleased to bestow more abundant honour, at least in words; for few of them could really be fit for, or ever capable to use any actuall authority, beyond that of Sides-men, Constables, Church-wardens, or Overseers for the poor.

Yet must the Divine Authority even of these pillars to *Presbytery* be set up, though it stands but on tip-toes, and as it were upon one leg, favoured but by one *Text* of Scripture, and not one example, either in Scripture or all Antiquity for a thousand yeares and more, as learned Mr. *Chibald* proved in that excellent work of his, which was very seasonably for the design, but not very honestly, embezzled by some fast friends to *Presbytery*, as I have other where complained. How loth were many men, as they still are, to understand, that the Apostle *St. Paul* in that single place could not, according to that Spirit of wisdom which appears in all his writings, there institute two distinct sorts of *Elders*? but he onely notes those different degrees of ability, industry and merit, which might be in some of the same kind and order; some being as Preachers and *Bishops*, Pastors and Rulers fixed to particular charges and congregations; others with greater zeal, paines and hazards following neerer the Apostles steps, in watering what they had but newly planted among the first converted Nations, yea and in further new planting the Gospel among the *Gentiles*, which was the great work of the principall Pastors, Elders or Bishops in those times.

The Apostle too well understood the proportions of justice and remuneration, to give the same double honour (that is, equall maintenance and reverence from the Churches) to those whose paines in them must be so vastly different, as well as their abilities; the work of their supposed ruling, but not preaching Elders, being no way comparable in Reason or Religion to the work and worth of those that duly preach and plant the Gospel. The ruling part, as it was assigned them by these new dividers of Church-Government, was such, as required no great time or paines, nor great abilities; which, if required, could not easily be had in most Country-congregations, much lesse in primitive times among the poor and (for most part) *Plebeian* Christians: besides the office doth so much gratifie most Lay-mens small ambitions to be in office, and so little hinders their other trades, that they cannot be thought to deserve any great reward, much lesse double, that is equall, honour to him that expends most of his time, Spirits, and talents in preparing and employing himself

self for the *Preaching Ministry*, which will constantly exercise the best of his power and abilities. If these *Ruling Elders* must have *equall honour*, as to *maintenance*, with *Preachers*, the *Church* is undone; for it cannot afford it: If *Preachers* must have no more *maintenance* or respect than these *Lay-Elders* will deserve, *Preaching-Elders* or *Ministers* are *undone*; for they must either *starve*, or tack other *callings* to the *Ministry* to patch up a livelyhood. What is further brought from *Helps* and *Governments*, to help *Preaching Elders* to the *Government* in common, and *Rustick* or *Lay-Elders* to a share with them, seemes to me to have as little force to convince any sober mans judgement, or perswade their consciences to submit to the novelty of them, as that argument used by a good o'd woman had to confute them; who being urged by a young *Presbyter*, for the better countenancing of his *authority*, to submit her self to the *Examination* and *Jurisdiction* of these *Elders*, which were news to her, She replied, rather very *resolutely* than *rationally*, No, by no meanes, she would not be subject to them, because she had both heard and read that *Elders were Apocryphall*, and would have *ravished Susanna*. 1 Cor. 12. 28.

But in earnest, these *Ruling Elders* were in prudence, not in conscience, in reason of State, not of Religion, in Policy, not Piety, first added to the consistory at *Geneva*, meerly to appease and please the unsettled people, who having tumultuarly driven out their Bishop and Prince, now upon the *Essayes* or new modellings of Church and State, would not be quiet, till *Calvin* allowed them some that might seem *Tribunes* of the people in Courts *Ecclesiastick* as well as Civil. Tis true, *Lay-Elders* have been continued and used there, and other where, after that plat-forme of so-disciplined Churches; but not therefore any way the more or better reformed. For these are rather as Cyphers, adding some number, traine and company to the *Ministers*, than signifying ought of themselves, further than prudence & policy may make use of them. But certainly no Religious necessity commands them as a duty and of divine Institution, there being an impossibility to find them in every *parochial congregation*, where there is feldome any one man of the *Laity*, who is meet in any kind to be joyned with the *Minister*, in any such authority, which claimes to be *Sacred* and *Divine*; for which God ever provides fitting *instruments*, where he commands to have any use of them. God gave the word, and great was the company of *Preaching Elders*, Bishops and Presbyters in all ages: but of *Lay-Elders* and *Ruling* onely, we read so little, so no use in any *Church* or age, that we may conclude, *God gave no such word for them*. The wise God abhors *unequall mixtures*, such as the plowing with an *Ox* and an *Asse*: and such seems the joyning of *Preachers* with these *Lay-Elders* in the discipline and government of the Church; the *Asse* both disgracing and overtoying the laborious and more ponderous *Ox*, who hath more hindrance than help from so silly and sluggish an assistant. Motly and unfociable conjunctions, in sowing *mislane*, or wearing *linsey-wolsey garments*, are also forbidden by the Lord, as emblems of his abhorring all things that make any un- comely

Psal. 68. 11.

Deut. 22. 10.

Deut. 22. 9, 11.

comely and unfociable confusion, which ought chiefly to be avoided in *Church-affaires*, that order, solemnity ability, and prudence, might keep up the *Majesty of Religion*, the Churches venerable discipline, and the Ministeriall divine authority, even there where no civil *Magistrate* would own it. Yet if any Presbyter be so wedded to these *Lay-Elders*, that he will never be reconciled to *Primitive Episcopacy* if he be wholly divorced from his dear Elders, for my part he shall have my consent to enjoy them, upon a politick and prudent account, where he may conveniently have use of them. For I do not think the outward *Government* of the Church to be made of such stuffe or fashion which will not in any case either stretch or shrink, as those garments might do on the Jewes bodies, when they ware them forty yeares in the wilderness, provided all things be done *decently* and in *order*, with due regard to the maine end and the best examples. But if any contend for these Elders upon a divine and strict account of Religion, my answer is, with *St. Paul*, we had no such *custome* in *England*, nor the other *Churches of Christ in the world*, for 1400. yeares, who were fed and ruled by Bishops and Presbyters as the onely *Elders, Pastors, and Presidents* in Ecclesiasticall Government.

1 Cor. 11. 16.

This is sure, *Presbytery* was at first so confident of its sure standing in *England*, (where it never yet had any footing since Christianity was planted) that it doubted not to make use of such a *wooden leg* or crutch as *Lay-Elders* are to support its new *Government* and *discipline*; which was hereby rendred very popular and specious to many Ministers, and other men of vulgar *Spirits*, who were more ambitious of any small pittance of Church-Government to passe through their fingers, than judicious to measure and design the true proportions of it or themselves, which certainly ought to be most remote from a *Democratick temper*, Church-Government depending not upon many strong, rash and rude hands, but upon wise heads and holy hearts; of which no great store is ordinarily to be found among common and Country-people, upon which *crab-stocks* nevertheless this graft of *Presbyterian* government was to be every where grafted on the one side, not without mighty applause, and great expectation from the meaner-spirited people of *England*, in every parish some of which were to be found, not onely among the very *Mechanick* and *Rustick Plebs* onely, but among some Citizens, Gentlemen, and Noblemen too, who began to have very warme and devout ambitions to enjoy the title of a ruling Elder, as a divine honour added to their other civil honours, gently submitting their and their posterities tamer necks to such a yoke, as neither they nor their fore-fathers ever knew; by which one little Minister with two or three of his Elders, might be empowered to excommunicate a King and all his Councell, as *King James* expresseth in his sense of their arrogancy.

But while the common people of *Engl.* were every where preparing themselves to admire, adore, or dread, yea to entertain and feed with double honour, which was required for its due, this new and strange
beast

beast of *Presbytery*, which rose out of the sea of *Scottish broyles* and *English troubles* (being, as was thought, adorned with seven Heads and ten Horns, coming forth *conquering* and to *conquer*;) in the midst of so great glory, swelling confidences and superfluity of successes, behold, a little stone of *Independency*, cut out by no hand of Authority, riseth up against the great mountain of *Presbytery*, as its Emulator and Rivall. This in a short time hath so cloven it in sunder, that it hath quite broken its hoped *Monopoly* of Church-government; and *Independency* having never had any Patent from any Christian King or people heretofore, pleads a Patent (as doth *Presbytery*) from Christ Jesus, which hath been, it seems, *dormant* and unexecuted these 1640 years. This some more grosse and credulous spirits do easily believe, though they never saw the *Commission*. Only as the more acute and nimble *Independents* (besides the more profound and solid *Episcopalians*) eagerly dispute against the usurped Authority of *Presbytery*, alledging that *Classicall, Provinciall, and Nationall Presbyteries* are to them much more *Apocryphall* than *Deanes* and *Chapters*, *Bishops* and *Arch-bishops*; so do both of them no lesse urge a pure Novelty, besides the fractions and parcellings of Government, against *Independency*, tokens of weaknesse, imprudence and inconsistency in Government.

Yet amidst all this stickling, the *pany* of *Independency* (which enjoyed at first the smiles and cajolings of *Presbytery*, counting it an harmless and innocent Novelty, because yet unarmed) grew up by strange successes and unexpected favours of power, to such a *stature, procerity* and *pertness*, that it not onely now *justles* with *Presbytery*, but it makes it in many places glad to comply, yea to carry favour with, and to truckle under *Independency*; which challengeth *Seniority* before *Presbytery*, with much more probability than *Presbytery* can alledge any authority for its rejecting *Catholick Episcopacy*; it being more evident, that particular *Congregations* were first governed by one sole *Apostle, Pastor, Teacher, Bishop, or Presbyter*, present among them, than that many *Presbyters* ever governed the large and united Combinations of Christian *Congregations* and Churches, without some one *Apostle* or eminent *Bishop*, as *chief President* among them: to which all Church-history consents, without any one exception in all the world.

Thus hath *Independency*, as a little, but tite, *Pinnacle*, in a short time got the wind of, and given a broad-side to *Presbytery*, which soon grew a *slug*, when once the *North-wind* ceased to fill its sailes. Besides this, *Independency* confining all its authority to a little body and narrow compasse of one *Congregation*, hath a stroke or knack in it of greater *popularity* than *Presbytery* it self; which having many heads and hands, soon grew terrible to great men as well as common people, threatening them not onely with one *sword* or *scepter*, but with the combined force of many *Presbyters* and *Presbyteries*, with appeales from one *Consistory* to another, which looked like *dew-rakes* and *harrowes*, armed with so many teeth, that none great
or

or small should escape them, but he must needs fall under the first, second, third or fourth Consistorian Power, either *Parochiall*, or *Classicall*, or *Provinciall*, or *Nationall*; new names and great words, which common people would hardly learn in one yeare, nor understand in seven.

Furthermore, the *Magistratick genius* and *Emperiall spirits* of this Nation (intending intirely to govern it, both in Civil and Ecclesiasticall respects) began in time to be better advised, and so to be aware how they or the Nation fell under the Discipline of any *Populacy* or *Presbytery*, whose Rods, nay *Scorpions*, castigated King *James*, during his pupillage or minority in *Scotland*, so severely, that he could never forgive or forget their insolency to his dying day, as he bitterly complains in his *Basilicon Doron*; every petty *Presbyter* that had twenty Marks a year salary to live upon, fancying himself a Peer, not onely to the Lords, but to the Prince himself. This (*πολυκεφαλον*) many-headed *Hydra* of Government, King *James* did (and so might all wise men) see cause enough perfectly to abhorre both in Church and State; that it was not onely folly, but madness, to buy the experience of it in *England* at the charge of our own miseries, when we had our neighbours late examples so near us; that they were enough to have scared any wise men from such an hare-brained and plebeian *Presbytery*, as King *James* and others describe, specially the Learned, Reverend and Impartiall Arch-bishop of *S. Andrews*, who modestly sets it forth in his late excellent History of the *Church of Scotland*, in its rise, progresse, activity and recess: which was a Government popularly at first extorted from Bishops, Peers and Princes, by a company of minute Ministers or petty Preachers, whose extravagancies the wisdom of King *James* after reduced to a well-regulated Episcopacy; under which *Scotland*, as well as *England*, enjoyed, I believe, its best dayes.

Thus when *Presbytery* had lopped *Episcopacy* to the stumps in *Engl.* yea and thought it had grubbed it up by the Mattock and Pick-axe of the *Covenant*; when it self from a small *Shrub* had set it self up, began to take root, and to fill the land, against the will of the chief *Cedar* in the Forrest, fancying it was now full of sap, both of Divine and Humane Right, as if it were in high favour both with God and man; yet then it suddenly dwindled and looked so withered as if it had been Planet-struck, or smitten with a sharp East-wind, when indeed it was nothing else but the spirit of *Independency* and other Novelties, which like Palmer-worms or Caterpillers secretly bred in every corner of the land, and which have now also made their way even into *Scotland* it self, sometime the great Scene and Throne of *Presbytery*, now very tottering and much weakned, as to that part of affected sovereignty in Church-affairs,

Nor is this young, tall, and seemingly so thrifty shoot of *Independency* (which is yet but slender, and more run up in height than spread in bulk) this is not so firmly fixed, that it cannot be removed, having little root in Scripture, or in the true reason of Govern-

ment

ment and Polity, nor more in any Church-patterns or practise of Antiquity; being like *Jonah's* gourd, the child of a night, of yesterday, in comparison of Primitive and Catholick *Episcopacy*, yea and a younger brother to *Presbytery*: which was but a modern shift used among some Reformed Churches, when they could not have as they desired, Reforming and Reformed Bishops to rule them; for else they had never (God knows) dreamed any thing of such a *Presbytery* as should tend to the extirpation of *Apostolick Episcopacy*. Nor is *Independency* with all its easie rootings and windings in our loose and broken soyle of *England*, as yet far spread in the judgements of the most learned, grave and sober persons of *England*, looking upon it as incongruous in its Novelty, Feebleness, Factionousness and popular temper, to the Genius and interest of the *English people*, who are never to be long or well ruled by those whom they think their equals or inferiours.

Even *Independency* it self (which hath a pretty soft phrase, and easier cords to bind people together in small bodies) will in time find its weaknesse in it self, and betray it to others; whence will follow other variations from it, oppositions against it, and contempts of it. Who knows what way fierce *Anabaptists*, ambitious *Millenaries*, Seraphick *Familists*, rude *Ranters*, and silly *Quakers* will affect for their Church-government, or any other new and yet namelesse Faction which may hereafter be spawned, more agreeable to the vulgar humour, which loves greater Latitudes, Indifferencies, Loosenesses and Cheapnesses of Religion, both in Opinon and Practise, than learned and modest Independents will allow?

Who sees not how much the uncivil confidence and childish clownery of *Quakers* takes with the vulgar beyond any thing: while to set off their *Enthusiasmes* with a greater emphasis, they affect a rude and levelling Conversation, with a familiarity of *Thouing* their betters and superiours at every word, fancying great holinesse in their simple and superstitious Yea and Nay, which are not the sole and confined, but onely the shortest expressions of true and honest meanings; disdaining to use any signs of Duty, common Courtesie, or Respect, which by the Laws of God and man are due to Parents, Equals or Superiours, according to the gentle, courteous and humble behaviour of all Christians in all Countreys and Ages: yet do these sort of new leaders pretend they come nearer to Jesus Christ and to God, because they have no respect of any persons but themselves: and no doubt, in order further to relieve their Necessities and Obscurities, these men would be content to have *all things common*, after the fashion of primitive Charity, when the Churches necessities had an empire of love (not force) over particular Christians proprieties.

These and the like *discriminations* of parties in Religion, which are but lately grown out of the distempers of the *Church of England* (as wormes out of *Job's* sores or dunghill) have already not onely their Founders and Patrons (which must be almost deified by their re-

respective Disciples) but they have also their *grand Masters*, Abettors, Propagators, Followers and Champions; each challengeth to themselves the titles of *Christians, Saints, godly people, the Church*, &c. not as good fellowes in a charitable community and Catholick correspondency, but in a *supercilious reserve*, almost excluding all others, and *unchurching* them who are not just of their modes, who do not follow their colours, and are not ready to fight under their banners.

To be sure they all *bandy* against the poor *Church of England*, agreeing in this one *Antipathy*, how disagreeing soever in other things; they study to divide her Unity, to break her solid Intireness, to enervate her Authority, to infatuate her Wisdome, to weaken her Strength, to spoile her Patrimony, to destroy her very Being, and to render her Name odious; with great coyness and disdainfull smiles looking upon any man or Minister that shall but speak of the *Church of England*, and counting him presently as their common enemy, if he profess a filial Regard, Duty, Love, Pity, Adherence and Subjection to it.

Mean while, each of these *Agitators* for their severall parties and interests, fancy to themselves a great power *resident* in them, a Divine Liberty and Authority derivable from them, to begin new Churches, to beget their own Fathers, to lead their Shepherds, to teach their Teachers, to ordain their Pastors, to celebrate all holy Mysteries, to consecrate Sacramentall Symbols: thus arrogating all that is Divine or Ecclesiastick to themselves, in their severall methods and capacities. Sometimes the Pastor begets a Flock for himself, otherwhile a Flock begets a Pastor to themselves. It is no wonder that they are so greedy and vigilant to shak what they can from the *Church of England* and its Ministry, which they cry down as defective, as contemptible, as uselesse, as pernicious, as null; crying up their Novelties in opinion or practise beyond all that was ever used or known by the *Church of England* or any other ancient Church.

Thus animated by confidence of themselves, and instigated by contempt of others, specially of the *Church of England*, they daily and zealously labour to make *Profelytes* to their respective parties; so to increase their numbers, then to enlarge their quarters: though their hands have hitherto been joyntly & chiefly against the *Church of Engl.* yet they are ready, as occasion shall serve, like *Ishmael*, to be against one another, counting every one against them who is not for them.

In fine, what doth any of them want, but Strength and Opportunity, to set up themselves and their parties, to lift up their *Standards*, to display their *Ensigns*, to inscribe on their *Flags* of mutuall defiance the names of their severall Factions, to advance their distinct, divided, and (now) discovered interests and designs, presented under some specious notion or name of *Reformation*, of Christs Kingdome, or Throne, or reign with them and by them, as
soon

soon as they can begin, and as long as they can continue that *sacred Empire*: which must, it seems, begin in *England*; for no where else in the world mens Heads are so busie, mens Hearts so divided, their Wits so frantick, their Religion so fancifull, their Pride so insolent, their Wills so wilfull, their Consciences so loose, their Charity so partiall, their Unity so broken, their Liberty so licentious, their Christianity so self-crucifying, their Reformatiions so rude, so ridiculous, so ruinous, both to their common Mother, and to each other.

As for the *Church of England*, there is not one of these fierce and flagrant *Novellers* but they look upon her with such an eye as ungracious children use to do upon their aged, weak, bed-ridden and impoverished *Mother*, whom they think never like to get upon her legs again, much less to be able to assert her self, to recover her Strength, Authority, Reputation and Estate, from their unnaturall and rapacious *invasions*; Her they have devoted to utter destruction, without any remaining sparks of Honour, Love, or Piety for her; they conclude her as condemned to perpetuall Desolations; each of them resolves to make their advantages by her Ruines, as some do by the Decayes of our Cathedrals: and this upon no other quarrell, that I could ever see, but because she was, as *much elder*, so much *wiser* and *better* than any, than all of them, as to all Learning, Wisdome, Order, Gravity, Gifts, Graces, Charity, Constancy, Unity; these new modes of Religion and Reformation consisting more in *breaking* than *binding*, in *taking* than *giving*, in *pulling down* than *building* any thing that might be a remarkable Instance and Monument, either of pious Magnificence, or munificent Piety.

Possibly they may, out of *principles of policy* and *self-preservation*, keep some fair quarter to each other, and pretend a correspondency, as brethren in *discontent* or *iniquity*, while they either are curbed by a potent and prudent hand, as to that civil predominancy and liberty they affect; or while they have some jealousy of the *Church of England's* recovery (their sore and just enemy, in their esteem, when indeed it is their truest friend, and least their *flatterer*;) but when they fancy her to be irreparable, and each of themselves in such potency as can bear no competitor, they will certainly jostle each other for more *elbow-room*. Their spirits are too big to be confined, when once blown up with confidence of numbers and successes; neither their *herds* nor *herdsmen* can feed longer together: like *Cocks* of the *game*, when they have sufficiently crowed over the *Church of England*, they will fight with one another. Their Principles are, and so will their Practices be, *Mahometan* as well as *Christian*, rather to be active than passive, to follow the *crescent* rather than bear the *cross*. They are for rule and empire, rather than for Christian patience and subjection: those were superstitious, or necessitous, rather than religious Principles and Practices of primitive silliness, more than simplicity and innocency (as they count them:) the *serpent* in them will devour the

Dove, as soon as it growes great enough, that it may be no longer a creeping, but a flying fiery *Serpent*.

Late experience too much gratifying, even to a glut and excess, the various, licentious, factious and cruel Noveltyes of some men, hath thus far manifested the Folly, Ingratitude, Inordinatenesse, Ambition and Madnesse of their Principles, Practices and Spirits, that I see some men can never be content with moderate blessings in Church or State, nor satisfied with any thing, unlesse they may be their own carvers: they are so eager to catch at the shadows of Novelty and whimsies of Reformation, that they are blindly zealous to lose the substance of Religion, and deform the best Reformations in the world; the issues of their Counsels are the issues of Death, and their paths tend either to Romish darknesse or Atheistical indifferencies.

From all which true observations of mens tempers and activities, prefaces of future sad events, I cannot but with grief of soul justify (what many mens immoderate zeal is loth to believe) the wise observations of *S. Austin* and many others, who were set beyond juvenile heats and popular fervours;

*Magis perturbat
novitas, quàm
prodest veritas.*

1 Sam. 6. 10.

That Noveltyes in any well-ordered Church and Religion (though seemingly, yea and really, as to some degrees, for the better, yet) usually perturb the Church and State of Religion more than they profit them. No private mens reformings end without their greater deformities; if perhaps they adde to the Purity and Verity, they take as much away from the Charity and Unity of Religion. That Passion commonly darkens and sullies more than their pretensions of Piety do polish or brighten Religion. That preposterous Reformers instead of *snuffing* the *lamps* of the Temple, are prone to put them quite out: especially when the ignorance and insolence of *Laymen* undertake to set the *Ark of God* upon their Cart, to draw it with Beasts, and drive it with their whips and whistlings, though they whistle to the tune of a Psalm; yet Religion alwayes *totters*, is oft overthrown by them, being never safe but when it is, as the Ark ought to have been, carried upon the shoulders of able *Priests* and *Levites*, such Bishops and Presbyters as ought to bear it up, and to whose care that sacred *depositum* is chiefly committed by Christ and the Apostles. Nor hath the learned and godly *Clergy* in *England* ever been so weak and unworthy, as to want either ability or will, Sufficiency or Authority, to do this service to God and his Church; however now they are so debased, discouraged, and almost beaten out of the *Sanctuary*. Reformations of Religion ever prove either abortive or misshapen, when they are either begotten or brought forth by Ministers *factiousnesse* or peoples *fury*: tumultuating and irregular wayes of reforming any Church do but cut up and so kill the *mother*, in hope to save that Bastard-child, which having neither due form nor legitimation deserves no long life.

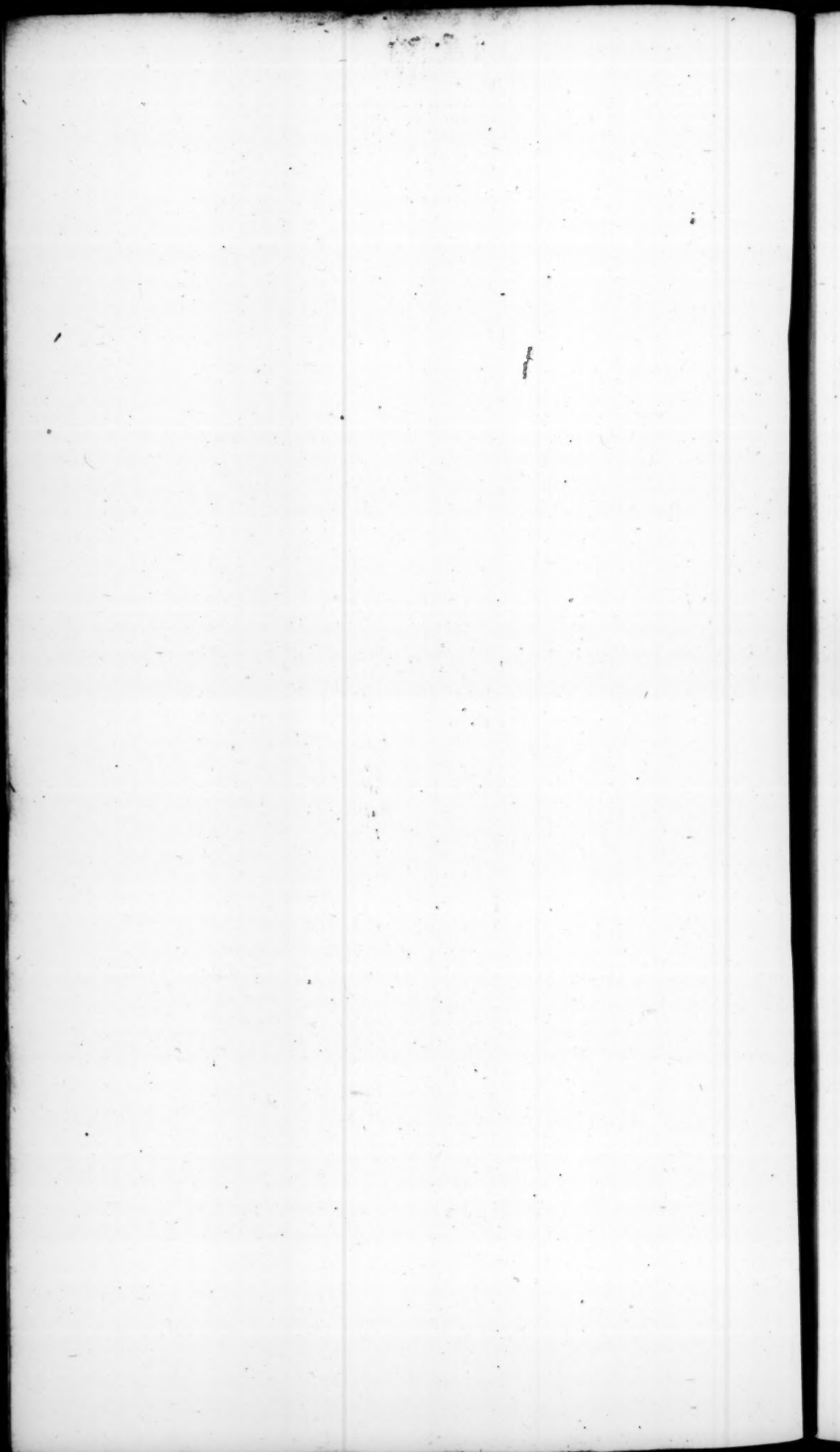
We see by too wofull experiences and infinite expences of blood, that *Churches*, when in some things decayed, are easier mended in

Fancy

Fancy than in effect, in the project than performance; That this *Church-work* requires not onely proper workmen and skilfull *Artists*, but tender hands and cautious fingers; That where the *Essentials*, *Vitals* and *Fundamentals* of Religion in any Church, are good as to true doctrine, saving faith, holy institutions, and honest moralls, the *prudentials* and *ornamentalls* cannot but be commendable, if they be tolerable; That the peace and safety of a settled Church ought not to be indangered for circumstances; That it is a dangerous practice of *Empiricks*, to give able and otherwise healthfull bodies uncorrected *Quick-silver*, which shall kill them outright, in order to kill some little itch or tetter upon them, whose breaking forth to the circumference or outward habit of the body is a good effect of an ill cause, a sign of firmer health in the nobler and more retired parts.

I must ever conclude, with *S. Austin* and *Dionysius* Bishop of *Athens*, it is better, for the Churches peace and Christian charity sake, to tolerate some *inconveniences* (for some there will ever be, or at least to some men seem to be, in the best constituted Churches) than to admit of such *hazardous wayes* and *means* of reforming, as will endanger the *ruine of Religion* and totall routing of a well-settled Church; that it is better in all respects to *acquiesce* in, or submit to publick determinations and tried appointments of true Religion; than to be still *tampering* with untried *experiments* and *essays* of Novelty, to the wast of that Order, Peace and Unity, which ought to be preferred before any such Truths as are but *probable*, or so disputable, that good men on either side have, do, and may hold them in some opposition without danger of their *salvation*. It is but a delusion and device of the *Devil*, which prompts men to wind up the *strings* of Religion to so high a note of *Reformation*, as breaks both the *strings* themselves, and the very *ribs* of that *Instrument* which they pretend to set to such a pitch.

An immoderation which hath (as I have endeavoured to set forth by many sad instances in this *third Book* of the *Church of Englands Sighs and Teares*) so defaced, deformed, shaken, disunited, weakned and endangered the state and honour of Religion, as Christian and Reformed, in this Church and Nation, that it threatens, like a *Fistula*, *Gangrene*, or *Cancer*, a totall, though it may be a lingering, *fatality* both to Church and State, unlesse by some wise hearts and worthy hands the Lord of Heaven vouchsafe to apply such Cures as may stop the prevailings of such sad Effects, and remove the Causes which began or promoted them so far, as to give occasion to this famous Church and her Children thus sadly to bemoane themselves.





BOOK IV.

SETTING FORTH THE SIGHS and PRAYERS of the CHURCH of ENGLAND In order to its Healing and Recovery.

CHAP. I.



Having set before you (*Honored and beloved Countrymen*) in the three former *Bookes*, first, the well-formed and sometime flourishing constitution of the Church of England, (*Lib. 1.*) secondly, its present decayes or destitutions; both in the causes (*Lib. 2.*) and consequences (*Lib. 3.*) relating to Ministers and people, in sacred and civill regards, to the great diminution, detriment and danger of the *Reformed Religion*, in this Church and Nation: It is now time to apply my thoughts and yours in this *fourth Book* to the *Restitution*, or recovery of that which is the honour and happinesse of this as all Nations; which (undoubtedly) consists in the Purity, Unity, Stability, Sanctity, Solemnity, Authority, and Efficacy of *True Religion*.

The design
and method
of this fourth
Book.

Hitherto I have powred *Wine* into the wounds of this Church, not so much *suppling* as searching them, by an honest severity: The *bruises* and *putrified sores*, which are all over the body of our *reformed Religion*, were not capable of Oyles and *Balsames*, of softer and sweeter applications, till the putid and painfull *ulcerations* were first opened, the *cores* of them discovered, and the *pus* or *sanies* of them let out; which to conceal and smother by gentle, but unfinckere salves, by civil, but cruel plaisters (rather palliating our miseries, than healing our maladies) were a method of so great basenesse and unworthinesse in me, as might for ever justly deprive me of the honour of *faithfulnessse* to God, to this Church, to true Religion, to my Country, to my own and to your soules. I know the freedom of my pen hitherto, like the sharpnesse of a *Lancet* or *probe*, may be prone to offend on all sides: few men are so humble as not to find fault with those that tell them of their faults: those are commonly
least

least patient of *Physitians* or *Chirurgeons* hands, who need them most, crying out of other mens *severities*, which are occasioned, yea necessitated, by their own *debauchesse* and distempers. Yet since my aymes are in this writing upon, or rather *ripping* up the *bilious inflammations* of Religion, not to spare my own disorders, or theirs with whom I may seem most to symbolize in my opinion and practice, I hope no good man, great or small, will be causelessly offended with the just *incisions*, or *scarrifyings* I have made; which as the gangrenous necessity of our maladies (otherwise desperate and incurable) have compelled me to, so the pious, peaceable and charitable intentions of my soul, in order to a common and publick good, will then best excuse them, when my Readers shall perceive with how liberall an hand and free an heart, I do in this *fourth Book* impart the best of my thoughts, my humblest suggestions, faithfullest counsels, and tenderest cares, in order to their happinesse, no lesse then my own, who am infinitely solicitous, and passionately concerned what becomes of the *Ark of God*, of the true reformed Christian Religion in *England*, jealous lest the Philistines take it, and with it the *glory* of *our Israel*.

I know it may be retorted upon me, That nothing is easier than to complain of others, nothing harder than to mend ones self; That *censors* of Epidemick disorders make themselves publick *enemies*, and subject to ostracisme on all sides; That both *Prince* and *people*, Magistrates and subjects, are prone to interpret such representations for reproches of them, as if they were defective in their counsels and cares of Religion; also as arrogancies in any private man, to seem either more sensible of, or more solicitous for, or more consultive in order to those great and publick concerns, which no wise men can faile to discern, no good man forbear to remedy, as far as is in his power; That it is not so much an heroick, as an inordinate charity, or indiscreet zeal, for any man to discompose his own tranquillity, by importuning others to be better than they like to be, or to do better than the distemper of times will give them leave; that neither Magistrates nor Ministers are to be blamed or traduced as defective in their duties, because they are not presently masters of peoples petulancies, nor can suddenly command that great *Ship* to steere about, and obey the *Rudder* of Reason and Religion, which hath lately been carryed violently away, as by the sway of its own ponderous bulk, so by the fiercenesse of mighty and contrary winds, also by the *fatality* of those secret, but irresistible *sides* of Providence, when *Divine Justice* and vengeance hath struck in with humane passions and transgressions, at once to *use* them and to *punish* them.

I am so far from *reproching* any that are in power, and those least who are in greatest place, that (in earnest) I pity them for what they cannot act as effectually, as I charitably presume they soberly design and desire in respect of that Christian unity and harmony of Religion, which every wise and good man must needs be unfeignedly ambitious

bitious to enjoy and promote. The obstructions of which arise, not from depraved and dangerous *State-policies*, (as some suspect) purposely fomenting *Divisions* in Religion, (which no prudent Governour but sees cause to feare, and will study to avoid) but from those *head-strong* furies and animosities, which accompany the vulgar, when once (like *Stone-horses* got loose from their stalls, traice, and bridles) they find themselves at such a liberty, as is beyond the switch or spur, the curb or whip of their riders and governours; whose riotous and boysterous courses are hardly to be stopped, till they have either tired, or intangled, or hurt, or confounded and overthrown themselves and others; till which time, it is not safe for their *Keepers* to come too neer their *wanton heels*, or forcibly to reduce them, like wild Asses and Unicorns, to their wonted stations and cribs. Nor is (perhaps) the *dilatory cautiousnesse* of wise men herein to be blamed so much as commended, while they *temporize* for some time with the *Populacy*, till experience of their own folly, disorders, dangers and miseries, hath taught them how much safer they are under other mens orderly restraints and government, than their own licentious choice and freedoms, as in Civil, so in Religious Concernments.

I believe the mutuall feuds, jealousies, and animosities in *England* among the divided Factions in Religion, have hitherto been so eagerly bent to advance themselves, and to depresse their rivalls, that it hath been a work of great Prudence, no lesse than Policy, so far to balance them, till Time had discovered to them their common deformities and dangers, by their disagreements and defeats; besides the generall decay and mutuall debasing of what each highly pretends to advance, *The Reformed Religion*.

Nor doe I doubt, but those *Powers* and *Counsels*, under which Providence hath at present subjected our Civil and Ecclesiastick Interests, will so far with favour interpret my endeavours, and accept of them, as they must needs appear to all sober men, onely studious to serve the publick good, and not to advance any private interest or particular party in Religion. Nor shall I be taxed (I hope) for self-conceited and too presumptuous, as if I supposed all men to be blind or *dim-sighted* besides my selfe, while I offer them this *Collyrium*, or *Eye-salve*: No, I know my own obscurity, tenuity, and infirmity. Nor doe I here offer my own private sense so much, as the generall votes, prayers, hopes and expectations of all moderate and impartial men, so far as I have been able to observe the *pulse* of their hearts, and desires of their soules: yea many such as have heretofore highly engaged for or against any faction, during the transports of their first *fits* and *Paroxysmes*, even these, being grown (now) much cooler and better composd in their spirits, doe seem to breathe after nothing so earnestly, as some such happy *composure* of our religious distractions, as may most advance the generall interests of the Christian and Reformed Religion against the common enemies of both; and therein so secure their respective and particular priviledges, or innocent

cent immunities in point of *Conscience*, as may least tempt them to fear the being oppressed by others; or, by way of revenge, to seek the oppressing of any others that would lead a *godly* and *peaceable* life.

What good Christian, that lists not to be Atheistically profane, what honest *Protestant*, that cannot comply with the *Roman* errors and infolencies, doth not deplore the scratches, the wounds, the blood-sheds, the deformities, the *decays*, the deaths, which the Reformed Religion hath lately suffered here in *England*? Who is so brain-sick or barbarous, as not to see that our common safety is in our religious unity? that our civill honour and happinesse cannot be secure, untill established upon the pillars of Christian purity and *harmony*? To this mark I presse thus hard; at this design I earnestly drive; this is the prize I ayme at, during the remaine of my short race in this world: as I know I do not run alone, so I hope I shall not *run in vain*, but being assisted with Gods gracious Spirit, which is full of meeknesse and wisdom, I trust I shall enjoy the concurrent suffrages, good wills and prayers of all those that wish the prosperity of true *Religion* and these *British* Nations.

To poure in the *balm* of *Gilead* with the more order into the wounds of this Church and its Reformed Religion, I shall *first* set forth the confessed difficulty of the work, I mean the closing and healing of Religious breaches in any Church or Nation, where once differences are exasperated; and not onely mens opinions and passions, but their civill interests and secular designs seem engaged.

Secondly, I shall shew the necessity of some happy compofure; 1. in respect of Religion, as Christian and Reformed, 2. as to the *civill peace*, 3. as to the *honour*, 4. as to the *gratitude* of the Nation.

Thirdly, I shall manifest the possibility or feisablenesse of the work; both as to the nature of it, and the inclinations of all sober men to it.

Fourthly, I shall endeavour to propound what I conceive the proper methods and means of effecting it, to be used, 1. by *Ministers*, 2. by *Magistrates*, 3. by all sorts of people, that have any principles of Piety and Honesty toward God and Man.

C H A P. II.



Or the first; I know it is a work of great difficulty, and so of most ingenuous, as well as pious, industry, to *buoy up Religion*, when once, like a great *Ship*, it is sunk in the *seas* of vulgar errors, or *bilged* in the owse and mud of factious confusions, or plunged into licentiousnesse, irreverence and irreligion; By which not onely the baser and more brutish lusts of men are sought to be indulged to all *sensuall luxuries*, but the more *spirituall wickednesses* which usurp upon the highest places of mens souls, (such as are Envy, Revenge, Ambition, Covetousnesse, Vain-glory, Emulations, and Hypocrisies) these study to be gratified in the severall designs and interests which mens corrupt and base hearts doe fancie most agreeable to their *contents*. In nothing are men, and women too, more *opiniatre*, more morose, more *touchy* and obstinate, more proud and peremptory, more fierce and contradictive, more *gladiatory* and offensive, than to be stopped or opposed, curbed or restrained, questioned or dissuaded in those opinions or practices which they have stamped with the marks and impressions of their *Religion*. This, as the Colours, *Ensigne* and *Standard* of their lives and honours, of their credits and comforts, must be preserved with the greatest vehemency, hazard and impatience. Every one fancies, that, as they need, so they use the speciall power of *Gods Spirit* in all their pious *pertinacies*, which will not endure to have what they call their *Religion* evicted or wrested from them, by the pleasure or power of any man living.

The difficultie
of repairing a
decayed
Church,

The difficulty here of winning people from the error of their wayes, of redeeming and overcoming them with a *gentle conquest*, when once their lusts, errors and ignorances have bound them as *Captives* with the chains of their opinions, is so great, that, as it must not discourage, but rather *whet* the edge of pious and charitable industry in Magistrates and Ministers, so it will exercise all their honest policies, their Christian prudence, and charitable patience, having herein to contend not onely with the *pragmatick* follies of people, and a kind of *variable* wantonnesse or madnesse, but also their *rudenesses* and reproches, their ingratitude and contempts, their menacings and assassinations, who oft meditate even the death of those, as greatest tyrants and persecutors, that will not let them live at what rate and riot of *Religion* they list.

The *Primitive Fathers* and *Christian Emperours* (whose learning and power most asserted the *Orthodox* and true *Religion*) had never more cause to *muster* up and imploy all the forces of their Tongues and Pens, of their Counsels and Policies, of their Senators and Soldiers, than in those cases where they endeavoured to stop the *contagions*, or recover from the *Apostasies* of Religion, such as were deservedly branded for *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*.

E e e

How

How tender severities, how mild *angers*, how soft *rigours*, how gentle *zeal*, how meek wisdom, how charitable chastisings, were they forced to use, (I mean, the *Fathers of the Church*) in their *Polemicks* and *Apologies*, in behalf of true Religion, against Epidemick or popular errors! And no lesse solicitous were the godly *Emperours*, to dispense their enforced, yet *mercifull*, *cruelties*, so as might most preserve the honestly erroneous, and onely destroy, refute and suppress their extravagant, desperate and damnable errors.

Here the torrent of *Tertullian's* rougher eloquence, the sweeter fluencie of *St. Cyprian's* zealous candour, the invincible sinews of *Athanasius* his style and resolution, the liquid gold of *St. Chrysostom's* tongue and pen, the gentle dews and plentifull showrs of *St. Austins* holy and humble soul, the strong tides, vehement storms of *St. Jerom's* mighty *genius*, which prostrates all it cannot carry with it; Here the *Gregories* and *Basils*, *Irenaus*, *Hilary*, *Optatus*, and all other Worthies of old, (who were *Champions* for the Truth, and contended earnestly for the faith once delivered, and the unity of the true Church of Christ, against all opposers and factious seducers) used all religious force, and pious engines, that were proper to apply to the *restitution* of Religion, and reparation of the Church, when it was either scattered and persecuted by Infidels, or defamed and divided by Schismaticks, or poisoned and corrupted by *Hereticks*. Nor were they more industrious to use the power of *arguments* in their own Sermons and disputations, than cautious how they stirred up the *spirits* of *Princes* to apply the power of *Armes* in the matters of Religion, further then for its necessary defence from the pragmatick petulancies and reall insolencies of *Manichees*, *Arrians*, *Circumcellians*, *Donatists*, and others, whose hands they thought might by such methods be justly curbed and resisted; although their hearts were not to be so softned, nor their errors so confuted.

Indeed the *reparations* of Religion, and the *restauration* of any lapsed or decayed Church, is a work not to be done by sudden *pulls*, meerly by ropes and cables: unseasonable applications of violent and coercive means are prone to harden mens hearts, to exasperate their spirits, and to make them both more *refractory* and pertinacious in their religious errors, extravagancies and affectations. The work is much more easie and proper to be effected by such discreet and sober *counterpoisings* of Reason and Religion, of Grace and Virtue, of Wisdom and Charity, in worthy Magistrates and Ministers, as may in time, by insensible degrees, as it were *out-weigh* those sad and heavy depressions which are brought in and maintained by peoples sinister passions, petulancies, prejudices, or superstitions, to the *splitting* of any Church, and sinking of Religion; these must be *counterpoised* by that gravity, sanctity, majesty, solemnity, due authority, just encouragement, and honest advantages, which pious *Princes* and godly *Magistrates* cheerfully and liberally afford to the orderly Preachers and sober Professors of true Religion; forbidding in the first place any men to make a prey or spoyle of the Church in any kind,

or to advance any secular *emoluments* by their schismatick and sacrilegious extravagancies. Few men ever separate from, or fight against the Church, or true Religion, but as Soldiers of Fortune, in hope to plunder them. Nor is it the honour so much, as the profit of the victory, that vulgar spirits aime at, when they contend against the Bishops and Pastors, the honour, order & stability of any Church and its Ministers.

Besides this first difficulty, in restoring any shattered Church and Religion, which proceeds from the ruder passions and impatiencies of the licentious vulgar, Wise men have further to contend with those tempers in common people, which are most humane, soft, and commendable in them; that is, their pitties and compassions, which make them prone to sympathize with any persons or opinions, never so bad and base, when once they see them violently oppressed; and, as they suppose, persecuted for that which they profess as their Religion, which they are ready to judge lesse *confutable* by Scripture and right reason, when they see it set upon by Swords and Pistols, by Fire and Faggot, by Prisons and Confiscations. People are ready to oppose all force with pity, to adopt any opinion that they see rather punished than convinced; whom they cannot help with their hands, they relieve with their hearts, their prayers and tears; which, by softning mens minds, make an easie way for any error or heresie to insinuate into their consciences, though recommended by nothing but the patience or pertinacy of the sufferers for it. Hence some wise and calmer States-men as well as Church-men, blamed the severity of burning used in Q. Eliz. dayes against some Anabaptists; and once in King James his reign, against an impudent Arrian, (for which Mr. Calvin and the Geneva Consistory had given him an example in Servetus.) In whose ashes (as King James said) while men rake to find a Martyrly patience, they oft find an hereticall pravity, and such damnable, yet desperate errors, as he after thought were better smothered by prisons or banishment, than exposed to light by those horrid fires which burn men alive, or subject them to such remarkable sufferings, as stigmatize their errors on the hearts of many their pittifull spectators.

How have we found even the dry trees of Pillories in the last Kings dayes, so fruitfull in popular compassions, that the supposed petulant and intemperate spirits of some men, who suffered on them, made thousands adhere to them; who otherwayes would, in calmer proceedings, have utterly abhorred their folly and faction; their popularity and arrogancy? Hence many wretched men, that despaire by other means to be remarkable or infamously famous, affect to be sufferers; ambitious by their seeming Martyrdoms to gain reputation to their rotten, erroneous, and seditious opinions.

Down-right force is indeed very effectuell to doe not onely great executions upon the outward man, but to make strong confutations, and seeming conversions, upon mens opinions and perswasions in respect of civill right and justice: For vulgar minds are loth to look beyond outward events, and willingly resolve their Consciences into

Providences; prone to conclude, that all is just and righteous, that is potent and prosperous. They easily fancy with themselves, and flatter others, that those have the better *cause*, who have the better end of the *staffe*. True Religion (indeed) exactly regards the Word of God, and the intrinsick measures, even in Civil affairs, of Truth and Justice. But easier *Superstition* dotes on the *Superficies* or *Idol of Successe*, counting all is well, when the event is not ill; willingly suffering themselves to be carryed down that stream, where prevalent power carries dominion with it, and commands subjection to it, (which prudent compliance with the outward man seems not onely veniall and tolerable in common people, but commendable even in all sober men, as to civill and secular affairs, while nothing interferes with those inward moralls, nor contradicts those necessary Articles of Christian faith, which are indispenfible at all times, and on all occasions to be believed, asserted and obeyed.

But in *matters of Religion*, common people are not generally so tame, nor so soon *cowed* or *over-awed* by meer force and *club-law*: by which methods the Duke *D'Alva* lost his Master the King of *Spain* those fair Provinces of the *Low-countries*. For besides their naturall *restivenesse*, *stubbornnesse* and *doggednesse*, they are mightily heightned in these tempers and humours by the imagination of zeal, and resolutions of necessary perseverance in any way that they have chosen for their Religion, though it be never so extravagant, yea ridiculous; especially if bare force be applyed to remove them, then they are as ponderous as the congealed Mountains, or Northern heaps of Ice, which no Engines can remove; but the warmer *Sun* will secretly thaw, and easily melt them, so that they shall of *themselves* dissolve and fall asunder.

It is obvious to all men to hold and grasp that fastest, which any seeks to wrest or extort from them; and all spectators of such *contests*, are ready to judge, that that side either wants, or distrusts its rationall and perswasive *power* (which is most proper to be applyed to the minds and consciences of men, in *matters of Religion*) when they see much use is made of persecutive and compelling power; which is rather brutish than *humane*: such as *Balaams* passion used towards his *Asse*; but it was not used by the *Angel* toward *Balaam*, who being the more perverse and refractory beast of the two, yet the *Angel* by Gods commission onely reasons, argues, and perswades with him, while he with fury smites his *Asse* once and again. Not onely Piety and Christian Charity, but common Reason and Humanity teach all good-natur'd people to *frown* upon force, and look sadly upon sufferers, upon any Religious account, unlesse (as *Hacker* and his complices) where mens blasphemous opinions and riotous actions, like *mad-mens*, are such, that they break all those *bounds* which Morality, Modesty, Civil Justice, Publique Peace, the honour of established Religion, and the Reverence of the Divine Majesty, do prescribe to all men, no lesse than to all Christians.

State-breaches, or Civill fractures, like flesh-wounds, will in time be healed

healed by a kind of *weapon-salve*: I mean, that *Sovereign power* of the Sword, which prevails, wil in time either depresse or extirpate contrari-factions; either so over-awing them by fears, or winning them by rewards, that they will with patience and prudence rather embrace a safe and quiet *subjection*, than adventure upon dangerous and improbable *commotions*. But the violent strokes made against mens Religion, reach even their very hearts; in defence of which all their spirits gather together, resolving (if they have any courage or sincerity) rather to die, than deny or desert what they at present count their Religion.

The casting of good store of water, or bloud, upon civill *conflagrations*, will, at last, quench them; and prevalent power will make a shift to build it self new *mansions* or *palaces*, out of those ruinous materials which were much burnt and wasted, but not quite consumed, by those fires. But *religious burnings*, like the flames of *jealousie*, are *contumacious*, rising like *wild-fire* most violently against all means that are used suddenly and forcibly to smother and extinguish them. Many of all sorts of Religions have chosen rather to be burnt themselves, than to have their opinions quenched, and their Religion *suppressed*; especially if they can have the glory to be *Champions* for a side, or Patrons of a party, and have many *spectators* or *sectators* to be their applauders.

Putrid *humors* and noxious *ulcers* once broken out, and far spread in any Nation, (as now in *England*) upon the account of Religion, (like Saint *Antonies* fire, or sharp *Erysipylas*) are safest healed by *lenitive purgations*, rather than cold *applications outwardly*. *Factions* in Religion, like *Fistula's* or *running sores* in foule bodies, are in least pain and danger, when they have some vent allowed them, by which the *venomous humours* may leisurely spend themselves; and those pestilent opinions which carry with them pernicious practices, so *drain* away, as most keeps them from recoyling upon the head, heart, or other noble parts.

All sudden skinning over, or closing of the *orifices*, by which those sharp humours are obstructed, but not purged, is very dangerous and diffusive of the mischief, making the source of the malignity to flow higher, if it be not drawn away by such gentle *dieticks*, or healing applications, as strengthening the sound parts, assisting the weak, and purging the disaffected, enables them by little and little to cast out what ever was unsound in them, and noxious to them.

Nothing makes the *restitutions* of true, but decayed and divided Religion, more difficult in any Nation, than those mutuall corruptions and passions, those animosities and transports which disaffect both the People as Patients, and many times the Magistrates and Ministers as Physicians. And nothing renders that work more facile and *feasable*, than that calmnesse, *moderation* and *temper*, which ought alwayes to be in *Physitians*, whatever violent fits and distempers appear in the Patients. Governours in Church and State must ever expect such distempers in peoples minds, especially when they are touched

touched upon the tender place of their Religion, with which mens consciences seem so vehemently to sympathize, that Reformers had need carefully to furnish themselves with such *meeknesse of wisdom*, as is the *best antidote* for their own security, and against the others malady.

Then there will be hopes of *healing* in Religion, not when *Toleration* or *indulgence* is granted to all opinions and professions, which list to *christen* themselves; but when such a publick way of solid and sincere Religion, both as to doctrine and practice, is seriously debated, duly prepared, publickly agreed upon, and solemnly established, as carries with it most of cleare *Scripture*-precept, and Saintly pattern, in faith and manners, in vertues and graces, in duties and devotions, in order and authority, in honesty and charity, with the greatest uprightness and impartiality towards God and man.

However *Epidemick contagions* may for a time be permitted something of necessary *connivence*, that they may more freely breathe out themselves; yet this great remedy and soveraign medicine in due time ought to be applyed, which consists in the owning and establishing of such a Religion as hath in it whatever is holy, necessary, usefull, comely, and commendable in any of the pretending parties. This once approved, and fixed by grave counsell, and publique advice of all Estates, as the *Standard* of the publique profession and practice of Religion; being also asserted and propagated by Preachers of most *indisputable authority*, of pregnantest *abilities*, and of most *exemplary lives*, orderly and unanimously agreeing among themselves, hereby meriting and enjoying the *double honour* of publique respect and maintenance; these gentle, rationally, and wholesome *methods* of Religion, will certainly in a few years, by Gods blessing, either *drive in*, or drive out, by secret and gentle workings, all those pestilent distempers in Religion, which vulgar minds, by a corrupted *Liberty*, as by a licentious and foule diet, have contracted, to the great disorder and deformity of any Church or Nation professing Christianity.

For in a short time, such as are truly *consciencious*, by the fear of God, and love of true Religion, will cease to be either pertinacious, or contentious, or factious, or inconstant, when they are convinced of so excellent a way, as they cannot but conclude to be safe; since it is holy and true, sober and settled, comely and charitable. Others that are meer *Politicians* in Religion, either formall *Pharisees*, or false *hypocrites*, or fawning *Parasites*, ready to change and comply with any party and perswasion, in order to secular advantages, even these will soon give over their factious agitations, their pragmatick sticklings, and popular sidings and shiftings in Religion, when once they find which way the *wind* or stream of publique favour and civill interest doe drive. The Mills of Factions in Religion will soon give over their motions, when once they perceive no grist of Profit, or stream of Preferment, or breath of vulgar Applause is brought in to them.

There is no wonder to be made at those late sad and mad *extravagancies*,

vagancies, which of later yeares have prevailed against the *reformed Religion* once settled in *England*; while the Majesty and Honour of this Church and State, the sanctity of our Lawes, Civil and Ecclesiastick, the solemnity of Gods publick worship and service, the authority and maintenance of his Ministers, have all been (through our civil broyles and tumults) unhappily exposed to infinite arrogancies, spoiles, contempts, and intolencies, even of common people; while they saw so many prisons and bonds, so many sequestrations and silencings, so many deaths and dangers, attend not onely the *Bishops*, but the *Presbyters*, the chief Preachers and prime Professors on all sides of that reformed Religion which was established in *England*. No wonder, if while the populacy see great Preachers and Professors cast so much dirt, and spit in each others faces; while they suspect that all piety, honesty and Christian charity, are made to truckle under State-Policies, and bend to *worldly* interests; no wonder if the vulgar desperately leap into the Sea of confusion and faction, out of that ship which they saw not onely so leaky and crazy, that it was almost sunk, but so set on fire, that they despaired to quench it: No wonder if they venture upon either inventing what new wayes of Religion they list to fancy, or despising all wonted publick formes and professions; since they think themselves not onely encouraged, but in a sort exemplarily commanded, and almost compelled to cast off with scorn that *Reformed Profession* of Christian Religion, which had so great a Name of Wisdome, Law, Honour and Holinesse, Glory and Happinesse, as that had which was established in the *Church of England*, (never to be mended, as to the main and substantial of Religion, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, Devotion and Government; however in some circumstantial, something might possibly be altered, or added, by the sober counsels of wise and peaceable men, who had both ability and authority for such a work.)

Whose great difficulty now is chiefly heightened by that *popular froth* and vanity, those animosities, and arrogancies, those infinite variations and confusions, with which vulgar fury and passions have deformed, the *face* divided the *body*, yea almost devoured every joynt and limb of Christian and reformed Religion in *England*.

'Tis true, these will in time very much waste, sink and vanish of themselves, while one Faction justles, crowds and confounds another; the new ones (as the night-mares) insulting and overlaying the *Elder*: But this is onely as the changing of a *Captives Chaines*, this will but bring in religious rabbles or *successions* of *confusions*, but no sound recovery, or just Redemption and restitution of true Religion, and any due Reformation, untill people see the publick marks of *Divinity* autoritatively set upon Religion, when it is set forth & settled with such Truth and Holinesse, such Order and Honour, such Bounty and Beauty, such Unity and Tranquillity, such Favour and Benignity, as becomes the *Majesty* of that profession which imports mans highest relation and union to their *God* and Saviour.

If after such a wise restauration and publick establishment of Religion,

ligion, there should still appear some such licentious and disorderly *Spirits*, who, like old *wild birds*, are impatient of any restraint, and will rather pine away and dye with sullenness, than exchange their fancied freedom for the best cage and food in the world; yet it is far more pious and charitable to set just bounds of restraint and check to their affected liberty, than to suffer them to injure the publick welfare, or hinder the happy settlement of Religion, by their heady and endless extravagancies; from whence arise the greatest *difficulties* and obstructions which lye in the way of wise men: which yet are not so insuperable as to occasion any sober mans despaire, or to damp his Prayers, or to discourage his worthy endeavours; in all which honest industry will *whet* it self to a greater edge and brightness upon the rocks of *difficulty*, which are but the *whet-stones* of true Christian piety and charity, when God shall please to give such just power, and faire opportunities, as may best answer the necessities and importunities of those publick cases wherein divided and decayed Religion is so highly concerned, that nothing is lesse to be dallied, delayed, or dispensed withall.

CHAP. III.

Grand motives to a publick restitution and fixation of the Reformed Religion.



And such indeed to me seemeth the case of *Religion*, as Christian and reformed in *England*; whose necessary restitution and speedy reestablishment to *Unity* and *Uniformity* may be justly pressed upon all persons of worth and wisdom in this Nation, not onely by softer notions and plausible insinuations, but by the most cogent demonstrations, and potent persuasions, that can be applied to the minds of Men and Christians, as to (1.) *Conscience*, (2.) *Prudence*, (3.) *Honor*, (4.) and *Gratitude*.

First as to the *Conscience* of our duty to God and Man, in *Piety* and *Charity*, what, I beseech you, can be more urgently incumbent upon all good mens Consciences, than the publick advantages of *Gods Glory*, and the eternall good of mens soules? Both which are highly concerned in the vindication and *fixation* of true Religion, as Christian, and as Reformed.

1. Reason from the glory of our God and Saviour.

For the *Glory* of the great God, and the Honor of our blessed *Redeemer* (which ought to be the chiefest designs of every good Christians highest Zeal and best endeavours,) 'tis most evident, that nothing tends more to their dishonour and *disparagement* in the eye of all the world, both at home and abroad, that when *Aliens* and *Insidells*, *Jews* & *Mahometans*, *Atheists* and *Epicures*, *Scepticks*, & *Politicians*, debauched, profane and ignorant livers, shall see that *Religion* (by which this Nation professeth a singular regard to the Divine Majesty and Honor) to be shamefully divided, supinely neglected, and sordidly despised, and by vulgar insolency prostituted, as to that publick Solemnity, Majesty, Authority, Ministry, Order, Peace, Uniformity, and Stability,

Stability, which befit that high and holy *relation* wherewith true Religion invests men, as obliging them to the supreme *Good*, the blessed, holy, and onely *Eternall God* our Saviour, to know, own, fear, love, reverence, imitate, obey and enjoy him in the greatest *exactnesse* of duty, and sanctity of Devotion: and this not onely privately and retiredly, but publickly and socially; where the exemplary solemnity, harmony and *beauty of holinesse*, not onely *conciliate* an honor to true *Religion*, but they are the highest *instances* men can publickly give, as of their pious regards to God, so of their *charitable* tendernesse towards all men as their neighbours;

Who being naturally most *averse* from that *Religion* which is the best and holiest, should have the fewest *discouragements*, damps, or scandals, either wilfully cast, or negligently left in their way, lest they either *avert* to down-right irreligion and atheisme, or *divert* to those broader and easier *paths* of *Superstition*; which (as among the generality of *Papists*, so among all *Sects* that affect a popular and loose way of religion) indulge many things to mens lusts and passions, even while they most recommend and set off themselves with such ostentations of *Novelty*, *Liberty*, *Facility*, and formall Sanctity, as may be most taking to their vulgar *followers*, and plausible to the humors of most people, who are prone to measure religion rather by their senses and fancies, their ease and appetites, their worldly benefits and interests, than by their understandings, judgements and consciences.

I have formerly shewed at large in all the instances of true Religion, both for the *Substance* and *Form* of it, the graces and duties, that the *Generality* of people, if left to themselves, are so *lost*, that they are loth to be sought and found to any true *Piety* or happiness, as being in love with their being wantonly wicked & miserable: They will ever choose *disorder*, yea *death*, while they forsake all orderly and holy waies, as to any true, serious and powerfull Religion, unlesse wise *Magistrates* and worthy *Ministers* be better to them than they ever will be, or designe, or wish, to themselves. If they may eate and drink, plow and sow, buy and sell, build and marry; dispute and wrangle, trifle with God, and baffle with their own consciences, very little or no Religion, as strict and true, will serve their turnes; liking that best which leaves them most to themselves, where they have least restraints, though never so holy, just and comely; but may enjoy such pastimes and *indulgences* in their profession as most gratifie their humors and fancies, their wantonnesse and petulancy, their covetousnesse and barbarity, their vanity or villany.

Certainly, if the *Goodnesse* of God had not first by Primitive Bishops and Preachers, after by wise *Magistrates* and *valiant Princes*, first reduced, then preserved, humane societies to some settled formes of civility and order, piety and polity, beyond their own licentious *extravagancies*, this, as all nations, had to this day continued in their native *savagenesse*, without reverence of Man, or feare of God. Nor would the severall inventions and varieties of peoples *Lunatick*

Religions, (which possibly they would every *new Moon* pick and choofe of themselves) these, I say, would have been so farre from advancing the common *Peace* and *welfare* of mankind, that no fewell would make their *fury* burn more vehemently to mutuall destructions, than what naturally riseth from the *Trash* and *Drosse*, the *Straw* and *Stubble* of those opinions and *perswasions* which people are prone to *adopt* to be their *Religion* and Devotion; with as little *Verity* and *Charity*, as they have nothing but *Variety* and *Vanity*.

So that endlesse differences and deadly defiances in our Religion, among us as men and Christians, cannot but tend, as to the dishonour of our *God* and *Saviour*, so to the infinite detriment and damage, as of our selves and our neighbours at present, so of posterity to after-ages; Who will with astonishment and horror read the *Histories* of our times, so desperately engaged to *reforme Religion*, that they well-nigh ruined it; so pertinacious to retaine their Christian and Reformed profession, that they almost made a *shift* to lose both; as *hunters* do that game which they onely scare from them while they eagerly, but indiscreetly, pursue it.

a. Reason from
prudence and
civil policy.

Secondly, besides conscience to the Glory of God, the honor of our Saviour, and the good of Soules, all *civill prudence* and true policy not onely invites, but necessitates sober and worthy men to study and endeavour the restitution and establishment of true *Religion*, in this or any Nation, to its true proportions and just fixation, as *Christian* and *Reformed*. Now although nothing can in *true Oatery* be (among Christians) added, after the *weighty considerations* of Gods glory, Christs honor, the hazard of our own and others souls to eternall darknesse, ignorance, confusion and misery, (all motives being as the *dust* of the *balance* compared to these;) yet, because I must *levell* the force of my *perswasions*, as *arrows*, to the proportions of most mens principles and designs in point of *temporall interests*, as well as draw them home to the head and height of *Spiritual* and *Eternall concerns*, give me leave to represent and inculcate that consideration, as to *Religions* necessary *selling*, which of all other makes the quickest and deepest impression on mens minds, the neglect of which will certainly *forfeit* all that reputation of wise Men, great Statists, and good Politicians, even after the worlds *calculation of wisdom*, which *Magistrates* and *Gentlemen* are ambitious to obtain, and leave to the honor of their Names and Memories.

It is this; There is no *binde* upon which the civil *Peace* and *Secular* welfare of you and your posterity doth so much depend and move as this of *True Religion*, which is at no hand to be left to a *plebeian Liberty* and vulgar *latitude*, but to be confined and settled upon its own weight and basis to its *Verity*, *Certainty*, *Sanctity*, *Solemnity*, true *Ministry* and due *Authority*. In vaine shall you hope to enjoy the *Peace of men* in worldly affaires, if you want the peace of God, if you have nothing but wars and jarrs, distances and defiances, as to *Religion*, both with God, your Ministers, your selves, and with one another.

Which

Which *Sacred Fires* will infallibly *kindle* horrid conflagrations, not onely from those hot disputes and attritions which concerne the principall Articles and more solid parts of Religion, which are held *necessary to salvation*, but even from the lightest and smallest *materialls*, which seem but as the *chips* and *parings*, the bark and leaves of Religion; even these, like *tinder* and touch-wood, are prone to strike and entertaine *such sparks* in small and vulgar minds as will set all on a *light fire* at last.

Which is most evident in our late *Holy Warrs*, where few men of any modesty or honesty did at first stickle so much about the weighty points of Religion, in *Doctrine* or *manners*, tending to true Faith or practicall *Holinesse*, (objects too deep and weighty for the *weak* and *shallow* braines of most *Novellers* and *Vasfators*;) few, I say, or none of any worth did or do contend about true *Grace* or reall *Virtue*, who shall be most Holy, Penitent, Humble, Faithfull, Pure, Patient, Just, Charitable, Meek, Devout, Sincere, inoffensive to God and Man: No, the Lord *knowes*, a little *touch*, or dash and colour of these serves the turne with most men, that are most eager for any side and party of Religion in their rude disputes and uncharitable janglings. The greatest strifes, the sharpest emulations, and most unfeigned *feudes* of Religion arise from principles of Envy, Revenge, and Ambition in mens Spirits; when once they are divided upon any *spark* or *pretext of Religion*, their ambitious *Zeal*, like fire, presently ascends and lifts them *upward*: The grand interest of their *Godlinesse* is (like the Sons of *Zebedee*) *who shall be chief*, what person, what party, shall prevaile and rule over others, who shall sit on the *right hand* of *Christ*, judging *the rest*, not as brethren, but as *subjects* and vassals. For all *pregnant factions in Religion* are not onely solicitous to preserve themselves in some honest liberty and modest tranquillity; (as a candle whose confined flame keeps within its own socket and compasse;) but they presently meditate the extinguishing of all others. They aime indeed at *Conquest* and *Soveraignty*, every ones fingers itch at the *Scepter of Jesus Christ*, that is, at such power and authority, as may governe the soules and bodies too, the consciences and carkases of other men both in Church and State; that they may (in Christs Name) have *Dominion* over the opinions and judgements, the minds and spirits of all men, subduing them, if not at first by disputation and arguments, yet at length by *Fightings* and *Armes*, by silencings and imprisonings, by plunderings and undoings.

For which purpose each party, the better to justifie its insolency and cruelty against all others, holds forth some *Ensigne* and *Flag*, as of difference, so of defiance; either as to some lesser matter of Opinion and Doctrine, or (rather than faile) of some meer outward Form and Discipline, yea of some sorry Ceremonie and Custome no way essentiall to true Religion: Yet from hence the eager, but weaker, *Zelots* on all sides, (*Episcopall*, *Presbyterian* and *Independent*) have and do foment those miserable flames, which have not onely scorched,

but almost consumed this *Church of England*. For, these petty contests readily fall under vulgar capacities, as more obvious and sensible; these fit the humors of the *minne* people and petty Preachers too, who are (naturally) as proud and imperious, as masterly and surly, as the greatest Clerks or Scholars, whose learned abilities may better excuse their pertinacies, ambitions, and other insolencies.

Who is so blind as not to see that from the first differences which were spawned at *Frankfort*, and hatched at *Geneva*, about *non-Conformity* and Church-Discipline, the *Presbyterian* and popular Spirit hath alwaies grumbled and mutined at that eminency and government which *Episcopacy* (for the maine) hath enjoyed from the beginning, not of *Reformation* onely, but of *Christian Religion*. From whence some other mens Spirits, (too high perhaps and *Prelaticall*) out of jealousy, have, on the other side, sought to engrosse and exercise more of a sole, arbitrary and absolute power, not onely above, but apart from, all *Presbyters* and people, than was ever challenged or used in the *Primitive Constitution*, in the first and best practises of *Episcopacy*, which seems to have had more of *Aristocracy*, by the joyned Counsell and assistance of select and Grave *Presbyters*, than of absolute *Monarchy*, or soveraigne and sole authority, further than an eminency of Office, Order, Place, and Presidencie, might keep an united and regular power in their more ample and combined Churches, which consisted of many Christian congregations and *Presbyters*.

But as the *Duke of York* first professed with oath, that he aimed at no more than his *Duchy*, yet afterward aspired & gained the *Kingdom of England*, by the name of *King Edward* the fourth; so some *Presbyters* at first pretended onely to claime a coordinate exercise of Counsell and assistance with *Bishops*, in some things, consisting with a modest and orderly subordination to them as chief Fathers of their Ecclesiasticall Tribes and Families; yea I knew some chief *Rabbies* of them have professed that they cryed down and covenanted onely against the *Tyrannick Government* of Prelates, and the over-grown train of their Officialls, shewing some reason to regulate *Episcopacy* by reducing it to the modesty of *Primitive patternes*: Yet this motion was no sooner begun among us, but (we see) it increased to such a violence, as kindled the ambition of some people and *Presbyters* so hot against all *Bishops*, that the best of them (and many of them were incomparable men, excellent Christians, and most admirable *Bishops*) were counted *Refractory*, *Popish*, and *Antichristian*, with all their abettors, because they would not tamely contribute to their own utter destruction, and presently consent to the reproch of this and all ancient Churches, where *Bishops* I think were as well known, and as long used, as the Sacraments or the Scriptures. Yea at last the contention grew so sharp, that it not onely whetted many tongues and pens, but it came to swords, ending (if it be ended) in much blood, *Presbyters* challenging to have not only a meet share and concurrent influence (as was ancient in *Ignatius*, and *St. Cyprians*, and *St. Austins* times, and which might be very fitting and usefull in Church-

Church-Government) but they will have all or none, and this upon Christs title: Bishops (as usurpers for 1600. years) must have no faire quarter, nay none at all; but persons and power must be wholly *ex-antorated, extirpated, impoverished, contemned, abased, undone*. Though they had done nothing but what either the Lawes commanded, or the Prince (in whom by law was the chief Ecclesiasticall as well as civill power) *indulged*, yea and required them to do, yet *no medium, no moderation* can be expected between *Cæsar and Pompey, Sylla and Marius, Antonius and Augustus*, when mens Spirits are heightned by jealousies and emulations to seek each others destruction.

After all this, the peremptory reign of *Presbytery*, (which cost this *Church and Nation* so deare) was not long-liv'd, nor could be well established, though at first it looked so big, and grasped on the sudden even at three Kingdomes; For before it was warme in its nest, or well seated in its Throne, we see *Independency* got hold on one end of its *Scepter*, or quarter-staffe rather, threatening, in the right of Christ Jesus, and in the behalf of all Christian common people, to wrest it quite out of the hands of *Presbytery*, either by legerdemaine, or maine force, unlesse it might go at least halfe with it in the spoiles of *Episcopacy*, and that share of *Church-Government* which they pleaded was due not onely to a few *Preaching Parsons* and ruling *Elders*, but to the whole congregation, as being holy, the *Lords people*, the body of Christ in particular.

This check made *Presbytery* much more tame and tractable than it was wont to be, when it first *whetted its tusshes* so sharply, and *bristled* so fiercely against all *Episcopacy*, root and branch, hooves and hornes; no regulation, no remission, no moderation, no merit of so many Godly, Learned, Moderate, yea Martyrly Bishops, heretofore, and even then in *England* would serve the turn. After all this trouble, the more grave and sober sort even of those Presbyterian and Independent Ministers are brought (as we see) into no small straits, and reduced to this great *Dilemma of policy*, whether they should choose to put their heads again under the *Bishops* hands, or under the common peoples feet; whether it be more for the honor of their Ministry to be subordinate to grave and worthy *Bishops*, as Learned Moderators, *Presidentiall Fathers*, and elder *Brothers*, or to be thus everlastingly haunted with evill and unclean Spirits, to be thus hampered with the giddy and ungratefull vulgar, who are very pe-
rulant and *saucy companions*, very soure and insolent masters.

Nor is this *Triumvirate of Episcopall, Presbyterian and Independent Antagonists and rivals*, the boundary of mens religious *Ambitions* and contentions in *England*; There are other *Names and Titles*, and daily will be more and more new *Seets* and *Factions*, which will have their Godly agonies and pretentions, no lesse than those three have had.

Yea, the least and most unsuspected, the feeblest and silliest of them, will serve either to kindle new, or to continue *successive* fires of jealousies,

jealousies, troubles, seditions, and wars in this *Nation*. Take them all together, and leave them equally to their *severall principles*, and contrary operations, they will be like the *complication* of many diseases in one body, as the *Quartanes, Dropsies, Scurvys, Heftick Feavers* and *Consumptions* of this State and Church: not onely shaking off, and daily dispiriting, but (in time) quite destroying the Beauty, Health, Strength, Peace, Safety, and Honor of this *Nation*, whatever it be, *Common-wealth* or *Kingdom*, Aristocracy, Democracy, or Monarchy. For while mens Spirits are *sharpened* by daily *contentions* in *Religion*, to anger, emulations, and ambitions who shall be *greatest* in popular esteem, in prevalency of *parties*, in number of *Seētators*, in novelties of opinions, and in presumptuous practises, they not onely sower to *secret animosities*, but break out to *open enmities*, from the least differences. For the true life and power of *Religion*, (which consists in a *Knowing, Humble* and *Charitable Zeal* for Gods glory and each others good, this) is taken off and extremely dulled (as the edge of sharp *knives* by cutting of *cork*,) while mens *head* and *hearts* are wholly busied in *whistling* and *hewing* those small points and softer parts of Religion, which consider (at first it may be) onely the rituals, externals and politics of it; yet in time these continually droppings undermine and overthrow the very *fundamentals*, which consist in the *Unity* of the *Faith*, the Sanctity of Manners, and the Sincerity of Christians Charity to each other, which held better in Unity, Health, Beauty, and Strength amidst heathenish *persecutions*, than they ever did, or can do, amidst Christians contentions, needlesse and endlesse janglings of Preachers and Professors among themselves.

For these rising most-what not from the holy and humble *warmth*, but the wantonneffe and luxuriancy of mens Spirits, (especially after long peace and *setling* upon their *Lees*) do naturally break out to such *boyles* and *tumors* of *Factions*, as siewell every Opinionist and his party to the hope of having a *turne*, or *share* at least, in *rule* and *Empire*; wherein the present prevalent *party* is ever jealous and impatient of having any equall or rivall either to affront or disturb them; and the *depressed parties* still conceive they are injured, and oft complaine of being *persecuted*: Nay they are filled with *Whisperings* and *Murmurings*, with *Envies* and *Animosities*, (though they be let alone, and *connived* at by way of *Toleration*) when they see the *publick rewards* of Valour, Learning, Industry, Parts, and (as they think) of Piety it self, onely or chiefly bestowed on those that adhere to, and symbolize with the *prevailing party*, which is the onely rising side; all others despairing to rise, till the great *Resurrection*, unlesse by power or policy they can undermine or overthrow the predominant faction.

In these *nests* of Religious differences and zealous emulations are the *eggs* of all civill discontents, popular seditions, and pernicious rebellions, commonly *laid* and *hatched*, to the infinite hazard, and many times utter ruine, of civill States; which are never so safe, as when all

all parts of them, like the parts of a *globe* or *sphere*, fairly correspond with each other by the unity and intireness of the same *Religion*; whose content or orbe is the holy *Scripture*, whose centre is Gods glory, and whose circumference is Christian love, unanimity or Charity, without any of which Religion is but a *Rhapsody* of mens opinions, passions, and ambition.

From these *holy confinements* when once Christians come to divide as to their Religion, they soon fall to desie, to destroy, yea to damne one another: Every party hath such high *paroxysmes* of *zealous hopes* and *presumptions* for their way, that they presently *ascend Gods Throne*, and Christs *Tribunall*, severely judging all men but *themselves*: which *judiciall* and uncharitable *arrogancies* have (as we see) at this day, not onely in *England*, but in all the *Christian world*, so filled and inflamed mens minds with cruell counter-curses and angry *Anathema's* against each other; that if Gods *last doome* should *echo* after the *clamours* and censures of *Christians passions*, we must all be damned, every *mothers child* of us, notwithstanding that we all professe to believe and serve the same God and Saviour. If not every particular person of each party, who may have more moderation and charity, yet to be sure the *froth* and *scumme*, the populacy and vulgarity of them, (which are alwaies *boyled* highest) these mutually condemne each other, not to a *Purgatory* or a *Limbo* onely, but to a very *Hell* of infernall and eternall torments.

Thus many *Protestants* utterly damne all *Papists*, as if God had *no people* in that *Babylon* of *Poperie*; the *Honesty*, *Humility* and *Simplicity* of whose *Faith, Works* and *Hearts* may bring them out of the *contagion* of *Romes Plagues, Policies*, and *Superstitions*. *Papists* on the other side universally damne all *Protestants*, (though they hold all the ancient *Creeds* and *Articles* of *Faith*, though they *practise* all *Christian necessary duties*, and keep to the *Primitive Order* of the *Catholick Church*) onely because they will not tye the *keyes* of *Faith, Conscience, Scripture, Religion*, and *Church-Government*, to the *Popes girdle*, or absolutely submit to him in a blind obedience against *Reason, Scripture* and *History*, as to the surly *Faylour*, rather than the safe *keeper*, of *Christian* and true *Religion*. In like manner the violent *Lutherans* call the *Calvinists Devils*, and the passionate *Calvinists* desie the *Lutherans* as luke-warme *Protestants*, and smelling too *rank* of *Rome*. Look to the eager and acute *Arminians*, the *Socinians*, the moderne *Pelagians*, the *Anabaptists, Catabaptists, Familiſts*, the *Seckers, Ranters*, and *Quakers*: As the *Independent, Presbyterian*, and *Episcopall* hands, so these are generally full, either of *firebrands* from *hell*, or *thunderbolts* from *heaven*; which are eagerly cast by the more violent *Spirits* in each others *faces*, as *Hereticks* or *Schismaticks*, as *Antichrists* and *Hypocrites*, as *deceived* and *deceiving*. Nor will the *Zealots* and *bigots* on any side make any great scruple (if they have power) to destroy those whom they account no better than desperate and damnable even in their Religion.

Amidst

Amidst and against all which *factious discriminations* of Religion, every *Nation* and *Polity*, which either is, or would seem to be wise, must seek to preserve its safety, by establishing some Uniformity and Unity in its *publick profession*: For no nation is farre from misery, that is pestred with *variety* of Religions, and is fixed at no certainty. The sad example of this Church and State of *England*, (besides our neighbours) is an instance as unanswerable as palpable; for the Church of England stood *Neuter* as to all the sides and factions of *Christendom*, yet held so far *Communion* with *Greek* and *Latine*, *Reformed* and *Romane*, *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Churches, as it saw they held communion with the Scriptures, and with the ancient Catholick Symbols, or Councils, which were the best boundaries of *Christian Religion*. It had, if not more, yet as much Solidity and Sincerity, Piety and Proficiency, Gifts and Graces, Charity and Moderation, Order and Good polity, as any, yea all of them; farre lesse of Partiality, Popularity, Novelty, Oppression, Superstition and Confusion, than almost any one of them; while the favour of God and man shined upon her, strangely blest with Peace, Plenty, Honor and Prosperity, while it kept its Ecclesiastick Order and Uniformity in Religion, which was the chief *soder* or cement of civill *Tranquillity*. This *Palladium* once stolne away by the *Jesuitick* subtilties, and other factious policies, how have the *Temples* and *Towers* of our *Troy*, the *Churches* and *Palaces* of our *Jerusalem*, the *Oratories* and *Houses* both of God and man falne to the ground! not with their own age, infirmity, or weight, but battered and subverted chiefly by those *Engines* which factious fury and devout ambition puts into all mens hands upon the score of their *Religion*: a fate which still threatens all the remaines of Religion and Peace that have yet escaped, if God be not so mercifull to this Land, as to shew us some *Balsam* that may heale the Divisions and Wounds of our Church and Religion, which will easily fester and inflame the body *politick* of any Nation; for civil Peace cannot be firm where publick Piety is not sound and settled; nor can any Kingdom or Commonwealth be established, in which true Religion is either baffled or abased by being divided and distracted.

But suppose that you (O my Noble Countrymen) and your posterity should enjoy a moments *miserable prosperity*, and a pitifull kind of peace, meerly upon the account of a meer *Mahometan power*, and *Gladiatorian Prevalency* of one side, possibly over-awing all other parties and pretensions of Religion, or so *counterpoising* them by secular policies to some consistency, as doth rather distort and depresse, than advance or encourage the progresse of that true Piety and Christian Charity, which are the surest *marks* of Christianity and of Gods *favour* to any people; yet, I presume, you are so piously *prudent*, as to consider

First, that such worldly tranquillity and prosperity are scarce worth owning or enjoying apart from that sweet harmony and fruition which goes with *true Religion*, and flowes from it, when it keeps

keeps the unity of the *Spirit in the bond of Peace*, when its sacred ointment is diffused from the head *Christ Jesus*, not onely to the chief members of his body, but even to the skirts of his clothing, the use and capacity of the meanest believer; in an holy Unity and happy Uniformity, not onely of true Doctrine; but of comely Order and charitable Communion. This mortall life, with its highest naturall ornaments and civil accomplishments, is no blessing, separated from the meanes of a better life, or from the enjoying of them in such a way of Unity, Order, Decency and Charity, as not onely becomes a Christians conversation best, but most advanceth his comfort: Our *miserable moment* is no further valuable, than it may be serviceable to a *blessed Eternity*. True Religion, and the sweet enjoyments of it, sets humane societies and soules above the form and fate of *beasts*, much more than common reason and civility can do, which the *Heathens* and *Infidels* in all ages have enjoyed for a time.

Secondly, next, you cannot but conclude, that whatever civil *peace* you and your posterity may enjoy not settled upon religious grounds, it cannot be either very secure or sincere, and so not long lasting: for it must needs be either very Tyrannous, if any one *Factions* power and *ambition* gets uppermost, and seeks to force all others to obey or comply against their judgements and consciences; or it must be very *querulous* and *quarrellsome*, if all enjoying an *equall toleration*, yet each side nourisheth such Distances, Defiances and Jealousies against others, as puts them alwaies upon their guard and *fence*, breathing them (as it were) with daily contests & private skirmishes, thus preparing them for blood and war at last. When they have sufficiently preached, and prayed, and scribled against each other, when they have disputed, and discommuned, and *unchurched*, and *unchristened* one another, then (if they are numerous) they are ripe and ready to *rifle* and *plunder*, to *kill* and *destroy*, to *despise* and *devour* one another, as mutually damning each other.

All *Histories* of the *Church* do loudly proclaime to us, That neither Church nor State, *Kingdom* nor *Empire*, *Monarchy* nor *Common-wealth* can be long-liv'd or flourishing, where true Religion, once generally professed and venerated among them, growes to be divided and despised, abased and impoverished, even by *Christians* themselves. The sad experiments of which *Eusebius* tells us, when he sets forth the *meritorious* causes and originals of all those dreadfull vastations which befell Christian Churches under *Diocletians* persecutions: Also of those barbarous inundations which followed in *St. Austins* dayes, who died while the City in which he was was besieged. The chief rise and occasions of those hostile incursions sprang from the factions, inquietudes and contentions so rise among Christians, neither *Bishops*, nor *Presbyters*, nor *People* agreeing as they should, but oft breaking forth to *tumults*, *riots* and *seditions*, by the popular furies of *Manichees*, *Novatians*, *Donatists*, *Arians*, *Circumcellians* and *Pelagians*; or by the discontents and

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ambitions

Euseb. l. 8. hist. cap. 1.

ambitions of Presbyters, or by the pride and oppressions of some *Bishops*, to the infinite dishonour of *Christianity*, and to the inviting of contempt and insolence from the common enemies of it. For who can think those *Christians* worthy of any Peace, Honor, or Respect from strangers, who so little love or value their *Brethren*, yea their Mother and Fathers, as not onely to *despise* them, but to destroy them?

The *African*, *Asiatick* and *European*, the *Eastern* and *Western*, the *Greek* and *Latine Churches* (if we had not the late testimonies of our own and our neighbours calamities) sufficiently tell us, that no comet presageth greater calamities, or more publick *mischiefs* to any Nation, than these dissensions in Religion, which setting mens hearts most on fire, are hardly quenched, but with their blood, tending and oft ending in the ruines both of Churches and States.

These, these gave opportunity to that raging Sea of *Mahometan pride and perfidy*, which easily swallowed up so many famous *Christian Churches* in *Asia*, *Africa* and *Egypt*, and at last the whole *Grecian Empire*, when the banks of Christian Unity, as well as Piety, were broken down by Christians themselves; who in vaine boast of Piety, Miracles and Martyrdome, unlesse they keep true Charity among themselves.

As no men deserve more noble and durable *monuments* to be made, not of *marble-stones*, but of thankfull hearts, than they whose wisdom successfully endeavours to compose unhappy differences, as to Religion, in any Church or Nation; so no men are more and more justly to be blamed than they, who sitting long at the *helms* of government in Church and State, and being sufficiently furnished with power to prevent or speedily remedy such distempers, yet have either occasioned and exasperated them by needlesse and unseasonable rigors, or else connived at and too much indulged them by carelesse remissions and negligences; from whence some small *vipers* of faction (which in my memory were so charmed, that they seemed quite dead in this Church) have so revived, that they have grown to such vigor and activity, as with their *teeth* and *clawes* forcibly to make way for their own unhappy birth, by the corrosions or eating through at last of those very *bowels* of the Church of *England*, in which they were *tacitely*, and (indeed) either by too much confidence, indulgence, or indiscretion most unhappily bred and fostered.

No Christian State or Church can be too vigilant or unsecure in this point, the suppressing and preventing of all religious *ferws* and *disturbances*, whose first *conception* commonly springs from, either some odde stroke in the heads, or some putid humors in mens hearts, wherein long peace and plenty makes men either *wantonly refractory* against other mens forms and opinions, or pertinaciously zealous for their own inventions, many times not more superciliously than unseasonably, every one being so loath to sweep away the cobwebs they or others have made, either late or long since, that they

they rather choose to set on fire and burne down the whole house, in which they all had their safe abode and first breeding.

Certainly such petty serpents in Religion, which afterward swell big with their uncharitable *poisons*, should by wise *Governours* in *Church* and *State*, be *charitably* and timely prevented, and, if possible, stifled in their birth; which had been (I think) no hard matter in *England*, if such discreet and seasonable applications of piety and power had been used, as all Charity allowed, and all honest policy commanded, before ever those popular and many-headed *Hydras* came to such a *prodigious birth*, as scared both *Fathers* and *Mothers*, yea and those very *mid-wives* who most officiously waited to assist those *strange* and *monstrous productions*, which were scarce ever seen or heard of heretofore in *England*.

What prudent and *Heroick Spirits* there are yet left, whose power, managed with Christian justice and wisdom, with piety and charity, may haply quell these licentious vastators of Christian and reformed Religion, also of the peace, honor, and happiness of this Nation, I must leave to the *all-wise* and *almighty God*, of whose mercy we may not despaire, while we have leave and hearts to pray to him. Nor can I yet give over the *Church of England*, as quite forsaken of God and good men, or onely to be pittied and deplored by the best of my Countrimen, since no wise or worthy man, who hath observed the sad and bad effects of religious factions and dissensions among us, but must needs be now not onely out of love with them, but in as great feare and abhorrence of them, as he hath any favour and good will to the peace and prosperity either of his Country or this Church, to the promoting of which as conscience binds him, so all prudence and policy invites him.

CHAP. IV.



Hirdly, to these I may further adde that great spur of *generous industry*, which we call *Sense of Honor*, or an impatience that *worthy persons* have to come short in any thing of that which doth best become them, or is by God and good men expected from them. I know how touchy even small minds and petty-spirited men are in point of *reputation* there where no *true honor* lies: But meer shadows and *imaginary punctilio's* deceive them under the notions of honor, after that vulgar rate and esteem which gives many *Gentlemen* quicker resentments of any affronts, neglects, indignities, or injuries done to themselves, than of blasphemy to their God and Saviour; more sensible for the honor of their mistresses of pleasure than for their Mother or Fathers; I mean not so much naturall and politicall, as *Spirituell* and *Ecclesiasticall*, the Church and the Pastors of it, such by whose care they have been bred and born to Christ, baptised in the Name of the blessed Trinity, brought up in the true Christian

Sense of true Honour calls for the establishment of Religion.

Faith, nourished, confirmed and sealed by the body, the blood, and Spirit of Christ, directed in the waies of Holinesse and Eternall Happinesse. Certainly the Command binds all Christians to Honour these parents as much as any.

No sense of Honor should be more quick and sensible, than that which reflects upon our *highest concernments*, in which not onely our private, but our publick, not onely our temporall, but our eternall welfare is wrapped up, and so confined, that if in *this* we faile or miscarry, all is lost that a great and gracious soul can consider.

If you were a *Nation* pinched with poverty, over-awed with *slavery*, despicable for your weaknesse, base for your cowardise, brutish for your ignorance, dull with stupidity, dejected by tenuity, or barbarous through want of learning and civility; if you were now to begin the principles of Christianity, and knew not what belonged to true Religion, (which is the highest honor and happinesse of any *Nation*;) if that were the present State of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Commonalty* of *England*, that they were now beginning to be Civilized and Catechized, I should think my labour lost, my oratory vaine, and my importunity improper, thus to conjure you by the highest sense of *Honor*, to study the settlement of true Religion, before you were acquainted with the sense of Civility, Religion, or Honor: Or if I thought you had not so much pregnant light of Religion, as might make you sensible of the truest and highest points of *honor*, or not so much apprehension of honor, as might make you most zealously tender in the behalfe of true Religion; I would not be so impertinent as to think to move you beyond your inward principles.

But when I consider *you* as a *people* pampered with plenty, exalted with liberty, renowned for strength, dreaded for valour, enlightened with knowledge in all kinds, accurately vigorous, actively industrious, as the chief of the *Nations*, as the *princesse* of all *Islands*, heightened to all magnificence, polished with all good *literature* and civility, old *Disciples of Jesus Christ*, many hundred yeares agoe converted to Christianity, and never wholly either *perverted* by *Hereticks*, or *subverted* by the many barbarous *invasions* and warlike *confusions* which you have endured; when I contemplate the *grandeur*, the power, the wisdom, the majesty, the publick piety (heretofore) of this *Nation*, the antiquity of this Church, and the prosperity of its reformed condition heretofore; I cannot but with all humble and faithfull respects tell *you*, That it is not worthy the name and honor of the English *Nation*, so famous for Learning and Religion, for Scholars and Souldiers, for Magistrates and Ministers, for Christian *Princes* and Christian people, (scarce to be parallel'd in all the world;) It is not for the *Honor* of such a *Nation*, to halt between, not *two*, but *twenty opinions*; to variate thus between the true *God* and the many new *Baalims*, between *Christ* and the many *Belials*, who will endure no publick yolk of Religion or Church-government, but what themselves fancy and frame, though never so different from that

that which this and the Catholick Church in all ages, not onely used and submitted to, but highly rejoyced in, as the onely order that Jesus Christ and his Apostles had settled in all parts of his Church.

It is a shamefull posture for wise and sober men, for ancient and renowned Christians, to be thus inconsistent, as divided between a doting upon former superstitions, (which some impute to us) and indulging moderne innovations (which others reproch us for.) 'Tis ridiculous to be alwaies *dancing the rounds of Religion*, and giddily moving in the mazes of endlesse *Innovations*, which are but private, and for the most part Childish inventions, the effects either of proud and imperious, or of peevish, popular and plebeian Spirits, who aime not at the publick Peace, Piety and Honor of the Nation, so much as at the gratifying their own little Fancies, Humors, Opinions and interests; whose *Novelties* (never so specious and plausible at first, yet) soon appeare pernicious to the publick, so farre from mending and reforming the State of Religion, that they threaten to marre all, if the goodnesse of God and the moderation of wise men do not prevent. Private formes and inventions, never duly examined or solemnly allowed by the publick *Representatives* of any Church in *Nationall Synods* or *Councils*, nor from thence recommended to, and approved by, the *Representatives* of the *civill States* in full and free Parliaments, but surreptitiously broched at first, afterward Magisterially obtruded, by some pragmatick Preachers, upon any Church or Christian people, these prove no other in the end, than like the ashes scattered over *Egypt*, productive of sores and boyles swelling to great paine and insolvency.

Especially in such a Church and Nation as this, which was of the highest forme both for Christianity and reformation; where God had (to our admiration, and his eternall praise) blessed the former settled State of *Religion*, and the Churches excellent constitution, under those reverend and renowned *Bishops*, assisted by Learned, Orderly, and Worthy Presbyters, whose pious and profitable endeavours had long agoe advanced this Churches honor and happinesse to as high a pitch in point of Doctrine and Devotion, and all spirituall experiences, as any Church ever attained; and further had improved its welfare in point of Discipline, if they had not been ever curbed and hindered by the jealousies and impatiences of some Princes or people, who would by no meanes endure the ancient, just, and holy *Severities* of *Christian Discipline* should be exercised by the Clergy against their Haughty and Licentious manners, no not when the Ecclesiastick State of *England* was in its highest elevation and lustre for Learning, Honor, Order, Estate and Unity: How much lesse are they now to be exercised by poore pusillanimous and petty Preachers, with their pittifull Lay-Elders?

Yet amidst all the *obstructions* (either in Doctrine or Discipline) which either the pride and *policies* of men, or the *subtilties* of devils have hitherto put, amidst the peevishnesse of *Schismatics*, and the
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spite of *Romanists*, amidst all the damps and dispiriting that this Church of *England* and the *worthy Clergy* thereof have long found and felt from all sides that were factious and had *evill eyes*, or *evill wills* against them; yet even then did the *Lord of his Church* so highly exalt them and this Nation in the eyes of all the world, to such degrees of Piety, Learning, Peace, Plenty, Honor, Love, and all prosperity that could blesse any Christian Church or Nation, that in good earnest there was no need any of these *new patches* should be put as deformities to that old garment, which was so goodly and gracefull for true Christian Religion and due reformation, that no *novelty* from private heads or hands could mend it; especially when obtruded as a rent, or forcibly pinned upon it as rags and *hangbys* of Religion, by every *petty Master*, whose fingers itch to be meddling and innovating in Church affaires, without any publick and impartiall counsell and authority.

Such preposterous endeavours, no way worthy of the *honor* of this Nation, nor contributive to its happinesse, God hath already soon all sides blasted, that they have been not onely unprosperous, but many waies pernicious, dishonourable, & ridiculous, divine vengeance at once discovering their follies and confuting their confidences, which instead of further settling or better Reforming Religion, (as was on all sides vaped and pretended) have, as much as in them lyes, reduced a famous and flourishing, a well-reformed and united Church, almost to *ruinous* heaps and sordid confusions, to the great shame and dishonour of this Nation; both reproching your pious progenitors, and you *their posterity*, as if for this last *hundred yeares*, none of *them* or you had served God as they and you should have done, with holy and acceptable service, because neither they nor you did permit every man or Minister to choose what Religion he would broach, what *Opinions* he liked, or to use what Discipline he pleased, or beget what *Churches* and *Pastors* he fancied best: and this after every free-man had either in *Person* or by his *Proxy* consented to that religious establishment, which bound all men either actively to obey, or passively to submit with silence and patience, because it was of his own appointing, being the result of all *Estates* in this Nation, who without doubt were much more able to consider and conclude what was best for the publick Piety, Peace and Honour of this Church and State, than any private man could do, whose *self-overvaluing* and *overweening* is generally the first step of their own and other mens undoing; yea many times from these practises, which at first are not much regarded, much *mischief* accrues to the publick, as the plague is thought to begin first in private alleys and by-lanes, or from some one man or woman that hath a foul body or a very *stinking breath*, which easily *poysons* the ambient ayre in which they walk, especially when disposed to putrefaction, and so diffusive of the Infection to others. The stop and cure of which Epidemick pestilence, (which beginning from some mens ill lungs or lives hath now seised upon Religion it self and this whole Nation)

Nation) by your applying seasonable *Antidotes* and safe defensatives, is a work most worthy of the Wisdom and Honor of this Nation, which can be in no point more concerned or conspicuous, than in this of true Religion, so settled and maintained as best becomes both the Majesty of Religion, and the renowne of the Nation.

Fourthly, to which great and good work, you stand obliged not onely in duty to God, in love to your Saviour, in charity to posterity, and in just respects to your selves, (all which are great ingredients in true Honor) but further, give me leave to tell you, something of *Gratitude* and just *retribution* lyes upon you, as to the ancient Clergy or Ministry of this Nation, who have faithfully served God and his Church, you and your *forefathers*, for many yeares, in all Ecclesiasticall duties and religious offices.

Sense of gratitude invites to restore and establish Religion.

If you and your *Forefathers* (most honored *Gentlemen*, and beloved *countrymen*) did well and worthily in a grave and orderly way of publick consent, and by due Authority, purge this Church and redeeme this Nation, in its Doctrine and Duties, its Ministry and Worship, its Discipline and Government, its just Liberties and immunities, from the *drosse* and *druggery* of Romish errors and superstitions, of Papall *Tyrannies* and *Usurpations*, reserving or restoring that Purity, Decency, Authority, Order & Uniformity of Christian Religion, which became the wisdom and honor of this Church and Nation, by the exactest conformity with the Catholick Church, in its purest and primitive constitution;

If you have effected and enjoyed this happinesse, by Gods blessing chiefly upon the pious *Connells*, devout *Prayers*, potent *Preachings*, and learned *Writings*, as of the first reformed and reforming *Bishops*, and *Presbyters* subordinate to them, so of their worthy *Successors* in the same Orders, Offices and Functions, who have (many thousands of them) confirmed their Doctrine, sealed their labours, asserted and authorised their *Ministry*, by their holy lives and comfortable deaths, yea some of them with their patient *sufferings* and *Martyrdomes*; If the *Clergy* of this Reformed Church in their severall stations and degrees, have by the *Divine assistance* ever since preserved this holy *depositum* of the true Christian Religion, duly Reformed, according to the Primitive gravity and Scripturall verity, for above one hundred years, to your and your forefathers inestimable honor and happinesse; and this, as with great Learning and all sorts of holy abilities, so with no lesse industry and fidelity, (though not wholly without humane frailties and personall infirmities, which God in mercy will pardon, and man in charity ought to passe by, where there was so much integrity and proficiency, so much of commendable worth and constant excellency, as to the maine;)

If you cannot deny the many *signall testimonies* which God hath given of his being well-pleased with this Churches Reformation, with the Ministry, Worship and publick *Profession* of Religion in this Nation; not so much by that long peace, plenty and prosperity, which

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you and your pious predecessors have (to a wonder) enjoyed at home, besides the great Honor and renowne abroad; nor yet by those *nationall* and *signall deliverances* from deep designs and imminent dangers, which threatned the utter *subversion* of Church and State; (these preservations and *lengthnings* of our tranquillity being then surest signes of Gods favour, and approbation of our waies, when they are honestly obtained, thankfully received, and modestly enjoyed) but (beyond these conjecturall fruits of common providence) we have those special tokens and testimonies wherein the Lord hath, as I conceive, evidenced most clearly his good pleasure and liking to this Church of England, its Religion, Reformation, and Ministry, namely by those *eminent gifts*, and *undeniable graces* of his Spirit, which in great and various measures he hath plentifully poured forth upon the Godly Bishops, and other good Ministers of this Church who were subject to them, to the edification of his faithfull people among you in all spirituall blessings, even to the admiration of our neighbours, the joy of our friends, and regret of our enemies:

If the excellently *Learned and Godly Bishops* (whose names and memories are blessed) assisted by other able, orderly, and painefull Ministers of this Church, (who being duly sent and ordained by them, were humbly obedient to them as to spirituall Fathers,) if they have carefully and happily steered for many yeares the sometimes faire and rich Ship of the Church of England, (in which so many thousand precious soules have been embarked for heaven and eternity,) between these two dangerous gulphs (the *Scylla* and *Charybdis*) of Papall Superstitions and uncharitable Separations, steering it by the compasse of Gods word, with such Christian prudence, order and decency as is therein commanded or allowed; in which happy conduct they and their successors were still very able, willing, and worthy to have proceeded, if the wrath of God (highly offended for the wantonness, wickednesse and unthankfulnesse of the generality of people under so great meanes and mercies,) had not justly suffered so rude stormes, of both religious factions and civil dissensions, to arise, which having torne the tackling, rent the sailes, loosened the junctures, unhinged the rudder, broke the maine mast, cast the chiefeest Pilots and skilfullest Marriners over-board, quite defaced the lesser card or compasse of Ecclesiasticall Canons and civill lawes, have (at last) driven her within the reach and danger of both these dreadfull extremes which she most declined, leaving this poor weather-beaten Church, after infinite tossings, like a founderd ship, in a troubled Sea of confusion, attending one of these two sad fates, either a Schismaticall dissolution, or a Papall absorption; either to be utterly shattered in pieces by endlesse factions, or to be swallowed up at last in the greater gulph of Romane power and Policy, which cannot but have alwaies a very vigilant and intentive eye what becomes of the Church of England:

If the Ministry of the Church of England, (whilest it was yet flourishing and entire, as a City united in it self, as an orderly family or ho-

ly corporation, consisting of *Fathers* and *Brethren*, of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, might justly challenge before *God* and *all good men*, this merit and acknowledgement from *you* and *your fore-fathers*, that for *Learning* and *Eloquence*, both in preaching and writing, for *acutenesse* and *dexterity* in disputing, for *solidity* and *plainnesse* in teaching, for *prudent* and *pathetick fervency* in *praying*, for just *terror* in moving hard hearts to softnesse, and seared consciences to repentance, for *judicious tendernesse* in comforting the afflicted, and healing the wounded Spirit; lastly, for exemplary living in all holy and good waies; in all which particulars becoming a *Christian Church*, neither *you* nor *they* have had any cause to envy the most Christian and best *Reformed Churches* in the world, as to that honour and happinesse, which consists in the excellent abilities, honest industry, due authority, regular order of *Ministers*, also in the decency, usefulness and power of holy *Ministrations*; all which blessings experience sufficiently tells you, were formerly enjoyed by many gracious and judicious Christians, farre beyond what hath been, or ever can be hoped under these moderne divisions, deformities, distractions and dissolutions, which do (indeed) threaten in time utter *desolation* to this *Church* and the true *Reformed Religion*, if Gods mercy and wise mens care do not prevent:

If nothing but *ignorance* or *malice*, *blindnesse*, or *uncharitablenesse*, *barrennesse* or *bitternesse* of Spirit in any men, can deny this great truth, this honest, humble, just and modest *boasting*, to which the injuries, indignities, and ingraticudes of these last and worst times have compelled *sober Ministers*, as they did *St. Paul*, who ought to have been better valued and commended by them:

If you (*O Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Teomen of England*) are so knowing, that you cannot be ignorant of this truth, and so ingenuous, that you cannot but acknowledge it in behalfe of the *Church of England* and its worthy *Clergy*, while you and they enjoyed Piety, Peace and Prosperity; if beyond all cavill or contradiction, this right ought to be done to *Gods* glory, this *Churches* honour, the ancient *Clergies* merit, and your own with your *fore-fathers* renowne, (that after-ages may not suspect them for *Hereticks* or *Schismatics*, nor you for *Separates* or *Apostates*, as forsaking that *good way*, in which they were reformed and established in the purity, power and polity of true Religion:)

If all these suppositions be true (as I know you think they are) how (I beseech you,) can it be in the sight of your most just God and mercifull Saviour, (who so abundantly blest this Church and his servants the *Ministers* of it, in teaching, comforting, and guiding you and your pious predecessors soules to heaven) to change and cast off such a Ministry and such Ministers? Yea, how can it be in the censure of pious and impartiall men, other than a most *degenerous negligence*, a *Mechanick meannesse*, a most unholy *unthankfulness* for you, or any *Christians*, to passe by with *silence* and *senselesnesse*, with carelesnesse and indifferency, all those sad spectacles of

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Church-divisions and distractions, of Church-mens diminutions, debasements and discouragements, lately befallen them (by a divine fatality and justice) partly through the imprudence of some *Clergy-men*, severely revenged by the malice or mistake of some *Lay-men*, whose heavy and immoderate pressures have fallen chiefly upon those Ecclesiasticks who were Christs principall *Vicegerents, Messengers, Ministers* and *Embassadors*, his faithfull *Stewards*, his diligent *Overseers*, his vigilant *watchmen*, his wise dispensers of heavenly *Mysteries* to your Soules.

From whom so many Apostasies have been commenced and carried on, by infinite calumnies, indignities and injuries against them and their orderly authority and function, as if you and your *Children* had lately found more grace and virtue, better *Ministeriall sufficiencies* and *proficiencies*, in some *Tradesmen & Troopers*, in Mechanick ignorance & illiterate impudence, in the *glib tongues*, the giddy heads, & empty hearts of such *fellows* as are scarce fit to be your servants in the meanest civill offices; as if these were now fit to be your Pastors and Teachers, your Spirituall inspectors, and rulers of your Soules, beyond any of those *Reverend Bishops*, and Learned Doctors, and other *Grave Divines*, who heretofore (through the grace of God) dispensed to you, by their incomparable gifts and reall abilities, those *inestimable treasures* of all sound knowledge and saving wisdom, of grace and truth, which were carried on with comely order, and bound up with Christian unity.

Doubtlesse, the forgetting of those *Josephs*, who have been so wise *stors* and so liberall *distributers* of the food of eternall life to our *hungry soules*, who have brought forth, as good *Scribes instructed* for the Kingdom of Heaven, out of the good *treasuries of their hearts*, things both new & old, (the Learning of the ancient *Fathers, Councils* and *Historians*, set off with later *Experiments* and *Improvements* of all spirituall operations and gracious *comforts*,) the forgetting, I say, of these *Ministers* cannot be worthy of that *pious gratitude* which becomes noble-minded Christian. How meane, uncomely, and much below you, must it needs appeare to all wise and sober Christians in the *present age* and all *posterity*, if you suffer their holy orders to be despised, their spirituall offices to be neglected, their divine authority to be usurped, their primitive orders and constant succession to be interrupted, their persons to be abused and shamefully treated, their support, as to *double honour*, to be so abused, that their maintenance shall be very small, sharking and uncertaine; also their respect and esteem none at all, especially among the *common people*, whose civil and religious regards are much measured either by the bag and bushell, or by the examples of their betters, their *Landlords* and *Governours*?

The wilfull dividing, debasing, discrediting, disordering, and discarding of the *ancient Clergy*, as to their Ordination, Government, Ministry, Authority, and succession in *England*, (which was most Christian, *Catholick* and reformed,) must needs be, as the *sin* and *shame*, so the great

great injury and misery of *you* and *your posterity*, being the ready way to bring in, First, a scrupulous unsatisfiednesse and unsetlednesse, as to our former *Religion*, as if either not true or not reformed; Secondly, next it raiseth a jealousie and suspicion of any *Religion*, under the name of *Reformation*, as if it would not long hold, and had no bottom or bounds; Thirdly, after this followes a lukewarmenesse, coldnesse, and indifferency as to all *Religion* whatsoever, as Reformed and as Christian; Fourthly, then will there creep in by secret steps a generall *Apostasie* at least from our pristine wise *Reformation*, and happy constitution of *Religion*, to the *Roman errors*, *superstitions* and *usurpations*, which wait for such a time and temper in *England*, whereby to make their *advance* upon peoples mindes, wildred and confounded, when they shall see the shamefull *retreates*, *recoilinges* and *variations* made in *England* by the *Reformed Religion* upon it self; whose disorders, disgraces and deformities necessarily following the contempt of their Ministers, or the change and rupture of their Ministeriall descent and succession, will make most, if not all men, in time to recede from it, and rather adhere to its *grand Roman rival*, & its implacable *emie*, *Poperie*, whose *policies* will bring *you* and *your posterity*, by the contempt and want of true *Bishops*, to have no *Pastors* or *Ministers* of any uniforme validity, of *Catholick*, complete, and most undoubted authority. If any man may be a preacher that listeth to pirk up into a *Pulpit*, certainly in a few yeares *you* shall have no *Preachers* worth your hearing, no Ministers of any reputation and authority, either among the *Idiots* and vulgar, or among the more ingenious and wiser sort of people, who are not naturally either very solicitous or industrious in the concernments of *Religion*, or the choise of their Ministers.

If neither *God* nor *good men* have any further pleasure in their servants, the *ancient Clergy of England*, if they really are as uselesse and worthlesse as they have been made *vile* and *reproched* by some mens tongues and pens, if they have deserved to be thus tossed in an eternall *tempest* of factious divisions, vulgar depressions, and endlesse *confusions*, beyond any other order or rank of men; if this be their evill fate and merit, after all their *studies* and *paines*, after all their *Praying*, *Preaching*, *Writing* and *Living*, to the honor of this Nation, and the great advantages of the *Reformed Religion*; if to have equalled at least, if not exceeded the Clergy of any *Church* in any age since the *Apostles* departure, be the unpardonable fault of the *Reformed Bishops* and their *Clergy in England*; if their very *sufferings*, as the vipers seizing on *St. Pauls* hand, make them appear to barbarous and vulgar minds as *sinners*, therefore detpicable, because they are so much detpised, and so thought fit to be *destroyed*; if this lingring and shamefull death of being thus Crucified, is that by which the *Clergy of England* must glorifie *God*, if this bitter cup must not passe from them; truly it will be a *mercifull severity* to hold them no longer in *ambiguous calamities*; but rather wholly to expose them to the last *outrages* of Fanatick, Popular, and Schismatick fury, the

Lions that hunger and roare to have these *Daniels* wholly cast into their dens and jawes; that so *your eyes* may no longer see your poor, despised, distressed, and miserable *Clergy*, many of whom (both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*) are forced (as you know) to embrace the *dung-hil*, being destitute of order, honour and estate, some of them having neither food convenient, nor any abiding place, nor any fitting employment; that so that *Episcopall Clergy* (now rendred so odious) who (under God) formerly redeemed you and your forefathers out of the *bondage* and *darknesse* of *Egyptian* superstition, may by an *Egyptian Magick* and fate, be drowned in the *Red-Sea* of vulgar contempt, popular confusion and inordinate oppressions; that thus the new *Fannes* and *Fambres* may not onely resist, but wholly prevaile by their enchantments against your *Moses* and *Aarons*.

But if your *Consciences* (*O worthy Gentlemen*, who are the Beauty, Strength, and Honour of this Nation,) do on the other side tell you (not with faint and *dubious whispers*, but by loud and manifest experiences, proclaiming to all the world) that the ancient *Clergy of England* have (generally) deserved better of you, by their Learning, Preaching, Praying, Writing and Living; what (I beseech you) can be more worthy of the Wildome, Justice, Piety, Honour and Gratitude of this Nation, than to assert with their publick love and favour, the dignity of their worthy *Divines*, the honour of their *Clergy*, the Sanctity of their Religion and Reformation, against that *plebeian petulancy* and *insolency* which hath so pressed upon them, and daily depresseth all their *Authority*? not onely by reason of some *Lay-mens* folly and insolency, but even by their variations and inconstancy who presumed to be *Preachers*, and challenge upon what score they please a share or lot in the *Evangelicall Ministry*.

Truly it is high time to *redeeme* the *Sacred Orders*, the *Divine Authority*, the *Catholick succession*, the ancient and authentick dignity of the *Evangelicall Ministry* in the Church of *England*, from the obloquies, contempts and oppressions of ignorant and unreasonable men, who are great enemies to the piety and prosperity of this Nation, and but *back friends* to the *Reformed Religion*, being at so deadly a *fewd* against the *ancient Clergy* and *Catholick Ministry* of this Church; whose totall extirpation, both *root* and *branch*, *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, they have so resolutely designed and restlessly endeavoured, that they long for nothing more than the *natural death* of all the reverend *Bishops*, and all *Episcopall Ministers*, who yet survive, being civilly dead and buried in obscurity. O how infinite jealous are all Novellers lest the *English world* should (at last) see the dangerous mistake of exchanging *gold* for *copper*, Learned, Grave, Orderly, duly-ordained, and authoritative *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, (of a primitive stamp, and *Catholick Edition*) for a scattered and tattered company of new-coyned *Pastors* and *Teachers*, who have either not the *metal*, or to be sure not the *mint* and *Character* of such a Ministry as was ever current in *England*, (and in all the *Christian world*?) whose care was not to broach every day new *fountaines* (as *Sampson* did

did with his *Asses jaw-bone*) of *Ministeriall office* and *authority*, when ever *factions* Presbyters or fanatick people thirsted after the *novelties* of *parity* or *popularity*; but they ever kept to that cisterne, those conduits or pipes which were first laid by the *Apostles*, and derived from Christs grand Commission, as the source and fountain of holy orders, which was deduced by *orderly Bishops* and *Presbyters* to all parts and places where any Christians owned themselves to live in any Church-order, fellowship and communion: which was never known in the Christian world for 1500. yeares to be any where separated from the *Episcopall* over-sight, *regulation*, *presidency* and *jurisdiction*; if all Scripturall and Ecclesiasticall records do not deceive us, which never shew us any Church, of greater or lesser dimensions, without some greater or lesser *Apostles*, as *Bishops*, presiding and ruling over Presbyters, Deacons and people; which neither *Aerius* nor *St. Jerome* himself of old, nor the disguised *Wallo Messalinus*, or *Blondel* of later dayes, did ever so much as endeavour to disprove by any one credible instance, of any Church in any age.

Upon so deep and large a foundation did the *Clergy*, *Ministry* and *Church of England* formerly stand, till the Scotch *Pioneers* and other *Engineers* undertook with their *pickaxes* to undermine and overthrow the Catholick antiquity of *Episcopall authority*; in which work some novelizing *Presbyters* beginning to transgresse, gave occasion to puny *Independents* to go beyond them.

Neither of which parties have yet, (nor are ever like, for ought I see) so to mend the State of Christian or Reformed *Religion* in *England*, beyond what it enjoyed in former dayes, as to make any learned or wise man so much in love with their various novelties, that they should abhorre that *uniforme antiquity*, to which the *Episcopall Clergy of England* did conforme.

The enjoyment of whose renowned worth, learned labours, and everlasting *Monuments* of true piety, this nation hath so little cause to be ashamed of or repent, that there is no *Fewell* in the *Diademe of English glory*, which it ever had or will in any age have so much cause to boast of and glory in, as the excellency of its *Clergy* or *Ministry*, both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, for the last *Century*; whose private failings and personall infirmities (the *crambe* oft alledged to an impudent hoarseness by some detractors, whose uncharitable *Synecdoches* impute the faults of every part to the whole) will never be sufficient to justify this *nations* generall *unthankfullness* to the memory and merit of its former *Ministry* and *Ministers*, taken in the completion of their harmony and orders, as made up of *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, that *threefold cord* of Ecclesiasticall polity and unity, which is not easily, and ought not rashly, much lesse rudely & ingratfully, be broken by any Nation professing Christian and reformed Religion; but rather it should be carefully twisted and wisely recomposed, where either prelatick extravagancie, or Presbyterian arrogancy, or popular petulancy, have unravelled, unloosied, or dissolved the intireness of its *meet* subordination and its ancient constitution.

CHAP. V.

The hopefull
possibility of
restoring true
Religion to u-
nity and set-
tlednesse in
England.



O which temper and method of *Ecclesiasticall Unity, Order and Authority*, as *piety, policy, honour and gratitude* do invite the wisdom of this Nation, (which I have hitherto in many instances demonstrated;) so my next endeavour is to encourage all sober and good Christians to desire and advance, in all worthy waies, that happy Restitution and Primitive Settlement in our Religion, by setting before you and them the *possibility* of effecting so great, so good, so necessary a work; while many difficulties do not yet run us upon that *rock* of utter despaire which shipwrecks all industry, but they are easily counterpoised by that not onely possibility, but *hopefull probability*, which seems to appeare in the inclinations of the wisest and best men of all Religious interests and parties in this Nation, who have learned wisdom either by their own or other mens follies.

For this *Good* the wise *God* hath brought out of the evill of our follies and miseries, that the sad consequences (possibly not intended by many, but) pursuing our late *deviations* and transports on all sides in this Church, (where the projects and practises of particular men rather served their private passions and presumptions, than the Divine Institutions, Christs glory, or the Churches generall good,) these have already so fully confuted their *Authors* and abettors *confidences*, by the sin, shame, weaknesse and fatuity of them, that they need no blacker marks or deeper brands of dislike, than those which they have with their own hand set upon their *fore-heads*; having brought the things of Religion to so great a deformity as it is this day, by their *prater, subtler* or *super-conformities*, either beyond the use, intent, or indulgence of the lawes, or beyond the constitutions and customes and interests of this Church.

Thus while either restive and sullen, or busie and *pragmatick Spirits* will needs be breaking that *hedge* which their *wise fore-fathers made, serpents have bitten them*: while they would take *burning coales* from the *Altar* without *tongs*, (which the *Seraphin* used as the ordinary meanes) they have shrewdly burned their own fingers, in so much that many, if not most of them, I believe, would be glad they were every way fairly healed, to as great a soundnesse of Order, Honour and Unity, as they formerly enjoyed; of which they were as weary as unworthy, whose indiscreet *forsaking* that medium and measure of their happinesse, which was wisely established by publick counsell and authority, hath been of late so many waies unblest and unsuccessfull, that their very going out of the right way which was the way of Peace, Truth, and Order, hath somewhat prepared their feet for an happy returne. Every one that is so blest as to see their unlucky extravagancies, hath learned to esteem the good old way better than heretofore they did; when private presumption tempted

tempted them to preferre their own novell fancies before the publick establishments of such a famous Church and renowned Nation as *England* was.

I make no question but many men are grown *wise* by their own woes; others at a cheaper rate have bought wisdom by observing the fruits of their neighbours folly, *rashnesse* and *weaknes*. Some have deeply suffered for their former *Hydropick* fullnesse, restivenesse and lazinesse in Religion, contracted by long peace, great plenty, and high preferments; which it is farre more honour to use piously and profitably, moderately and wisely, than to enjoy pompously, superciliously, luxuriously and idly: others are brought almost to utter *consumptions* of Religion by their own *Calentures*, and those *Hectick* fevers which have so long afflicted themselves and (as contagious or spotted sicknesses) infected others. Some of all sides and sorts have suffered. I am sure all are threatned, because each party hath by their passionate transports rather studied to advance their private opinions, parties and interests, than the common and publick good of this Church and Nation; *mutuall sufferings* (which have taken from all sides the confidence of their innocency) have so wrought upon all men of serious piety and honest purposes, as by this *fiery triall* to purge them from their dross of common infirmities, and to refine them for some further service to this Church and State. Nor do I doubt, but as other wise and good men, so particularly *Ministers* of parts and piety, could they once amicably and authoritatively meet, confer and correspond together, would sincerely and cheerfully (by Gods blessing) agree upon some expedient to recover the truth, order, honour, peace, uniformity and authority of the *Reformed Religion* and its Ministry in this Church and Nation; that neither they, nor *you*, nor *your posterity* may be ever thus possessed, distorted, torne and tormented with *evill Spirits*, which sometimes cast us into the waters of *cold* and Atheisticall irreligions, otherwhile into the fires of *intemperate zealotry* and contentions. For so hath the Church of *England* passed through all the *poetick racks* and *tortures*, which (if not remedied) will be the portion of your posterity, one while rolling *Sisyphus* his restlesse stone of *endlesse Reformation*, whose *recoilings* and *relapsings* sink the true Reformed Religion to lower deformities than ever it was in: after this they must be put upon *Ixions wheel*, tossed up and down with continuall *circulations* and *giddinesse* of Religion, as every mans *whimsicall braines* list to turne it round; whereas Religious orderly motions ought to have, as their due bounds and circumference of truth, so their fixed centre of Christian unity and publick communion, both which would in no long time (by Gods blessing) be *re-gained in England*, if some mens private policies and sinister projects did not (as wedges) still hinder the closing and agreement of honest and impartiall men, in such waies as would restore Religion to its just honor, *Authority* and consistence; from the enjoying of which, after all the specious pretences made on all sides, we are still as
far

far remote, as *Tantalus* was from eating those fruits or drinking those waters, which onely deluded, but never satisfied his famished soul.

Yet many good grapes and some faire clusters are still left upon this battered vine of the Church of *England*, in which I hope may be a blessing, which neither the little foxes of peevish *Schismatics* have much bitten, nor the greater bores of *Romish* seducers have wholly subverted. Many well-meaning people, and not a few Preachers too, who formerly had their *Midsummer-fits*, and shorter *Lunacies*, as to their religion, are now so sober in their senses, and well recovered to their right wits, that having once tried that vanity and vexation, that froth and futility of Spirit, which attends all factious inquietudes, and exotick innovations obtruded upon a well-setled Church, they are resolved ever hereafter to avoid and abhorre them; as being no better than specious poysons, delicate delusions, spirituall debaucheries and religious lucuries, which growing from plethorick tempers in mens soules, (especially where they are high fed with duties) do easily tempt them that are lesse cautious and moderate both to wandrings and wantonnesse in Religion, first to simple fornications, and at last to grosse and foule adulteries; to which men (otherwise of commendable strictnesse and purposes) are easily betrayed, if (as *Dinah*) they give way to the temptations of novelty, curiosity, popularity, and ambitious vanity in Religion, there, where it hath been well and worthily settled by publique counsell and joynt consent; yea and hath been happily enjoyed for many Ages, with almost miraculous, I am sure very marvellous prosperities, so as it was, beyond all dispute, here in the Church of *England*. The inconsiderate rufflings and disorderings of whose religious constitution, many men (of all sorts) are now ready to recant and expiate, if by any honest endeavours they may recover the order, unity, beauty, authority and stability of Religion in this Nation.

To whose Ecclesiastick communion I perceive many (heretofore more warme than wise, more credulous than considerate) are now cordially returned, as to their judgements and consciences; to which, no doubt, their conversation would willingly conforme, if once they could see any ensigne of religious uniformity authoritatively set up in *England*.

Many Ministers would willingly recant and return from their violent and vulgar transports, if they could but have a protection for their foreheads, or a skreen to hide that shame and discountenance, which they feare hangs over them for their levity, from the common-peoples censures and scorn. Not a few Ministers (sometimes orderly and regular enough) would fain get free from those popular lime-twigs, which have too long held them, if they did not feare to lose some of their feathers, either as to their reputation or maintenance; who flying from that good sense which was heretofore set in the Church of *England* for their defence, would needs light on that bare hedge for their refuge and perch, which proves to most of them no better

better than the beggars bush, fuller of gins and snares than of berries or food.

O how glad would hundreds of popular *preachers* and preaching people be, to be commanded by superiours to make (not *verball*, but) *reall retractations* of their errors, *seductions*, *surprises*, *schismes*, and *apostasies*? that so their *variableness* in Religion might seem to arise not from their private innate levities, but from either fatall or soveraigne necessities; which are alwaies good salvo's, and go for current excuses among common people, either to plead for their extravagancies, or to justify their changes, especially when they are reduced to the better.

Many Ministers of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* practises rather than perswasions or principles, now (together with their followers) who formerly were highly *a-gog*, (even when they were yet in their *downe*, *pin-feathered*, and scarce fledged) in those fine speculations and rare projects which they had fancied for erecting new models of *Church-work*, after the formes of Consistories and Elderships, Classes and congregations of Corporal Spiritualities, & Spirituall Corporations, which were to be reared out of the ruinous, nay out of the most intire parts of the Reformed Church of *England*, which was by them to be wholly ruined, though it were by the Lawes of God and man, by constitutions Ecclesiasticall and Civill, both wisely formed and happily fixed in the Primitive and Catholick form of *order* and *dependency*; yet even these men and Ministers of destruction, not edification, with their late *Chappels of Little-Ease*, would I am confident be now very glad to be handsomely sheltered under the protection of some such *Episcopall* seat, faire *Cathedrall* or *Mother-Church*, with which *England* formerly abounded, to the great honour of the Nation, no lesse than of the *Clergy* and Ministry of all degrees: the *Slips* and *Shrubs* of Churches, (which some have lately planted) thrive so ill, that they wish them fairly removed and reingrafted into that ancient stock, that goodly and venerable tree of *Episcopacy*, which was so flourishing and so fruitfull to all orders of Christians in *England*, and in all ancient Churches, ever since the first plantation of Religion in this *Island*, or the other world.

O how would all sober Ministers and others rejoyce to come under that shade and superintendency which might not sadly overdrop, but gently protect every Minister and member of the Church, in their severall branches and boughs? Who sees not by experience that verified which *St. Jerom* told them long agoe, That a *regular Episcopacy* is the best, if not the onely defensative, both in the Catholick and particular Churches, from the scorching heates of *factions* and *schismes*, to keep men from those shiftings and tossings in Religion, from those uncharitable rendings and separations, which are so uncomely and inconvenient, yea so noxious to the Churches of Christ, and therefore to be conscienciously avoided by all good Christians?

Besides, this *constitution* containing in its bosome the true *intere*

rests of *Presbyters* and *people*, as well as of *Bishops*, redeemes the *Clergy*, beyond any other form of Church-order and Government, from that which is very intolerable to men of learned piety and ingenuous Spirits; that is, the *sordid dependance upon*, yea and slavish subjection (even in religious concerns) unto those *Lay-dictators*, and plebeian humors, who are generally very crosse-grained and spitefully peevish to men of more learning than themselves. Vulgar minds are alwaies contemptuous to their teachers, and rugged to their Monitors, but most unsufferably insolent, when they find either Magistrates or Ministers dependants upon their *benevolence*; never triumphing more unfeignedly than when they see those deformed spectacles which this last age hath oft shewen them, namely, those grave and worthy *Ministers*, who taught them in the name of Christ on the *Lords-day*, the very next day pale and trembling, to appeare before them in some Country Committee, compounded of *Lay-men*, yea and of some *Trades-men*, who are generally not guilty of much learning in any kind, and least in Divinity: yet these are the men that must catechise, examine, censure and condemn Ministers in the sight of their people, both in points of Doctrine and in practices *Ministeriall*, for which some one Minister is able to say more in one houre, than most of those Assessors or silly Spectators can understand in ten, or ever have read in all their lives.

What ingenuous Christian blusheth not to see *Ministers* of excellent learning and lives so disparaged, so degraded, so discouraged, by the *Incompetency* of those who must be their Judges, when many of them cannot so much as understand the state of the question or matter in dispute? What Christian is there of so popular, plebeian, triviall, and mechanick a spirit, as not to desire to see proper and meet judges set to examine and determine matters of Religion, for doctrines, manners, and discipline: in all which there are many cases so obscure and intricate, that they require men of very good learning, of composed minds, of sober judgements, and unbiassed consciences, to debate and determine them, being very dubious and disputable in truth and holinesse, in faith and morality; which when some silly Saints and devout bunglers will undertake to manage and modelize beyond their line and measure, after their rash, rude and slovenly fashion, it is not to be expressed how much detriment both Religion and its sacred Ministry suffer through the ignorance and passion, the rusticity and confidence, the petulancy and impertinency of such ridiculous arbitrators and incompetent judges, who are so farre from being fit for any such *Authority* and *Judicature*, that they are not onely not *equals*, but in most points very much inferiours to those whose doctrine and manners, whose callings and consciences they presume not so much to search as to insult over, with as much unfitnessse and unreasonablenessse, as if *Divines* should arrogate to themselves the Judicature of *Common-Law*, or of persons and cases *Martiall*; so that both Pleaders and Judges, Souldiers and Commanders should fall under Ministers decision in all

all debates incident to their functions and affaires.

Every man not *ambitionſly vain* and fulſomely *fooliſh*, doth now wiſh in his ſoul to ſee that grave, ſolemne, idoneous and equable diſpenſation of Religion, both in its *Mysteries* and *Ministry*; its *Doctrine* and *Controversies*, its *Scandals* and *Indignities*, as may beſt become the Honour and Majeſty of Chriſtianity, moſt avoiding thoſe improprieties and abſurdities, which have been ſufficiently manifeſted in our late *confuſions*; which have chiefly riſen from want of that wiſe ſettlement in Religious adminiſtrations which would lay out every part and parcell of them, ſo as is proper for them both as to perſons, places and proportions, after the order and method anciently uſed both in Gods Tabernacle and his Temple.

Indeed nothing can be managed orderly and happily in Church or State, in Civill or Eccleſiaſtick affaires, unleſſe they paſſe through ſuch *wiſe hearts* and *pure hands*, as can both well underſtand them, and diſcreetly diſcharge them; ſo as may conciliate in all *mens mindes* an inward reverence to their *perſons* that do diſpence them. Which reſpect ariſeth not from parchment Commiſſions or popular approbations, but from perſonall and reall ſufficiencies; which appearing to all ſober men both in reaſon and Religion, give them the greateſt *ſatisfaction*, and thereby as it were charme the common people not more by feare, than love and ſhame, to preſerve that peace, and to obſerve thoſe orders which they ſee wiſely ſetled, and authoritatively uſed in any Church or Chriſtian *Commonwealth*.

C H A P. VI.



He happineſſe and honour of which religious harmony and authoritative order, as every Chriſtian is aſhamed not to ſeem at leaſt to deſire, and all honeſt men (no doubt) do really intend as their chiefe end and deſigne, ſo the greateſt *differences* now perpetuating our Religious *diftractions* in *England*, ſeem to ariſe from the ſeverall meanes propounded, and methods proſecuted by men, poſſibly of honeſt meanings, but of differing minds; who (each preſuming their own waies to be beſt for the Reforming, reconciling and eſta bliſhing of Religion,) grow ſo divided in the uſe of their meanes, as ſtill to hinder the attaining of the end: juſt like *Phyſicians*, who honeſtly and heartily aime at the cure of their *patient*; but every one of them ſo urgeth the taking of his particular receipt, that either they give him no phyſick at all, or ſo various and contrary preſcriptions, as firſt confound, and at laſt kill him, more by the mutuall repugnancy of their Medicines, than by the Malignity of the diſeaſe.

Such is the ſtate and fate of the Church of *England*, as to my obſervation; having, I hope, many honeſt and upright hearts in it,

Of meanes to recompoſe the differences of Religion in *England*.

but possibly not so many wise heads and wary hands, which in all publick healings do well to be joyned together, these as fittest to effect what the other designe. God forbid I should be so vaine as to imagine there is any thing in my *tennity* fit to be offered to that piety and prudence, which I know is in many of my *Countrimen*; so great a presumption of wisdom were my greatest folly: I onely crave the leave and pardon of all wise men, so farre as I adventure to expresse *their sense* (as I suppose) to the publick; which every man will not do, although he heartily ownes it, and every one is not apt to do, although he vehemently approves it.

Many men, yea all men naturally, have the same principles of *Mathematicks* in them, but not the same leisure and genius to study and dilate them, as did *Archimedes*, *Euclide*, *Ptolomy* and *Alphonsus*. Some that have capacity and leisure enough, yet may want calmnesse and composure of mind, being partly agitated by their passions, partly biased by their worldly affaires and private interests; and not onely prepossessed by their sides and parties, but wholly ingrossed and addicted to them.

My leisure being great, my private & partial *interests* being none, my temper neutrall and indifferent, addicted to no side or party, that either shoots wide, or short, or beyond the Church of *England*, (the onely mark or Butt which is and ever hath been the measure of my best aimes and *attings*, my words and writings) possibly I may obtaine so much favour of you (*my wise and worthy Countrimen*) as you, will at least bear with my folly so farre, as I shall represent to you, and others *your inferiours*, what is my sense, and, I presume, yours too, in order to reconcile our differences, and compose our distractions in matters of Religion.

1. From Ministers or the Clergy.

The methods of our *Healing* and *Recovery* must have regard to the *originalls* and *progresse* of our maladies and distempers, which I impute to *Ministers Divisions*, *Peoples Distractions*, and *Magistrates* perhaps not indifferences so much as *Diversions* (hitherto) by reason of many secular *Incumbrances*, so pressing upon them, that they have not yet had time and leisure since they had power, so to intend the settling of Religion in *England* and Church affaires, as the matter it self deserves, as God commands, and as all sober men in the *Nation* both desire and expect.

My first addresse must be to men of my *own Profession*, who own themselves as *Ministers* of the *Gospel*: For these are so generally charged to be the fountaines, sutors and fomenters of our English troubles both in *Church* and *State*, that few men pitty them, but rather justifie the miseries befall them on all sides, as the grand *occasioners* of their own and other mens calamities, which, they say, had not their first *fire* or *flame* from civill ambitions or discontents, so much as from those which appeared in *Church-concernments*.

Indeed all ages of Jewish and Christian succession have shewed us, that from *Prophets* and *Priests*, from *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, from mal-

mal-admissions and mal-administrations of *Holy Offices* and *Functions*, evill hath gone out into the *whole Church* and *State*. No sooner hath God by the preaching and sufferings of worthy *Bishops* and other *Ministers* planted and settled, purged and reformed his *Church* in any *Nation*, but the *Devil* crowds some of his *Chaplaines* into *Christs Chappel*: such were *Arrius*, *Eutyches*, *Paulus Samosatenus*, *Apolinaris*, *Novatus*, *Donatus*, and many others, *Churchmen* by their *Profession*, but pests to their *Churches* by their *presumption*. Thus did those drones or wasps rather of Religion follow and infest the first *Lutheran essays* of *Reformation* in *Germany*: when he had (as *Sleidan* tells us) notably triumphed over *Eccius* and other *Sophisters* of the *Popish* bran and *Monkish* bellies, then had he to contend with those peevish and hot heads, which brake out into *Fanatick fancies* and *Anabaptistick* furies; such as *Carlostadius*, *Murecer*, *Storkius* and others were, whose *Names* and *Effgies* are alike terrible. Nor have there been wanting in *England* since our true *Reformation*; (the most perfect and best in the world, because the least popular, most orderly, graduall and authoritative) such strange spirits, so curious and captious, so quarrelling and reproching, so perpetually tampering and botching with this *Church*, and its reformed Religion, that no sooner had this *Church* any settled plantation and quiet, but it had (on every side) many petty pruners, perturbers & supplanters, who from the first to this day cannot be made to believe, that this whole *Nation* in all *Estates*, both civill and Ecclesiastick, ever had either so much piety, purity, or policy as themselves: halfe a dozen fierce non-conformists, who had kindled their *matches* at *Francfort* or *Geneva*, were alwaies confident of themselves, and cryed up by their *Disciples*, to be greater lights for *burning* and *refining* of Religion, than all the *Kings* and *Queenes*, all the *Lords* and *Commons*, all the *Bishops* and *Convocations*, all the *Martyrs* and *Confessors*; whose cruell fires, ayming to consume the very vitals of the true reformed Religion, were no sooner quenched, but these forraign infected *Ministers* began other fires of lesser fagots, which at first did pretend onely to singe the over-long haïres of the reformed Religion in *England*, but now at last we see they have roasted it round, and turned this *Church*, like *Saint Lawrence*, from side to side, over the gridirons and burning coales of various *factions*, which have each their *Anti-Ministers*, their *Cata-Presbyters* or counter-preachers, bandying one against the other, and setting all people together by the eares as well as themselves.

The first and most effectuall *meanes* to recover the settled *State* of the reformed Religion in *England* to a peace and uniformity, following the methods of our miseries, must begin with us of the *Clergy* or *Ministry*, what names or titles, what principles or patternes soever we pretend to follow: 'Tis true, many, if not most of us, were loth to see and hard to be convinced of our pristine errors and indiscretions, our immoderations and transports, our *Popish* and popular

Anno 1527.

pular compliances, our Jesuitick evasions and pretentions, our politick *Salvoes* and distinctions, our pompous and empty formalities, by which we made either the power of godlinesse odious, or factions popular, innovations pious, and factions plausible, untill God overtook us all with his just, though sharp, chastisements. Some Church-men thought their hill so *strong* it could never be removed; whereas no policy avails, without true and exact piety, to bear up the honor of Church-men, when once people see without *spectacles*. Other Ministers fancied that if the high places of *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops*, of *Deanes* and *Chapters* were taken away, presently their *valleys* would ascend, (as the earth is said to have done under St. *David's* feet as he was preaching in *Wales*) that their *Molehills* would swell to be all *Mountaines of God*, of equall height, on which their *Jeruselems* should be built after new Church models either of a *Presbyterian* or *Independent* fashion, whose small and, as to the Publick peace and benefit, ineffectuall, productions have hitherto so little justified their inventions or *discretions*, that their mutuall *divisions* and severall diminutions, besides the generall abatement and *abatement* both of Religion, Reformation and Ministry, do make the whole face of this Church appeare rather like *Babel* than *Jerusalem*; which was a City at unity in it self, not made up with *patches* and *botches*, by *fits* and *jobs*, with deformed angles, crooked walls and swelling windowes, (like some narrow lanes in *London*, whose sides seem built in spite to defie and darken one another) but designed and wrought by such a *juncture* of wise Counsell from grand Architects as had well fore-cast and fore seen their work, as those did by divine revelation, who were to build the *Ark*, *Tabernacle*, and *Temple* for God, as *Moses*, *David*, *Salomon*, *Zerubbabel*, and *Ezekiel*, who had leisurely and exact visions, sober and orderly revelations, after due and Mathematicall proportions or plat-formes given them, and were not hurried on by sudden raptures, extemporary snatches, and passionate surprises, which are the Convulsions of Religion; no fit tempers or motions to build or repaire the Church of Christ, which even in *Primitive defections*, (as we read in the *Epistles Coriinthians* or *Consolatory* to the seven *Asian Churches* or others,) were taught by the Spirit of Christ and the *Apostles*, not to seek out new Formes, Fashions and Inventions, to make *Divisions*, *Schismes* and Separations, either in or from the Respective Churches, or from their *Angels* or *Bishops*, the *Presidents* or *Presbyters*.

But in their Reformations they were to keep their former Church-communion, in the grand and Apostolick Combinations, which were constituted and proportioned by the guidance and wisdom of Christ's Spirit: both Pastors and people were to remember from whence they were fallen, to have due regard to their severall Rulers and Overseers in the Lord; to returne to their first love of truth and peace; to restore what was decayed, to preserve what remained and was ready to dye; to hold fast what was wholesome, sound, and good, while they tryed and pared off what was *evill* and super-

superfluous; to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to them; to keep to that forme of Doctrine, with those Catholick Traditions and Customes which they had received: They were not to invent new waies of Churches or Pastors any more than new Doctrines or new Gospels. Jude 3.

I am for Primitive *Sanctities* and *Severities* in all sorts or degrees of *Ministers*, no lesse than for *Primitive subordination* and communion: Ambitious I am for restoring the Piety and Purity, as well as the Polity and Unity of Pristine times. And although I find many *Ministers* so ill natured, so peevish and crosse-grained, that they can sooner vomit up the meate they have digested, than recall or recant any error or extravagancy they have adopted and fomented; yet I hope better things of the *major part* of my *Fathers* and *brethren*, who are men of more calme and ingenuous tempers, furthest from juvenile fervors, from private designs and popular dependences.

Nor do I doubt, but all *Ministers* that are worthy men, will easily recede, not from their Religion and Consciences, but from their various superstitions and presumptions, from their immoderate values and Idolatrous adorations of some petite opinions, and novel imaginations, which they have of late years taken up, if once they could happily meet and parley together, not in arbitrary Junctos and Associations; but being thereto called and encouraged by the command and Counsel, the Gravity and Authority of those their Superiours, who are most able to advance the good of this Church, and the restitution of the Reformed Religion.

If you (*O worthy Gentlemen*) should find us *Ecclesiasticks* more restive, pertinacious or obstinate than becomes us, either to retain our needlesse indulgences, or superfluous severities and rigors of opinions and practises; it will be your *honor* and *candor* to supple us, and by your exemplary perswasions gently to compell us to be such as best becomes us and your selves. You cannot give us, *the Ministers of England*, a more signall and ample testimony of your love and regard to us, than by your exacting from us in our severall places, not onely all morall *severities* and *sanctities* of life (which are indispenfible to our calling and duty) but all those reall Ministerial strictnesses in all points of holy *Ministrations*, to which our greatest enemies do so much pretend themselves, and complaine of us as most defective in them, either as to care, or diligence, or love towards our people. But (I beseech you) let these sacred *exactions*, as to our lives and Doctrines, as to our ordination and Ministration, be first, *Scripturall*, as to the maine ground, rule and end of them; next, *Rationall*, as to Order, Decency and Gravity of them; lastly let them be Primitive and Catholick, not Novel and Fanaticke, but as much as may be conforme to the patterne of all *ancient Churches*, who had their formations and fixations from the *Apostles*, long before any of these moderne disputes and factions arose, or passion had seized any Ministers judgements as to their particular fides and interests.

² From Magistrates and Lay-men.

But

But let us not (for Gods sake) be urged (as some designe), utterly to forsake the *Church of England*, to renounce our own former both practises and perswasions, our standings and understandings too, as Ministers (which were so much grounded upon *Scripturall directions*, Apostolick exemplifications, Catholick imitations, and nationall constitutions;) onely to conforme to some private mens *modern fancies*, or to *preferre*, as to *Church-ordination*, *Ministration* and *Government*, the novelties of *Amsterdam* or *Geneva*, before the antiquities of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*.

Nor yet may you leave us so far to our selves, as to suffer every one of us to invent and do whatever seems good in *his own eyes*. Alas, many of us are weak in our Learning, Religion, and Reason; strong onely in our Passions, Prejudices, and Presumptions; easie and soft in our Judgements, heady and obstinate in our opinions, prone to be biased with private interests, and abused with *popular pretensions*. While we meane well, yet we are ready to do very ill, having much in us either cold and doting, or young and raw, or over-hot and uncomposed; never worse governed than when we are left every man to governe our selves, or our private flocks, after our own various fancies and affectations, which are most-what very partiall, *plebeian*, *imprudent*, *impolitic*: not many of us understanding the *proportions* of true *Church-Government* any more than we do the *designes* and *dimensions* of the *most noble* and *magnificent buildings*, which were never erected and perfected by the occasionall concurrence of every *spontaneous workman*, that lifted to joyne his head and hand, to carry on what figure and form he thought best; but they are the effects of *mature Counsell* and grand advise from wise *Master-builders*, who first agree in the whole model or *Idea*, before they put the parts in execution.

The truth is, no sorts of men are lesse tractable (generally) than we that professe to be *Ministers*. If we have little Learning, we are envious, peevish, and jealous against those that have more; if we have much, we easily grow proud, high-conceited, dictatorian. Some of us are very rustically, morose and refractory, others of us very imperious, supercilious and magisteriall; few of us of so wise, calme and safe tempers, as to be left to our selves in things of publick Office and Order, lest we grow heady and extravagant: Nor are we of so humble and meek Spirits, as to be willingly led by others. If left free, we grow insolent, popular and factious; if under any Government or restraint, we grow touchy, refractory and petulant; not easily kept within our own or others bounds, untill by pregnant reason and prevalent power, meeting together in wise and resolute magistrates, we are at once convinced and commanded, perswaded and over-awed to keep those honest bounds of order and subjection, which do not onely best become us, but ought to be least arbitrary, because most necessary both for our own and the publick good: most of us will be good subjects even to Church-Government as well as State, when we see we must be so; and few of us will

will be either quiet or content, when we find that we may be what we or the vulgar will, by loose Tolerations and indiscreet *indulgences*, which betray Ministers no lesse than other men to many dangerous extravagancies.

To cure (therefore) the *distempers* of Religion, and to restore some Health, Beauty, Order and Unity to this sick, deformed, disordered and divided Church of *England*, the first *applications*, as I humbly conceive, must by wisdom and power be made to those that profess to be *Ministers* of the Gospel, who must have, as broken, or started and dislocated bones (whose flesh and muscles are highly swoln and enflamed) not onely wholesome diet and Physick given them, but such *splinters* and *ligatures* as may be at once *gentle*, yet *strong*; not bound so hard as may occasion *paine* or *mortifying*, nor yet so loose as may suffer any constant *dislocation* or new flying out. To such ruptures and inordinacies, the many notions and raptures that Scholars and Preachers get by reading and conversing (besides the pregnancy of their wits, and ambition of their own Spirits) are prone to tempt them: no preacher is so meane, but he would faine appeare some body; if he despaire of his own merits, as to publick notice and preferment, then he *applies* to popular arts and lesser *engines*. *Discontent* and *ambition* are observed, both in old times and of later, to have been the great *perturbers* of the *Churches peace*; which some have written even of Mr. Cartwright himself, a man of *excellent Learning*, yet unsatisfied when he had not the good fortune to be so much *favoured and preferred by Queen Elizabeth*, as others were who bare a part with him in publick *Acts* at *Cambridge* before that *popular*, yet *politick*, *Princesse*;

Mr. Fullers History of the Brit. Church.

Who had no greater art in her Government than this, to give not onely shrewd guesses at mens tempers and geniusses, but exactly to calculate the proportions of their spirits and parts, and accordingly either to refuse them, or imploy them in Church or State. Nor could she easily have kept this *Church of England* from flying in pieces in her dayes, when many notable Ministers wits did work, like new beere or bottled Ale, to blow up the Government of the Church, unlesse she had, besides the Canons agreed in Synods, and the good Lawes *passed in Parliament*, applyed such wise, able and resolute *Governours* to the Helme of the Church, as were *Parker*, *Grindall*, *Whitgift*, *Sands*, *Matthewes* and others; whom the stormes (yet safety) of the Church in those times shewed to be excellent *Pilots*, and excellent *Prelates*, no lesse than excellent *Preachers*: Whose names and authority had then been made as odious and unpopular, as now all Bishops and Episcopall Clergy have been, if (under God) the resolute power and ponderous authority of the *Princesse* had not preserved them, besides the Gravity, Piety, and prudence of their own carriage; which abundantly stopped the mouthes of their clamorous enemies then, and further justified them to all posterity, to have been, as the true Sons of wisdom, so deservedly the venerable *Bishops* and *Fathers* of this then famous and flourishing Church.

I well know that Ministers in *England*, above all sorts of men, do stand bound in conscience and prudence to use all faire meanes for the speedy setling and happy restitution of the State of *Religion* in this Church; because however many of them professe to be great patrons of piety, and sticklers for *Reformations*, either old or new, yet most, if not all our Church-deformities and miseries, have been and still are imputed chiefly to their immoderations, passions, or indiscretions, when too much left to themselves: Some driving so furiously to conformity, that they went beyond it; not onely over-shooting themselves, but the good Lawes, Canons, and Customes of this Church, hereby putting the common people into high jealousies of superstition, by their too great heats, and surfeits of ceremonious innovations and affected formalities: Other Ministers were so jealous and impatient of what they fancied, rather than felt, to be burthens in Religion, that they not onely cast off some superfluous loades of new ceremonies, but the very comely Garment, Girdle and Government of this Church; yea some of them at last flung off all their clothes, and tare off (as *Hercules* in his fiery shirt) much of their own skins, by a frantick kind of excesse, severely revenging even other mens reall or impured faults upon themselves and upon the whole Church, committing greater injuries than ever they did or indeed could suffer, while they possessed their soules in patience and peace; whereas now they have left themselves and this whole Church, (as the Tortoise did, that was weary of its shell, and put it off) almost nothing for safety, comelineffe, or honour, but are nakedly exposed to all those dangers and deformities which attend any Church, Religion and Ministry, which being once ungirt as to order, unity and Government, will soon be unablest as to all holy improvements either in Piety, Verity, or Charity.

Hence, hence it is, that such a crowd of importune and insolent mischiefs have (as the *Sodomites* upon the Angels and *Lot* at his doore,) not onely rudely pressed, but notoriously prevailed too farre upon all Ministers and the State of the Reformed Religion: chiefly the jealousies, feuds, factions, animosities, immoderations, indiscretions, divisions and dissociations among Ministers; who can never expect to see common people return from their madnesse and giddinesse to sober senses, untill they see their Preachers to recover their wits, and their pastors to become patternes, as of piety and zeal, so of humility and order of charity and unity, of gravity and constancy, of meeknesse and wisdom; and not to be like mad dogs, so daily snarling and snapping at one another, so biting and infecting their own and others flocks with their poysonous foam and teeth, that (at last) they disorder the whole frame of the Church, and endanger the civil peace of the Nation: whence some men have been ready to think it were a part of wisdom and State-policy, to put in execution the counsel and resolution which once *Queen Elizabeth* took up in some time of Her Reigne, even to forbid all preaching and praying, as to ministers own inventions and com-

composures, because he found most Ministers passions so inseparable from their pulpits, if they were left to themselves.

The want of Christian harmony and correspondency in publick and lawfull conventions, with unanimity and fitting *subordination* among *Ministers* in *England*, for these last twenty yeares (good God!) what havock and confusion, what waste and desolation, what scorn and contempt hath it brought upon the whole Ministry, the Church and the State of *Reformed Religion*; not more in the order and peace, than in the power and purity of them! while severall *Ministers* in their partiall conventicles and mutinous meetings go severall waies, seek onely to draw Disciples after themselves, not to lead them nearer to God, and Christ, and this Church, but to their own private opinions, parties and interests, according as they can possesse people to comply with their new Ministeriall authority, new Church-waies, and new spirituall projects, which being so horribly divided, the good onely way of Christianity is almost destroyed; for none that are novell can be so authentick and authoritative, but they are by some suspected, by others denyed, and by most despised. Hence mutuall loathings between people and people, Pastors and Pastors; hence that nauseous abhorrence in many of all Sermons and Religious service; hence that *Atrophy* or indifferency of most people to the blessed Sacraments; hence that rudenesse and irreverence shewed by many in all Religious duties; hence that looseness in moralities, that rottennesse in opinions, that coldnesse in devotions, that boldnesse in blasphemies, that impudence in heresies, that fondnesse after novelties, that boasting in schismatick renderings; hence so many new and strange secular policies are grown up, as thistles in the good field of this Church, instead of Primitive simplicities; hence so many gay and cunning hypocrisies spring up (like cockle and poppy among wheat) instead of sober honesty and Christian charity, which were heretofore so abounding in *England*.

A pious and prudent closing, a sincere and thorough *healing* of those wounds which *Ministers* have given themselves, this Church and the Reformed Religion, by their easinesse, credulity, inconstancy, popularity, and impatience to bear any thing, and also by their too much confidence in secular *Counsels* and *armes of flesh*, (while they served diverse lusts and passions of men and times more than the *Lord*;) this would advance the reall interest of all parties, so farre as they are *Christi*, and bring the whole frame of Religion to such an happy *consistency* as becomes the honour of such a Nation, and such a Reformed Church as *England* sometime was.

In which *paternal presidency, fraternal assistance, and filial submission*, might all meet together, to satifie all calme and sober Spirits, that are either of *Episcopall, Presbyterian, or Independent persuasions*; which are (I think) the most considerable parties (yet) in *England*, both as to their numbers, abilities, and worth.

I know it is very hard for weak and wilfull men to reclaime
Kk k 2 them

History of the
Church of
Scotland, by
Spotswood
Arch-Bishop
of S. Andrews.

themselves or others from those transports, which they have not chosen, but ventured upon; it is the work of wise men to recant their own errors, and to recall people from those scatterings and extravagancies to which they have been once thoroughly scared and cunningly driven. I have much admired, while I have read the prudent Arts and pious guiles which *King James* (a Master of great Learning, Wit, and Eloquence) used, whereby to calme the *hot Spirits of Ministers in Scotland*, so as to reduce them to that excellent Church-frame and Government, of which many popular, factious and covetous Spirits were not more *weary* than *unworthy*; by the overthrow of which, I believe, the jealous *Presbyters in Scotland*, & that Church and State, have got so little, that they may well put their gains in their eyes, and yet see both their folly and their misery, rather weeping for their destroying, than justly triumphing in their *extirpation* of so excellent a constitution of a Church, as indeed they enjoyed with as much happinesse (had they known it) as they obtained it with much difficulty. *Great bodies* (we see) cannot move regularly or handsomely, unlesse they have such respective heads and presidents, as may be principles of order and union, of proportionate motions and usefull operations.

The want of which (with the dissolving of all Ecclesiasticall *subordinations* into popular parities, and reducing Nationall Conventions or Synods into partiall Assemblies and Associations) all sorts of sober *Ministers* have found by wofull experience to be so pernicious both to their private and the publick *interests* of *Religion*, that I believe most of them are now very solicitous how to heale themselves, lest they further appeare *Physicians* of no *value to the people*, who can never think themselves either well taught or governed by such *Ministers* as know not how to governe themselves, and yet are impatient to be governed by any other but themselves; who being either meane, or weak, or wilfull men, taken singly, will not be much abler or stronger, or more valued, in any arbitrary, precarious or partiall waies of *self-combinations* or *Associatings*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the late
Associations
projected by
some Ministers.



Am neither wholly ignorant of, nor averse from, those later projects and *Essays* of *Associations*, which some Ministers have presented to the world, and (as I heare) practised among themselves in some Countries, with what good successe or publick advantage I do not yet understand: however this plot of *Associating* doth proclaime to all the world, that the generality of Ministers are very sensible of that *shame, solitude, feeblenesse, contempt, dissipation and diminution*, to which their late *divisions* have exposed them, even among those people whom they most gratified with eating that *forbidden fruit*, which by a *surfeit of liberty* hath brought so great sicknesse and mortality

ality upon the life of *Religion*, as Christian and Reformed; also upon the honour of the Clergy, and the happineſſe of the people of *England*. I ſee the ſenſe of their own and the peoples nakedneſſe, (as to *Eccleſiaſtical* union and Government) hath made *Ministers* ſeek for ſome covering for themſelves, though it be but of *fig-leaves*, in compariſon of that goodly *Garment* which God had formerly clothed them withall, after the manner of all *ancient Churches*, who were governed, adorned and defended by *Episcopall Eminency*, *Preſidency*, and *Authority*, ſtrengthened with *Presbyterian* Counſells, and further helped by the ſervice and care of Deacons, or Overſeers for the poor, to complete the well-Governing of the Church with Charity, Wiſdome, and Orderly Authority: So that neither the Wiſe, Strong, Great, or Rich, might be extravagant and unruly; nor the Simpler, Weaker, Leſſer, and poorer ſort of Chriſtians be neglected and contemned.

A method of Church-Government, certainly, not more ancient and *Catholick*, than *complete* in all the requiſite proportions of Government, which had in it not onely all principles of reaſon, polity and prudence, but was further commended and confirmed by the ancient patternes of Gods own appointment among the *Jewes*, by Chriſts Doctrines and example, together with his Apoſtles practice and appointment, evident in their writings, and in the imitation of all Churches from the beginning. The want and waſte of which Primitive and Catholick Government as I do unfeignedly deplore in the Church of *Engl.* ſo I am glad to ſee any of my brethren ſo ſenſible of it, as to make what handſome ſhift they can for a while to unite and defend themſelves, til the mercy of God and the wiſdome of Governours ſhall reſtore ſuch ancient order, unity and authority to us, as may be moſt happy for us on all hands. And although I think theſe *Associatings* to be as *incomplete* as they ſeem partiall, yet they are ſo far *conſiderable* and commendable, as they ſeem to invite and draw Miniſters to ſome Eccleſiaſtick union and fraternall ſociety; which may be in time much for their own Honour, Safety and Happineſſe, as well as the peoples peace; eſpecially if ſuch cloſures ariſe not from a continued confederacy of factious Spirits againſt true *Episcopacy*, but rather as preparations for it, ſo farre as times may bear, or bring on the due reſtitution of it, not to its priſtine *pomp* and ſplendor, (which is not *expectable*) but to its Primitive Order, Power, and *ſpiritual* Authority in the Church; which without doubt is the Conſervative, the Crown, the Conſummation, the Centre of all *Churches Government*.

Short of which what ever popular and plauſible prefacings theſe projects of *Associating* may make, to endeare ſome Miniſters by the parity of their *Oligarchies* in *Presbytery*, or to draw in common people by their ſpecious *Democracies* in *Independency*, yet (I confeſſe) I expect no great or durable good from either of their partialities. Firſt, becauſe they are but private mens projects, not the reſults of the publick counſell and united wiſdome of this Church and
Na-

Nation. Secondly, they are in their constitution defective, as to the true proportions of good *Government* and *Polity*, which must have ability, order, intirenesse and authority; which are not to be found in the parity or plebs either of *Ministers* or *people*. Thirdly, they are as new, so precarious and arbitrary, therefore unauthoritative and unauthentick, easily baffled and despised by any that list to be recusant and *refractory*. Fourthly, as they are divided no lesse than *Oligarchie* and *Democracy*, so they may be dangerous to the Authors, abettors and executors of them, when ever those that are or shall be in civill power, list to bring them to the triall of a *Premunire*; which statute binds up the hands of all Pragmatick Presbyters and people, from acting of their own heads in Church-affaires without Law.

Acts 27.17.

This I am sure, the policies of States-men are easily jealous of Church-men, nor can the Clergy discreetly act any thing by way of publick influence in things Ecclesiasticall, for which they have not the publick Counsel and consent. Possibly these *Associations*, if friendly and ingenuous, may be some seeming shelter to some poor Ministers from the urgent stormes of popular contempt and insolency, like the *undergirding* of that crazy and weather-beaten ship, in which St. Paul was imbarqued and ready to perish, untill the tossed vessell of this Church may be brought into a more commodious haven and fully repaired.

But if the aime of Associatings be no more than a cunning complicating of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* principles and interests together, that they may rule in their *Duumviracy*, exclusive of all primitive *Presidency*, and slighting all pleas for *Episcopacy*, which hath the onely Catholick and Classicall precedents for *authentick* ordination and full authority in the Church, all will be no more than *daubing with untempered mortar*, by which they may *foule their own fingers* and other mens faces; but they will never erect any stately and durable structure, capable to supply the roome of that Primitive, Apostolick and Catholick Government, in comparison of which these precarious and poor *Associatings* of Ministers are but a setting up a *stony hedge*, instead of a good *quick-set* or a *brick-wall*, for the fence of Christs vineyard.

Presbytery hath been already so baffled in England, and *Independency* hath so little place or credit; both are such exotick novelties, and so incompetent for Church Government, that neither single nor sociall, ravelled nor twisted, they will ever have any considerable power, nor be able to give any protection to either Ministers or people, much lesse will they promote the Reformed state of Religion, or the peace of the Nation.

The community of Ministers and people, though never so much Associated in such levelling factions, will still appeare, both to their enemies and friends, but as so many *silly sheep*, who, fearing to be further worried by *wolves* and *dogs*, do flock together indeed with great eagernesse and crowding, but they are not thereby much the safer,

safer, if they have neither fixed folds, nor able, valiant and watchfull *shepheards* to oversee and defend them, with such eminent power and lawfull Authority as becomes the masters of such Assemblies, and the chief Fathers of those Families which make up the most complete Churches of Christ.

As it is hard to draw a true *circle* unlessse the *centre* be fixed, or to build a firm *arch* without the binding and *centre-stone* be added to the rest, so I firmly believe, that neither the interests of people by *Independency*, nor of *Presbyters* by *Presbytery*, will ever be advantaged to any honourable, happy, or durable condition by these Associations, if they arrogantly and factiously usurp the rights and power of Primitive Episcopacy, which hath been alwaies as usefull as venerable in the Church of Christ, either used, or approved, or desired by all learned and sober men, and asserted by infinite, pregnant and unanswerable testimonies, both ancient and late.

Nor will, I hope, the Antiquity, Sanctity and Majesty of Primitive and Catholick Episcopacy ever want such Princes & Peers, such Presbyters and people, as both in true polity, and in good conscience, will so approve it, as to preferre it no lesse before all *modern models*, than the first temple was preferrable before the second, or either of them before the *Tabernacle*.

If these *Associations* do onely intend, as some of them pretend, to take in all *interests*, with reservation of latitudes and freedoms, both of different principles and practises, to all sorts of Ministers, will they not prove at last Dissociatings, and amount to no higher edifying of this Church, than the laying of brick and sand without lime, which will never make a durable and strong building? For they will soon divide and dissolve who are held together by no other bond than their own will and pleasure. Possibly thus farre they may be of use, as means somewhat to discover more the rubbish and ruines of our late distractions, which have made Ministers so much strangers, that they are enemies to each other; yea, possibly they may, by drawing them to some amicable conventions and Christian conferences, occasion *better understanding* between many of them, and so by Gods blessing in time produce some such counsels as may be worthy of them and the publick. But if their aime be slyly to get into some hands such popular advantages (by their soft insinuations of seeming equanimity and moderation,) as shall further displace and disparage the former Catholick Government of this and all ancient Churches, they will be but as new patches put to an old garment, which will make the rent and deformity the greater.

Certainly, the state of the *Reformed Religion* in England will never be happy till it is settled, nor settled till it be uniform, nor uniform, till the office and authority of *Ministers* be valid and venerable, nor will this ever be, untill the sanctity and sameness of *ordination*, together with the use of Ecclesiasticall power and holy Ministrations, be rendred so *August*, so *Sacred* and *Complete*, as may
be

be most conforme to *Scripture* and to pure *Antiquity*; for while *Ministers* are of diverse *makes* and *moulds*, they will be of diverse minds, nor can they produce other than *multiforme Christians*, of different fashions and deformed factions in Religion; which do as necessarily bring forth infinite mischiefs in any Church or Christian State, as the itch breeds scratching, and scratching fetches blood. As the blessed Apostles, so their holy successors kept to one way of Religious Order and Power; which preserved the unity of faith and love among Christian Bishops, Presbyters and people.

I confess, I do sometimes in my sad and retired solitudes hope, that our common calamities may, by Gods softning and calming grace upon mens spirits, make both all *Godly Ministers* and all good people so wise, as humbly, sincerely and charitably to search into the cleare steps of *Primitive prudence*, *Apostolicall order*, and *Ecclesiastical Authority*, which had due and tender regard to all sorts of Christians, so as to keep up a meet *subordination* with a Christian communion; To which end I was willing to hope this shew of *Association* might conduce.

But when I find in some of them nothing that looks civilly upon *Episcopacy*, many things cast reprochfully and scornfully upon the excellent *Bishops* of *England* and all the Episcopall Clergy, who were not inferiour in any regard to the best *Associators*; when I find that some of them have the confidence to exclude all that have of late yeares been ordained by any *Bishop* with *Presbyters*, though such an one as the late most venerable *Bishop* of *Normich*, Dr. Hall, (ὁ μακαρίτης) when I see that some rigid *Presbyterians*, and popular *Independents*, affect with great *Magistery* to *Duopolize* all Church power, to grasp into their hands and bolomes (as the sides of a drag-net meeting together) all *Ministeriall Authority*; not onely not owning the best surviving *Bishops* with any respect, nor yet in any faire way applying to any of them, after all their undeserved *indignities*, but spitefully and professedly abdicating all communion with them, under the name of *Bishops*, reducing them (ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους βαθμῶν, to the levell and parallel of *Presbyters*, (which the 630. Orthodox Fathers, in the fourth *Generall* famous Councell of *Chalcedon*, (which all Ministers of *England* approved and (I think) subscribed to) call (ἄλογον καὶ ἀτακτον) an absurd and unreasonable practise, yea (ἱεροσυλίαν) a great *sacrilege*; and *Zonaras* upon that Canon makes it a (θεομαχία) fighting as Giants against God, as a dethroning of Christ, the *Bishops* eminent authority and presidency in the Church being a lively representation of Christs sitting in the midst of the throne, who did (undoubtedly) delegate his visible authority of governing the Church to the chief Apostles, above the 70. and all other Teachers; after which manner and proportion these chief Apostles, who were the first and great *Bishops* after Christ, did both commit and derive their authority to the following Bishops their successors, who were a lesser sort or second edition of Apostles: when I see what an Idol some Ministers and people make of their *Scotch-Covenant*,

Concil.
Chalcedon.
Can. 29.

Covenant, by which great Engine, or Military *Ram*, they still think themselves bound to batter Episcopacy, as if their Covenanting against it as it then stood in *England*, were an obligation to persecute all Episcopacy for ever; when in earnest, the least variation of its former constitution both satisfies and absolves from that bond, which some men still superstitiously venerate, as if it were an image fallen from heaven, a matter of divine precept and institution, and not rather of humane machination and politick invention; (which we are sure it was,) as if it were the solemn result of the pious or of the peaceable and publick sense of this *Nation*, and not rather the issue of troubled braines and broken times: indeed many forget that the *Covenant* smells more of fire, smoke of sulphur and gun-powder, than of the *Sponſes* myrrh and perfumes, of Christian *Love* and *Charity*:

Again, when I consider how passion and pride betrayes many men to rashnesse, rashnesse to folly, folly to obstinacy, obstinacy to presumption, presumption to animosities, and these to unchristian fewds, everlasting despite and bitternesse, which must still be vented as cholerick humors once in a month against the most innocent and Primitive *Episcopacy*, yea against the most deserving and yet most suffering *Bishops*, of this Church, and of all the world, old and new: when I see the personall errata's and exorbitances or infirmities of some few *Bishops*, by most uncharitable Synecdoches, (which put a part for the whole) are in a pittifull fallacious way of vulgar oratory urged against all Episcopacy and *Bishops* in any orderly eminency or presidentiall authority in the Church, contrary to the faith and honour of all antiquity, and the former happy experiences of this Reformed Church: when I find how wary and shy some Ministers are (in their zeal and forwardnesse for their petty *Associations*) to seem to own even their own judgements and reall inclinations toward any such *condescensions*, and close with Episcopacy as may reflect upon their former *transports*; how loth they are really and freely to offer such proposalls as are equable and ingenious, pure and peaceable, to the Episcopall party; who aim at no more than such a *paternall presidency* and order, as may best preserve the undoubted power of ordination and Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, as it was Primatively settled in and transmitted by the hands of the first *Bishops*, who immediately succeeded the Apostles:

When I see (as I plainly do) this partiality, restivenesse, and cowardise in some Ministers of good parts, then do I almost *sink* in despaire ever to see or enjoy (while I live in *England*) any thing in the *Order, Government, and Discipline* of this Church, that may look like the Primitive pattern; which was indeed a *Catholicon*, approved in all Churches, used in all ages, and submitted to by all sorts of good Christians; the onely proper *Antidote* (I think) against the poysons of our times; farre beyond any of these kind of new *confections*, which tampering and partiall *Empiricks* may make or boast of, and prescribe to those that list to be their tame and credulous

customers; who will find that all these new *Balsams* of Covenanting and Associating against Episcopacy, are not onely not soveraignly or solidly healing, but full of *noxious*, festering, and pernicious qualities, scalding one place while they seem to skin over another. So that if I should onely look to the arme of flesh, or at some Ministers inconstant, ingratefull, violent, partiall and intractable spirits, there is little hopes that either they or their *Sectators* will return to any happy close and generall accord, without a miracle: and indeed it would be as strange to see some Ministers return with meeknesse, and submit to their lawfull and worthy *Bishops*, as their Fathers, or Chief Heads and Rulers of their Ecclesiasticall fraternities and families, under any the most innocent qualification and temper of Episcopacy, as it was to see Saint *Dennis* his *Corps* or *trunk* take up his head and carry it 3. miles after it was cut off, as the French Legends report of that *Martyr*; so prepossessed and prejudiced some Ministers and their Disciples are against the Order and Honour of their own calling and function, no lesse than against the happines of this Church, both Ministers and people, against the peace also and prosperity of the reformed Religion of this Nation; all which are so concerned in a right Episcopacy, (wherein the reall interests of Christian people, sober Presbyters, and worthy Bishops should be all preserved) that in earnest I cannot see how they can, without such an orderly Communion and venerable Authority, ever be happy, because not united either in principles or practises, in opinion or affection. I believe no good Christian is so blind as not to see, that faith cannot in this world be separated from charity, that Churches divisions are their confusion; as leaky and unhooped vessels let out much, if not all the good liquor in them.

CHAP. VIII.

Of civill assistance from Lay-men to restore this Church and Religion.



Herefore, leaving these my hotter-spirited brethren to take breath, after their earnest pursuits against Episcopacy, and their zealous agitations for either Presbyterian or Independent interests by the new juncto's of their *Associations*; expecting in time to find them in a much cooler temper, as already I do all sober and moderate Ministers, who unfeignedly approve, and heartily pray for *Episcopacy* in its *Primitive proportions*; I shall in the next place apply my self to *You* of the *Magistracy*, *Nobility* and *Gentry* of this Nation, if possibly your spirits, less engaged, and so less imbittered in Church-contentions, may incline to the meditations and embrace the motions of *Ecclesiasticall* peace and accord in this Church and Nation.

Act. 16. 9.

Saint *Paul* saw in a vision a man of *Macedonia* coming to him and calling for *Help*. It is not a vision in the night, or a dreame of distresse, but the *noon-day* or *meridian* of this Churches *miseries*, which presents

presents to you many thousands of poor people daily overgrown with Ignorance, Lukewarmness, Licentiousness, Unsettledness, Superstition, Faction, Atheism, and all manner of Irreligion; also many hundreds of *poor Ministers*; (for none is to be esteemed rich, or renowned, where all are either envied or contemned by one side or other) of all persuasions, *Episcopall, Presbyterian, and Independent*, many of them endued with excellent parts, most of them with competent and usefull abilities, all these, and in them the whole Church and Nation, call to you, *Come and Help us; Help to redeem us* from that vulgar intolency, reproch and contempt into which we are fallen (both our persons and profession) by our mutuall divisions, our childish contentions, our uncharitable factions, our unreasonable ambitions, our unreasonable revenges, by our immoderate, popular and implacable passions; *Help us*, as *Constantine the Great* did those Bishops and other Church-men who were met at the famous Council of Nice, to burn and bury all those complaints, quarrels, libels, jealousies, disaffections, reproches, dissensions, and mutuall disparagings, under which the *Ministers and Ministry* of England now lie and labour, *Manasseh* being against *Ephraim*, and *Ephraim* against *Manasseh*, and *Judah* against both; *Episcopall Ministers* against *Presbyterians*, and these against *Episcopall*, and *Independents* against both, and some against them all.

Euseb. in Vita Const.

Help to restore us to a condition beyond slaves and villaines, reduce us to the state of ingenuous freedom, such as the Law affords all honest and industrious men: Reform and reunite us, if it be possible, but not with Swords and Staves, with Pistols and Prisons, not by the arbitrary Discipline of *Souldiers*, and absolute Tribunals of *Committee-men*, not by *plundering, sequestering, silencing*, and ejecting us out of all upon meer politick jealousies, or onely veniall infirmities; (when for the main we carry our selves in all things *Righteously, Soberly, and Peaceably.*) Do not expose us to men of *new lights*, to men of *erratick judgements* and *fanatick fancies*; who lay as much Religion upon their new Disciplines and Church-moddellings, as upon all the Doctrine, Piety, and Charity of Christianity. Leave us not to the novel and illegall power and partiality of such men, who will try us with passion, and judge us with prejudice, destroy us with pleasure, & undoe us without appeal or remedy; who greedily receive *accusations* against us as *Ministers*, without letting us see or hear our *accusers*; which are not alwaies *two or three*, according to Gods command both in the Law and Gospel, but many times (*testis singularis*) onely one, sometime none, besides some mens jealousies, disaffections, and surmises against us, who seldom give us *two admonitions* (after the Apostles order) but at first dash they quite blot us out of their book of life, utterly routing us and our families, disabling us ever after to plead our innocencies, or exercise our abilities, or supply our necessities, in any convenient way of living.

Tic. 3. 10.

Help to redeem, if not our *persons*, which are made by vulgar

scorn, as the *filth* and *off-scouring* of all *estates* in this nation, yet at least our *Function* and *Profession*, which was ever esteemed *holy*; redeem it from those invasions, intrusions and usurpations, which are made upon it by *illiterate*, *mechanick*, *sordid* and *simple people*, who can have no true or tolerable authority to be *Ministers* of holy things, when they have no *competent abilities*, and who being on no hand duly consecrated, set apart, sanctified or *ordained* for such holy Ministrations, cannot but *profane*, abuse and abase them, by their abominable arrogancies and sacrilegious usurpations, which are the greatest abuses of *you* and the whole *Nation*.

Help to restore the dignity and Authority of the *Evangelical Ministry* to its Pristine honour and reverence, to that Sanctity and Majesty which becomes the *deputation* and *vicegerency*, the *Command* and *Commission* of your blessed *God & Saviour*. Let not that lie despicable and trampled under the feet of *vile men*, which is a means (and the onely ordinary) to instruct, to convert, to sanctifie, to confirme, to comfort, to save your and your childrens soules. Let not that office and function be made *triviall*, despicable, and execrable among men, which is *holy*, *high* and *honourable* in Gods esteem, as his Embassy, venerable before the good *Angels* in Heaven, and terrible to the very *Devils* in Hell. Let not the preaching of the Word be *sighted*, *mocked*, and *laugbed* at, by the *unauthoritative* insolency and unsufficiency of unordained and impudent *pratlers*, who will never make powerfull Preachers. Let not the solemnity of publick *prayers* and *sacraments* be made ridiculous, vaine and void, by the simplicity and barrenesse, the non-sense and flatnesse, the slovenly rudenesse and confusion of those undertakers to officiate, whom no man (in Christs name) hath duly authorised or sent according to any Primitive pattern, or Catholick custome in this and other Churches. When the *Authority* of *Ministers* is doubted, denied, divided, despised on all sides, it is impossible there should be any unity or charity among either Ministers themselves, or those to whom they thus brokenly Minister holy things; nor can there be any reverent and sacred esteem of those things, which they so administer, with so much variety, dubiousness, and inconformity.

Civill respect to Ministers of the Gospel will follow, where there is a *religious regard* to their Ministry, as sacred and Divine, indeed as Christs, for so it is, or it is none upon any religious account: Therefore I forbear to urge *you* with any importunities, in order to restore the Pristine honors and dignities, the many priviledges and great plenty, which the *Clergy* enjoyed in *England*. I know those are unseasonable motions in an *iron age*, amidst so many *sacrilegious Spirits* as envy even those *pittances* that yet remaine of oyle in the cruses or meale in the barrells of poor *Ministers*, who are (generally) in a low, depressed, squeefed and almost *exhausted* condition: not onely publick exactions, but private *sharkings* of people, in many, if not most places, have reduced heretofore *convenient livings* to pittifull *tenuities*. Ministers affect indeed to wear *longer haire* than they were wont; but their

their condition is now so much shorne and shaved, since the *Scots* *raſor* was first applyed, that most of them are very bare and quite bald, to the great joy of *Papists* & the viler sort of licentious people, who want but one vote more to perfect their desired *Reformation*; That is, to take away all riches and glebes, rather giving them to *Moloch* or *Beelzebub*, than to *Christ*, his Church and his *Ministry*, to whom these are paid by many men so grudgingly, sharkingly and superciliously, that few Scholars of any *generous* minds and parts will apply themselves now to be *Ministers*; and many grave men, heretofore devoted to that calling, are content to be silent, rather than to preach to ungratefull and gain-saying people; yea some Ministers think it better to *starve* with honor, than to be fed with *scorn*, preferring any calling before that, which must first work, then beg or contest for its wages.

But as the *poverty* and tenuity of Ministers, the popular contempt of their persons and calling, the neglect and irreverence of holy ministrations, the intrusions and usurpations of petulant people upon their function; as all these could not have grown upon them, had they not been scattered and divided among themselves (for by these cracks and leakes those bitter waters have prevailed thus far to sink and depreſſe them :) So the reducing of Ministers to some unity in their judgments, to uniformity in their Ministrations, to an identity or sameneſſe for their Ministeriall power and ordination, also to a decent subordination and government among themselves, these methods would be most effectually, beyond any thing I can think of, to remedy all those great inconveniences and mischiefs under which they now labour and grone. From Ministers mutuall separations, affrontings, reprochings, oppreſſings, and despisings of one another, common people have learned the language and carriage of clownery and contempt: For how can people see, any thing worthy their civill, much lesse consciencious respect and love toward any Ministers, when they see, hear, and read, how they depreciate and scorn, envy and maligne, shun and abominate one another on all sides, each invalidating or disparaging the others authority to officiate, and almost annulling all they do in holy duties as Ministers? Be they never so able and fit as to their gifts, knowledge, utterance, holy lives and good report in all things; yet still they are thought by some side or other either to enjoy more than they merit, or to arrogate more than is their due, or wholly to usurp that which is no way their due.

Certainly, it is not a more pious and Christian, than *heroick* and *prudent* work, to reconcile the discrepancies and feuds that are grown among *Ministers* of severall formes and names, as to their *ordination*, or admission to their Ministry. And, since there are on all sides men of very good abilities, commendable lives, and usefull parts in this publick service, as Ministers of the Church, it is infinite pittie that Christians should be by any prejudices deprived of the common benefit to be had by them; or by factious and frivolous discriminations;

criminations, if their Ministeriall Authority be frustrated of those many blessings which all good Christians might happily enjoy, both publickly and privately, by a firm union and uniformity among all true Ministers, both in the *origination* of their power, also in the manner of the derivation and dispensation of it: Which harmony as (without doubt) it would highly contribute to the honor of the reformed Religion; so it would much obstruct the advantages which Popery gets by the scandall of Ministers discriminations and divisions in this point. For what sober-minded man will not rather adhere to what seems uniform, though an error, than to what seems divided, though a truth? Men will rather turne Seekers, Quakers, and Enthusiasts, than weary themselves in dancing after every Ministers pipe, and the new tunes they set to both their Ministry and holy Ministration.

For my part, I should rather choose to live in a solitude as a private Christian, or retire to any corner of the land as a Minister, than to correspond with such societies of Preachers as are either evidently Schismaticall in their principles, or onely formally and partially *Associating* in their politick practises, which do but declare their spirits to be at as great distance from their duties, both to their betters and their equalls, as ever they were. I prefer a *cottage* in a smooth and peaceable wilderness, before such palaces as are built among briars and thornes. I am sorry and ashamed to see those Ministers who are able and worthy to use the trowell for edification, should be so eagerly employed at the swords, for mutuall destruction: Since they generally agree to preach and live Christ Crucified, since they do for the maine correspond in *doctrinalls* of *faith* and *morality*, yea in holy Mysteries and Ministrations; what a misery is it they should not all endure the same imposition of hands, or the same holy and Catholick ordination? yea what pity is it, they should not all dare to say publickly and Ministerially the same Creed, the Lords prayer and the ten Commandements; to all which I suppose they all are ready privately to say Amen? How sad a prospect is it, to see those men who professe such zeal for Church Government and good Discipline, to be so little governed or correspondent in any wise communion and discreet subordination among themselves? And all this while every plausible preacher is ambitious rather to ordain and governe others after his own fancy, than to be ordained and governed as a Minister after the Apostolicall pattern, and that one ancient forme which was universally owned and uniformly used in Christs Church, both for the ordination and subordination of Ministers.

CHAP. IX.



IN order therefore to invite all able, Orthodox and honest Ministers to some Christian correspondency and fraternall accord, it will not be amisse for me to present both to your equanimous wisdom, (O worthy Gentlemen) and to your piety, what I humbly conceive the best Medium to be used in so great and good a work, which must be tenderly and impartially carried on by a serious discovery and discerning, First, what is really good, usefull, and commendable in any party, that this may be allowed and preserved; agreed to and embraced by all; Secondly, what either is or seems defective or superfluous, evill or inconvenient, scandalous or dangerous on any side, that this may be either pared off and removed, since it may be well spared, or else in reason and Religion, in piety and charity, so qualified and moderated, as may comply with what is truly good and usefull for the publick on all sides.

First then to begin with *Episcopacy*, not as it enjoyes or loseth the benefits of secular favour in estate, honour, or jurisdiction, (which are not essentiall to it, any more than cloths are to the man) but as it appeares in its *Apostolick primacy* of Order, in its Catholick centre of Unity, in its chief power for Ordination and Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction; which it ever enjoyed among good Christians, though it were never so poore and abased by civill powers, as it was in Primitive times of *persecution* for 300. yeares.

The reall good of true *Episcopacy* (which undoubtedly hath the clearest, best and most ancient title to ordination & Church-Government, according to the custome and prescription of all Ages for 1500. years) is Decency, Order, Unity, Authority, Stability, Paternall Presidency, Grave Government, with subordination of younger to the elder, and inferiours to superiours, agreeable to the rules of right reason, and the measures of the best polities, military, civill and religious. Here are the aptest remedies and conservatives against Schismes, the fittest mediums for Catholick Councils, for correspondencies, conventions and Communion of Churches, not in popular rabbles and heady multitudes, but in their chief Presidents and representatives. In *this* is best kept up, as an Uniformity of particular Churches, so a *Catholick Conformity* to the Church universall, when Primitive, purest and most persecuted, which without any peradventure did follow the Apostolick prescription and pattern in all things of so universall use and reception.

Upon the head of *Episcopacy*, as upon the *hill of Hermon*, hath the dew of heaven, the blessings of God, as in temporall enjoyments, so in all spirituall gifts and graces, most plentifully fallen, and from that to all the lower valleys and inferiour parts of the Church. To *this* it is that all the most learned, moderate and wise men in all the Christian world, of what ever party or side they are in other things, whether

A scrutiny of
what is good
or bad in all
parties.

1. The best and
worst of
Episcopacy.

ther Latine or Greek, *Lutheran* or *Calvinian*, Protestant or Papist, all agree in this, that *Episcopacy* is the ancientest and aptest, the wisest and noblest, the onely Apostolick and Catholick, consequently the best and compleatest of Governments in the Church; containing in its right constitution and use all the pretended excellencies of all other Governments, and something more than any of them, as the crown and perfection of all.

The evils, defects and dangers incident to Episcopacy, (and rising not from the function or employment, but from the persons of *Bishops*,) are pride, ambition, secular height and idle pomp, a supercilious despicency, and Lordly tyrannizing over other Ministers, and the flocks of Christ under their inspection; arrogating a power to do all things imperiously, arbitrarily and alone, without any due regard either to that charitable satisfaction which was anciently given to Christian people, or to that *fraternall* counsell and concurrence, which might and ought in reason to be had from learned and grave Presbyters, or such Consistories of choise *Ministers*, who possibly may for wisdom, piety and ability, be equall to the Bishop, however they are inferiour in order and authority.

As the complete good of *presidentiaall and paternall Episcopacy* deserves above all other formes to be esteemed, desired and used in the Church; so it may easily and happily be enjoyed, if the personall faults and failings of Bishops be prevented and avoided, which is no hard matter where Bishops are chosen (as anciently they were) by the suffrages of the Presbyters or Ministers of the Diocese either personally present, or, to avoid noise and tumult incident to many, by their proxyes and representees chosen and sent from their severall distributions. The Bishop thus chosen is easily kept within bounds of moderation, if he do nothing of publick concerne validly and conclusively without the presence, counsell and concurrence of his appointed Presbyters; being further responsible for any misgovernment, to such conventions of the Clergy as are meet to be his judges, and are by the Laws appointed so to be. Certainly these limits, supports and ornaments of Episcopacy, would easily restore it to and keep it in the compasse of its Primitive beauty, honor, and usefulness to the Church.

2. Triall of
Presbytery.

The good of Presbytery (especially in conjunction with Episcopacy) is grave and impartiall counsell, serious discussion and well-advised deliberation, arising from many learned and Godly men, which is as the joynt and concurrent assistance of all the Clergy; whose publick suffrages may carry all things Ecclesiastick as with lesse partiality, so with more authority, most satisfactorily to Ministers and people too, yea and with lesse odium or envy upon any one man as Bishop or President, in cases that seem lesse popular, or in censures that are more heavy.

Beyond all this some men cry up Presbytery in its Aristocratick influence, as the great Choak-peare of *Antichrist*; as the best receipt in the world to make the Pope burst in pieces, like the pitch and
haire

haire which *Daniel* mixed to split *Bel* and *Dagon*: This, this they say is the strongest sence against all tyranny, usurpation and ambition in Church-men, the great *conservative* not of an absolute parity, but of those ancient priviledges which are due to all Ministers; also of those liberties and indulgences which are the peoples darling, while they see all Church-matters managed not by *private and partiall monopolies*, but by publick and generall complacencies of all sober and good men, at least the major part of them.

The evils of Presbytery in a parity or equality are, emulation, faction, division among Ministers; the younger sort naturally mutinying against the elder, and the graver sort thinking themselves more wise & worthy than the younger. Hence grudgs and coldnesses, cavils and contradictions, sidings and divisions; Hence adherings to severall heads and patrons of factions, in different opinions or practises. Then follow popular adherencies, and such declamatory endeavours as may most draw people to severall *Masters*: all which are sufficiently evidently the experiences of *Franckfort* of old, of *Rotterdam* in later years, also of new and old *England*; besides the intolerable petulancies and troubles by Masterly Presbyters in *Scotland* for many yeares in King *JAMES* his minority, and King *Charles* his too. All these have loudly proclaimed that *malapertnesse*, *rudenesse*, *insolency*, *effrontery*, *factions*, *confusions*, are the genuine fruites of an un-sub-*Presbytery*, as indeed of all Government which is made up with parity or equality, which is rather a lump or masse of flesh, like monstrous and abortive births, than any comely polity or symmetry befitting an organized body, which must have some prime part for the honor, order and regulation of the whole, which must needs be loose, diffused and confused, if it be not cemented, centred and fixed (yea ruled and awed) with some eminent part and principall power, which having virtue from the whole, gives also life, vigor, firmation and Majesty, as to the whole body, so to the Government and polity, what ever it be, civill or Ecclesiastick; being as the Hoopes or Curbes of vessels, which keep all the *pipe-staves* together.

The want of which authoritative order, decorum and majesty in Government, is prone to give such temptations to young and hot-headed *Ministers*, (besides giddy and surly people, moving them to ambitious novelties, to popular and preposterous *practises*) that men of parts cannot easily resist them. Besides, the generality of people; either of meaner or better quality (especially in *England*) will never have such reverence to petty Presbyters in a levelled parity, as they will have when they see Ministers united, guided, honored and animated by a person of that Gravity, Age, Worth and Eminency, that not onely the best Ministers own him as a Father, but the best Gentlemen, yea Noblemen, will reverence him as a man of excellent Learning, Piety and Wiildome; whose censure or sentence no man of modesty or conscience can despise, when they are managed with so much reason and Religion, with such order and

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honor,

3. The Triall
of Independency.

honor, with such gravity and integrity, as become such Bishops and such Presbyters, happily united in a comely subordination.

The good that Independency pretends to hold forth to the people of God, or Christs little flock, in its severall parts and lesser parcels, is a more neer union and endeared love of each other, a closer care and watching over each others souls, more frequent and familiar intercourses between Pastor and people, exercising of their own, exciting and discovering of their brethrens gifts and sisters graces, neerer Communion with each other, after the fashion of bodies, though small, yet so complete and confined to themselves, that they are neither subject nor responsible to any but their own chosen members, officers and pastor, whose Tribunitian, not imperatorian, power is immediately founded (as they say) in the very plebs or herd of people, as derived immediately from Christ, and so completely endued with all Church Power or spirituall authority, that they are to Try, Elect, Ordain, Censure, Rebuke, Depose, Excommunicate and give over to Satan any part of their body. They further professe an Art or Receipt they have above all others to keep all ordinances of Christ most entire and pure from all humane mixtures and inventions, most set off and adorned with that Simplicity, Sincerity, Fervency, Charity and Sanctity which becomes the Gospel, all which are most eminently manifested in the precincts of their little bodies, their Independent or Congregational Churches, farre beyond what ever either Episcopacy or Presbytery, severally or socially, could attain unto. These are the gloryings of Independency.

The evils laid to the charge of *Independency* are, first, novelty and inconformity to all pious antiquity. A way untaught, untryed, unthought of by any Christians that owned themselves as parts of the Church Catholick, and related to its grand community or sacred society. It meanly and miserably confines the Majesty of Ecclesiasticall power, and shrinks its authority; it draws the Churches polity and communion to so very narrow and small a compasse, that Independency seemes to act rather by distorted and convulsive motions, than by that equable harmony of parts which attends all orderly bodies in their concurrent motions. Farther, it exposeth particular Churches or congregations, together with the honor and safety of Religion and all Christian States, to petty parties and factions, to popular, nay plebeian humors: It abaseth the honor of the Evangelicall Ministry, weakning the power, and diminishing the dignity of all Christian societies, mincing and destroying those ancient *Grand and Goodly combinations*, which were Apostolicall and Primitive, in the respective Churches of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, the 7. Churches of *Asia*, and many others, cutting them into small chips and shreds. It placeth the sole and absolute power of the keyes, for *Doctrine* and *Discipline*, there where no wise man, much lesse the wise Redeemer of his Church, would place them, even among the vulgar, where are seldome found any fit subjects capable to understand,

stand, much lesse to manage and use them. That such are the common sort and major part of all people, no wise man is ignorant: though they may be plainly and simply good, yet seldome are they so prudent, so knowing, so composed, or of such credit and reputation, as is fit for any *Government* either in Church or State to be committed to them, as the grand Masters and absolute Dictators; which they seem to be in the Independent modell, which either hath so many heads that it hath no feet, or so many feet that it hath no head.

Furthermore, Independency seems like the flats and shallows of ponds and rivers, the proper beds for all *Faction* and *Schisme* to spawne upon; the *seminary* that breeds, and nursery that feeds all the *vermine* of Religion; while every silly soul, that can but get two or three to conspire with his folly, and flatter his new fancy, may without feare or wit make a Minister, begin a party, and beget a Church, built and distinguished by some new character of opinion or practise, as its badg or sign-post.

Besides this, *Independency* is indicted by many sober men as a felon or plagiary, a sacrilegious robber of other Churches, one that steales away *Children* from their *Spirituall* fathers, sheep from their flocks and shepherds, seducing servants from their Masters, and children from their parents, true Religion, worship and devotion, yea from all Christian Communion with them; enticing them first to *straggle*, then to separate, then to *starve* rather than returne to the good pasture and fold whence they have once wandered.

Lastly, as it affects an equall and yet enormous power in every part of the whole body, so it exerciseth this authority with such *confusion* and *passion*, with so much *Childishnesse* and *petulancy*, that there is little or nothing of due *subordination*, *feare*, *reverence* and *submission*, as to any Divine Authority, as of Conscience of or for Christs sake; but every one takes offence when he listeth, growes froward and insolent, divides, and so destroyes (as much as in him lyes, and at as easie a rate as one doth crush a worme) those petty bodies and puny Churches, which are indeed but *Infants*, *Embryo's* and *Pygmies*, compared to that stature and strength, that procerity and puissance, which of old was preserved, and ever ought to be in the Church of Christ, when it hath its peace and growth; not shred into poor patches and pittifull parcels, but united, maintained and managed in conspicuous combinations, in ample and august proportions; in which may well be contained many thousands of Christian people, some hundreds of worthy *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, under some one or more *venerable Bishops*, in so holy, so happy, and so handsome a *subordination* or *dependency* as was of old, that whatever was done by the *Authority* of those that ruled, or the *Humility* of those that obeyed, all was done with *Charity* and *Unanimity*, while excellent Bishops knew how to keep the true temper of Christian Government, and both *Presbyters* and people concurred with them in *filial obedience* and *fraternall love*.

CHAP. X.

The reconciling of the re-
all interests of
Episcopacy,
Presbytery
and Independ-
dency.



Hus we see every party or side, however it justifie or magnifie it selfe, yet it falls under either the blame or jealousy of its rivals, as defective or excessive; yet not so much in the *fundamentals* of Religion, or main points, either for Doctrine, Worship, Duty, or Manners, as chiefly in matters of Ordination, Discipline, and Government: Nor is the difference here so broad, that any side denies them as necessary both in the parts and whole, in greater and lesser proportions, for the Church of Christ; but the reall dispute is, *who shall mannage and execute them*, in whom the chief power and Authority shall reside, whether eminently in *Bishops*, or solely in *Presbyters*, or supremely in the people, as the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the first recipient and the last result of Church-power.

All sides (except Fanaticks, Seekers, and Enthusiasts) seem to agree, as in the *Canon of the Scripture*, so in the soundnesse of the *faith*, in the sanctity of divine *mysteries*, in the celebration of them by such as are some way *ordained* and *authorised* for that holy service, also in the participation of them by such onely as are in the judgement of Charity worthy or meet to be partakers of them. All agree in the main Christian graces, virtues, and morals required in a good Christians practise; yet still each party is suspected and reproched by others: the brisk *Independent* boasts of the Liberty, simplicity, and purity of his way, yet is blamed for Novelty, Subtily, Vulgarity & Anarchy; the rigid *Presbyterian* glories in his Aristocratick Parity and levelling community, which makes every petty Presbyter a Pope and a Prince, though he disdain to be a Priest, yet is taxed for *petulancy*, *popularity*, *arrogancy* and *novelty*, casting off that Catholick and ancient order, which God and Nature, Reason and Religion, all civill and military policy, both require and observe among all societies.

Episcopacy justly challengeth the advantages, right and honor of Apostolick and Primitive Antiquity, of universality and unity, beyond any pretenders; yet is this condemned by some for undue incroachments and oppressions upon both Ministers and peoples ingenuous Liberty, and Christian priviledge, by a kind of *secular height* and arbitrary *soveraignty*, to which many Bishops in after-ages have been betrayed, as by their own pride and ambition, so by the indulgence of times, the munificence of Christian Princes, and sometimes by the flatteries of people.

Take away the popular principle of the first, which prostrates Government to the vulgar; Take away the levelling ambition of the second, which degrades Government to a very preposterous and unproportionate parity; Take away the monopoly of the third, which seems to ingrosse to one man more than is meet for the whole: each of them will be sufficiently purged (as I conceive) of what is
most

most dangerous or noxious in them, for which they are most jealous of, and divided from each other. Restore to *people* their Liberty in some such way of choosing, or at least approving their Ministers, and assenting to Church-censures, as may become them in reason and conscience; restore to *Presbyters* their priviledges in such publick counsel and concurrence with their *Bishops* as may become them; lastly, restore to *Bishops* that Primitive precedency and Catholick presidency, which they ever had among and above *Presbyters*, both for that chief Authority or Eminency which they ever had in *ordaining* of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, also in exercising such Ecclesiasticall Discipline and Censures, that nothing be done without them: I see no cause why any sober Ministers and wise men should be unsatisfied, nor why they should longer stand at such distances and defiance, as if the *Liberties* of Christian people, the *Priviledges* of Christian *Presbyters*, and the *Dignity* of Christian *Bishops* were wholly inconsistent; whereas they are easily reconciled, and, as a *threefold cord*, may be so handsomely twisted together, that none should have cause to complaine or be jealous, all should have cause to joy in and enjoy each other: *Bishops* should deserve their eminency with the assistance, counsel and respect of their *Presbyters*; *Bishops* and *Presbyters* might enjoy the love, reverence and submission of Christian people; both people and *Presbyters* might be blessed with the orderly direction and fatherly *protection* of the *Bishops*; all should have the blessings of that *sweet subordination, harmony* and *unity* which best becomes the Church of *Jesus Christ*, both in the Governors and Governed, in Ministers and People; wherein we see the most *Antiepiscopeall Presbyters*, and refractory people cannot but be so sensible, by their own sufferings, of the want of some principle of order, some band of unity, and some ground of due Authority among them, that they are forced to make use of some *Moderator*, *Chaire-man* or *Prolocutor*, as a kind of temporary *Pilot*, and arbitrary *Bishop*; there being no regular moving of popular bodies in Church or State without such an head or President (as the rudder of a ship,) whose order as it is usefull, so then most when it is fixed and confirmed with a valid power and venerable authority, which are the maine wheelles of all Government.

As for the *Sacramentall scrutinies* and other holy *severities* to be used in any part of *Christian Discipline*, with charity and discretion; however the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* preachers have very much sought in this point to *captate popular* applause, and exalt themselves above measure, as if they exacted farre greater rigors of preparatory sufficiency and sanctity, than the *Episcopall* Clergy ever did or do either require or practise;

Of Sacramentall scrutinies to be used.

Yet is this but either a *vapour*, or a fallacy, or a calumny, in respect of the constant judgement and generall practise of the best of those that were and are of the *Episcopall* judgement, and hold Communion with the Church of *England*. For these do (according to the pious and prudent appointment of the *Church of England*,) not onely profess,

tesse, but strictly injoyne, and seriously exact of others, as they practise themselves; First, *competency* of sound knowledge in the fundamentals of Religion, as to faith and obedience to God and man; which may be *saving*, though it be but plaine, and no lesse *sanctifying* and sincere, though it have lesse of that subtilty, curiosity and sublimity, which some preachers pretend to, and exact of their Seraphick Disciples, who must seem to fly before they can well go: Secondly, the Episcopall Clergy require pure hearts, good consciences, faith unfeigned, charity without dissimulation, an holy and orderly profession, and in summe, an unblamable life *becoming the Gospel*.

Cypr ep. 10.
& 16.

Profana facilitate
Sanctum
Christi corpus
profanare.

In cases of grosse *ignorance* and reall *scandall*, they abhorre and avoid, as much as any, to admit men (*profana facilitate*) with a profane easinesse, as St. *Cyprian* speaks, to the profaning of the Lords body and Blood. They do not knowingly and willingly cast *pearles before swine*, or *holy things to dogs*, as the same Father speaks. No, the learned and Godly Episcopall Ministers are and ever have been as zealously intent as any, to preach the *Gospel* plainly, powerfully, to all; to *Catechise* and instruct *diligently* the younger sort; to examine carefully the first candidates and expectants, before they are entred into the list or Catalogue of *Communicants*, or admitted to the Lords Supper, being self-examiners as to their faith, repentance, charity, sincerity; they exhort, admonish, comfort, reprove, yea suspend and refuse some, according to that power which their place and duty requires of them. Not that they love or affect to be either arbitrary, sole or supreme in their censures and suspensions or excommunications, well knowing both their own passionate *frailties*, and other mens touchy impatiencies; and therefore they desire and are glad to be guided and governed by others, as under authority, both to be asserted by, and responsible in all things to them as their lawfull *superiours*, to whom appeales properly may and ought in reason to be made either by themselves, or any of the people, in cases of Ecclesiastick injuries by excesses or defects.

As for *speciall grace* and effectuall inward conversion, which some men now so much urge as the onely mark of their Members and Disciples, the Episcopall Ministers do as earnestly pray for it, and zealously labour to effect it (as *workers* together with God) in peoples hearts, as any the most specious *Presbyterians* or *Independents*. They are heartily glad to find any signes or shewes of grace, much more any reall fruits and effects of *Gods Spirit* in Christians lives and deeds, as the most pregnant tokens of true *grace*, and the best grounds of the judgement of Charity: but they do not pretend to any spirit or gift of infallibly *discerning grace* in other mens hearts; nor do they affect either to make or to glory in *impossible scrutinies* into mens consciences; nor do they Pharisaically and pragmatically exercise *Magisteriall censures*, either alone or with others, in any consistory, conventicle or congregation of Elders, or Priests or People,

People, as to those inscrutable points of true grace, or of the Spirit of God in mens hearts, which is the secret of the Lord, conceiving that the visible polity and outward communion of the Church of Christ do not depend upon any such characters or discriminations of grace, (which are inward and invisible, known to none but Gods and a mans own spirit) but upon such a confession with the mouth, and profession in the outward conversation, as are both discernable by mans judgement of charity, and approvable both in reason and Religion, as sufficient grounds for Church-Communion, according to the example of Christ toward *Judas*, and of the Apostles toward *Simon Magus*, both which were admitted to visible Church-fellowship, to the Lords Supper and to Baptisme, not for the true grace they had, but for the outward confession and profession they made to believe in Jesus Christ and to embrace the Gospel.

1 Cor. 2. 10.
1 Joh. 4. 2, 13.
Rom. 10. 9,
10.

Whereas the inward grace is as easily pretended by specious *Hypocrites*, as it is believed by credulous Christians, when they list to comply with and flatter one another in the way of soft and formall expressions, or of false and affected Language; which may easily have God and Christ, grace and Spirit on mens tongues, when these are far from their hearts.

Act. 8. 13.

Da populo phalaras, lay aside the late fine words and flourishes used by some *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who would seem more precise and devout than all other preachers; come to solid truths, to holy lives, to good works, to self-denying and mortifications of potent lusts, as the best discoveries of gracious hearts; God forbid any of them should in these grand and costly realities, (whatever cheap formalities or phrases others affect) go beyond the practise and experience of worthy *Episcopall Divines*, and other Christians of their adherency and communion, who hardly believe that these very professors of such new modes of Religion, these exactors of new rigid experiments, as to inward grace, as if it were to be tried by mans day or Tribunal, do (in earnest) find themselves much improved in any Spirituall gifts, graces or comforts, since they peremptorily forsooke the Communion of the Church of England. In opposition to which they have had either no Sacraments for these twice 7. yeares, or onely after such a new way of partiall discriminations, as looks very like uncharitable schisme, censorious and imperious faction.

Divines of the *Episcopall persuasion* do indeed modestly and humbly content themselves with the Scripture discoveries and Primitive characters of *Saintship*, with what then first intituled Christians to a Christian visible communion or Church-fellowship as Saints in profession. They count it no shame to be sometimes charitably deceived as to true grace in others, but a great sin and shame to be uncharitably censorious, flatteringly confident of some, and needlessly severe to others. They see that the pretenders to be so great critics in this new way of trying either Ministers or Church-Members, are (many times) grossly and childishly abused by some mens crafty insinuations and pretensions; otherwhile they are unchristianly

1 Sam. 6.7.

*Facies singulorū
videmus, corda
scrutari non
possumus; de his
judicat occulto-
rum scrutator,
et to venturus,
et de arcanis
cordis judica-
tus.*
Cyp.ep 53.

christianly rigid, and incredulously severe against other mens sober professions and unblamable lives. They well know that mans eye can look no further than the outward appearance, the polished case of mens confessions & conversations, God onely looks into the Cabinet of mens hearts and consciences. They judge it a great pride and popular arrogancy in such pittifull men, (who were and are but very obscure Masters in Israel,) to set up this new court or inquisition of (*Καθίστησις*) Heart-discoverie, which is a very High-Commission indeed, yea a very high presumption, when poor men have no such Power, Authority or Commission given them from God, no precept or pattern in Scripture; where we know that the Master of the harvest (the blessed God) tolerates, as to mans Discipline, those to grow in the same field of his visible Church in this world, who differ as much in point of true grace, as wheat and tares do in their nature and worth. So that as the curiosity and confidence of Episcopall Divines is far lesse than that of those other preachers, so their candor, modesty and charity is much more becoming wise, grave and sober Ministers; whose care must be humbly to do that work which God hath required of them, and to leave his own operations, discoveries and judgements to his all-seeing eye and Almighty power, as St. Cyprian expresseth the sense and practise of Christian Bishops and Presbyters in his time, as to Church-scrutiny and examination.

The strictnesse of worthy Episcopall Divines is such in things that are rationally, grave, wise, and truly religious, that no man exceeds their desires, designs, endeavours and principles, in soundnesse and diligence of preaching, in the warmth and discretion of praying, in the sanctity and solemnity of celebrating Christian mysteries, in the serious dispensation of Ministeriall power, and the usefull execution of Church-censures or Discipline, even to fasting, prayers, teares, penitentiall mortifications in themselves, and due restitutions to others in cases of injury, so for reconciliation and some speciall works of bounty and charity, which may testify a self-revenge, and most satisfaction to others.

They are ambitious to excell in nothing more than in well-doing, and patient suffering, in all the waies and offices of Piety, Humility, Obedience, Peace and Charity; yea such is their moderation, concession, and recession from their wonted practise and indulged privileges or power by mans law, that they not onely approve, but desire the joynt counsell and concurrence of grave and worthy Presbyters in all things of Ecclesiastick Ministry and publick concernment; yea they allow Christian people their sober Liberty, as of presence and conscience, to of objection and approbation, in all proceedings where they are interessed; that they may either fairely testify their full satisfaction, or else produce the grounds of their dissatisfaction, in all things that concern their advantages in Religion. All which the glorious Primate of Armagh testifies in his late printed Treatise of reconciling Episcopall and Synodical power in the Church-Government.

If

If the earnest pleaders for Presbytery, and the sticklers for Independency, which are the professed extirpators of Episcopacy, had the same equanimity and calmness in them as the *moderate Episcopall men have*, I do not see what could hinder them from giving the *right hand* of fellowship to each other: certainly it cannot be the real *concernments* of Christs glory, and the good of Christian soules, but particular factions, oblique biases, and some partiall popular respects, which continue such mis-understandings, distances and animosities between the Episcopall Divines, the Presbyterian Preachers, and the Independent Teachers; who thus severed from each other lose all the great advantages and blessings which they and the whole *Church* might enjoy, if they could wisely, humbly and meekly close in one subordination and harmonious order, as did all Christian *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons* and *People* in *Primitive times*, of which *St. Ignatius, Irenaus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, St. Jerom*, with many other writers, give us a *thousand* clear instances and happy experiences.

The inordinate heates of the chief patrons and ring-leaders, as to any of these new waies and *parties*, would soon allay and coole, if their *petty policies*, secular interests, self-seekings and *popular complacencies* were wholly laid aside; if these wedges were once pulled out of mens hearts, their hands would soon close together: *Momentary advantages* would soon give way and *vanish*, if all Ministers were possessed with that great and good *Spirit*, which directs all believers to things that are eternall, chiefly looking at Gods glory, Christs honor, the Churches peace, and the salvation of all mens soules. Petty spirits, opinions and projects are the pests of the Church and of Christian Religion; these betray it to the enemies of it, such as seek to abase it, to divide it, and to destroy it.

Nnn

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

True Episcopacy stated and represented to its Antagonists.



And here, because I suspect and see that the designe of the new *Associating* parties seems chiefly to unite *Presbyterian* and *Independent* principles and interests together, that Presbyters and people (as *Teaching* and *Ruling Elders*) might fully possess themselves of all Church-Power, (though to their own confusion and this Churches desolation) excluding all Ministers of Episcopall principles, pleas and perswasions, further than they list humbly to submit to truckle under and comply with those Ministers who resolve to ordain, to censure and suspend, to excommunicate and anathematize, to dictate and regulate all things in Religion, without owning any authority in, or making any ingenuous offer or addresse to, the venerable *Bishops* yet surviving in *Engl.* or to those Divines who are still conform to the Church of *England*; but all the claimes and interests of Episcopacy must be either smothered, or stubbered over, or shuffled into the *meteor* of a moderator, and the *phantasme* of a Prolocutor; as if there never had been, nor yet were, any thing considerable either in the persons of these *Bishops* and Ministers, or in those many strong pleas and cleare allegations of Scripture-pattern, and divine prescription of Apostolick practise and injunction, of Catholick imitation and perswasion, in all the consent of ancient Councils, Fathers and Historians, yea in the judgment of all the best Christians, Presbyters, and people of old, nay nor in the confessions, votes and desires of the most learned & pious *Reformers* both at home and abroad, that either enjoy *Episcopacy*, or feel their want of it, and heartily wish for it; but all must be slighted as childish or popish, as obsolete or ridiculous, which is brought and believed by so many excellent persons, in behalf of Episcopall eminency and authority:

Yea, as if all the losses, sorrowes and sufferings of so many pious, learned, reverend and most excellent *Bishops* in *England*, (together with the miseries of many orderly and worthy Clergy-men that were subject to them and the laws) were so just, that they were never to be pittied, nor any way relieved; as if all the insolencies of many Presbyters, and the petulancies of many people, were highly to be commended, as great helps and furtherances to a new *Reformation* of Religion; as if there were nothing of uncharitableness, oppression, revenge, sacriledg and exorbitancy, so much as to be thought on or repented by any one of them, no lesse than complained of by their Episcopall *brethren*, (who are become their enemies because they have told them the *truth*, and charge them with inconstancy, immoderation, popularity, schisme, faction, sedition and the like;) so stiffe and unrelenting are some Antiepiscopall men to this day, who after all these representations of truth wipe their mouthes, and harden their hearts, as if there were no error, evill or transport in their hands or hearts, alwaies aggravating by a vile and vulgar oratory the rigors

gors and tyrannies of some *Bishops*, as if all were to be blamed, none to be commended; and highly magnifying the zeal themselves have for a thorough *Reformation*, that is, that they might freely and fully gratifie their own and peoples ambitions, by setting *Episcopacy* and all *Bishops* quite beside the saddle, on purpose to make way for themselves, who are for the most part as fit to governe Churches alone as apes are to build houses.

I crave leave in order to promote a faire and firme *accommodation*, (with all ingenuous freedom and candor) to make some more particular application of my desire and designs, to those *Ministers* of the Presbyterian and Independent waies, who have opposed their faces, sharpened their tongues or pens, and hardened their hearts most against all *Episcopacy*, even in the most innocent, usefull, regular and moderate constitution of it.

I meane that *Primitive* order and *paternall residency* which was universally acknowledged to be eminently in one *President*, as *Bishop* or chief Pastor over many *Presbyters* in his Diocese, after the pattern of the 12. *Apostles*, who were by Christs appointment above the 70. and so their declared *successors*, as *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Archippus*, & those others who are called the Angels of the 7. *Asian Churches*, with many others to whom they derived, not onely their example and practical *constitution*, but their *Authority* and *Power* Ecclesiastical as is evident by the *Canons* and *Rules* set forth, not onely in ancient Councils, but in the *Epistles* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the settling and managing of Church order, Discipline and Government, in such a way as clearly gives not to any consistory, or company of *Presbyters* and people, but to one man a *Paramount* Authority, as *Bishop* or Superiour, both in *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction* above others as his *inferiours*, and so *subordinate* to his spirituall power so far as to reprove, examine, censure, reject, &c.

All which being to me immoveable and immutable foundations for the establishing of *Episcopall* presidency (as the onely *succession* of that ordinary *Apostolick* power and authority which is necessary to be alwaies in the Church of Christ) they do make me dayly by these considerations more restive and lesse compliant to any new waies or *Associatings* than perhaps otherwise I should be, both by the sociableness of my temper, and my earnest desire for another way of happy union among Ministers of worth and moderation.

This *uncorrespondency*, to which I am upon those grounds compelled, is with the greater regret to me, because I know the learning, the industry, the zeal, the piety, the ingenuity, the potency of some of those (my dissenting brethren) in their preaching, writing, praying and living. I am charitably perswaded of many of their *sincerity*, in aiming at Gods Glory, and at the purity of holy Ministrations. I do not see wherein many of them differ from the best *Episcopall Divines*, ancient or modern, as to any main matter of Religion in doctrine or duty. Nor can I find any reason yet alledged by any of them, sufficient to justify that pertinacious *distance* and *defiance* which

which (of later yeares onely) they have taken up against Episcopacy, meerly upon the account of jealousy and *impatience* to choose and admit a learned, grave and worthy *Bishop*; as a fixed Father or constant Governour and Grave Moderator, authoritatively to preside among them in their severall grand distributions or *Dioceses*, after that order and eminency which were most comely for them, and most unquestionable, as to the fixing and completing of Church-order and Government, to all sober Christians satisfaction.

I will not tax or suspect the soberest of my *Presbyterian* or *Independent* brethren of such pride and arrogance, as can endure no superiour or chief among them; I rather conceive it was a *Sympathetick impulse* at first from those *Scottish* motions and pretensions, which swerved them not onely from the former good constitution of the *Church of England*, to which they heretofore very orderly and happily submitted, but also from their conformity to the *Catholick Church* in that point, to which I believe their judgement heretofore, and inclination now, may incline and lead them, as apparently best for their publick and *private interests*. Some are prone to suspect, that the best of them did not heretofore submit so humbly and heartily to their Lawfull Superiours and Governours in the *Church*, as in duty and conscience, by the lawes of God and man they ought to have done: others challenge them for want as of piety and honesty, so of Christian charity, yea and of common humanity or *compassion*; for their forwardnesse and fiercenesse to *undo* all *Bishops* and all dignified *Clergy-men*, at least for their ready consent to their utter ruine, holding the garments of those that stoned them to death; never so much as praying heartily for them while they were in power, nor yet pitying them in their miscarriages or calamities, nor so far interceding for or listning to any just moderation, which was oft proposed and offered, as might have been not more happy for the *Bishops*, than for themselves as *Presbyters*, yea for this whole *Church* and all Christian people in *England*.

I am willing to hope that many *Ministers* mutations began with good *affections*, and were carried on at first with principles of *sincerity* and *zeal*, though not with that knowledge, meekness and wisdom which was requisite. But to many of them that are now the most haughty, stiffe and obstinate against all *accommodating* with *Episcopacy*, I cannot but still appeale, whether they do not in their consciences find that either at first or afterward, some *secular advantages* and private hopes did not a little warp and sway their inclinations to *novelties*; whether they felt not the secret, but dissembled *strokes* of discontent, anger, envy, revenge, popularity, ambition, feigned jealousies, inordinate affectations of liberty, exciting and animating them to the utter *extirpation* of *Episcopacy*; whether they did not by a self-conceit generally imagin themselves, not onely jointly but severally, as fit and able to *govern the Church* in the whole or in parcels, as any, yea all the *Bishops* in *England*; whether any of them do believe the case of *Episcopacy* to have ever been fully

heard,

heard, *freely discussed*, and impartially stated, by the peaceable wisdom and piety of this nation; whether many of these Ministers, (as *Politicians* and Statesmen) did not rather comply with the streame and vogue of times running fiercely against *Episcopacy*, than with their own clear convictions in reason, law, scripture, antiquity, conscience; whether they kept that equanimity and moderation in all things of this nature, which became wise and good men of an Evangelicall Spirit and temper; or were not biassed, yea transported by something that was popular and *sinister*; whether they do not think that the violence and precipitancy of some of their examples, was beyond all solid arguments to drive many well-meaning *Ministers* and *People* to such heady and hot petitionings against *Episcopacy*, and to such pittiless *Antipathies* against all the most excellent *Bishops*, which were then, and still are *England*. Last of all, I appeal to all sober Ministers, whether they do not think that *Episcopacy*, as now it is stripped and devested of all secular greatnesse, and reduced to Primitive poverty, might be as safely *restored*, as any of their crude and new *Associations* in their severall stations and formations, with their mutable moderators and temporary Presidents, either in greater or lesser Circles, which are but the thin parings, small shreds, and weaker shives of *Episcopacy*: whether they do not in their *consciences* think that some righteous and just compensation ought to be done to good *Bishops*, and to the case of true *Episcopacy*, which have suffered so hard measure a long time now in *England*; that so we might not in this nation (beyond any place in the Christian world) cast *eternall* and *indeleble reproches*, not onely upon this Church, since its first plantation, but upon the Catholick Church of Christ in all ages and places, as if wilfully (for ignorantly they could not) they had from the beginning swerved from the Apostles prescript and example, in the Order and Government, Discipline and Authority which was to be in the Church of Christ.

Phil. 4. 5.

I will not suspect any honest-hearted or worthy *Minister* of having been so base and sacrilegious in his *Spirit*, as therefore to cry down *Episcopacy* root and branch, new and old, good and bad, out of secret hopes of *filthy lucre* and secular glory, expecting some benefit by plundering the personall estates of *Bishops*, or by sequestering the revenues of their Churches, or gaging to buy at last some good peniworths of them. These *temptations* were so black and base, so sordid and *Plutonian*, that they may not be suspected of any *Ministers* or other men, but those whose notorious actions have put them beyond all suspicion.

Presuming therefore in charity, that those precipitant alterations in Church-Government, which have produced so sad consequences and calamities in this Church, were from principles of honesty and purposes of integrity in the best *Ministers* on all sides at first; and finding now that the itch of former novelties is past, and the pleasure of Ministers scratching one another is now very little, because of the rawnesse and forenesse of all their common conditions, be-

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sides the distractions and confusions of ordinary people; and foreseeing that this painfull posture is not onely very grievous to all honest Protestants, but dangerous to this Church and Nation, if they be not speedily healed; Give me further leave to ask of the greatest *Zelots* and sticklers against all *Episcopacy*, and the admirers of either *Presbytery* or *Independency*, whether (after they reflect upon the rough meanes used, and the sad events which have followed the design of extirpating *Episcopacy*, and introducing any other waies) they do still believe, as was pretended, that either the *God of ord.*, or the *Saviour* of his Church, who is the *Bishop of our soules*, and the exemplary Institutor of *Episcopall eminency* in his chief Apostles, for Power and Authority over all parts of his Church, (who accordingly transmitted their ordinary power and superintendency to others, as Bishops, or successive or minor Apostles in all Churches,) whether (I say) they do in earnest believe that God, or Christ, or the Apostles, ever were or are such enemies to all *Episcopall order* and presidenti- all eminency as hath been vulgarly clamored and passionately pretended; so that now after 1600. yeares prescription and succession of *Episcopacy* in all Churches, God is not to be pleased unlesse *Episcopacy* be extirpated, and *Presbytery* or *Independency*, as waies of parity and popularity, be brought in. Can they sufficiently wonder at the patience of God and our Saviour Christ, that for 1500. yeares bare with *Episcopacy*, yea continued it in the peaceable possession of Church Government, as to the Primacy and priority of it, both in Order and Authority, without any notable check from any Martyr or holy man. Tis strange that *Aarons Rod* should never bud before, nor *Presbytery* challenge its Divine right in all that time, nor Christ ever enjoy the freedome of his Kingdom and Scepter, till these last and worst times.

Do they in earnest think that no Scripture, no word of God, old or new, no precepts and paternes of the Apostles, no Primitive practise, no true testimonies of Fathers, Councils and credible historians do any way favour a right *Episcopacy*, further than they were misunderstood, warped and wrested by all antiquity from the mind of God, the will of Christ, and the way of the Apostles, onely to gratifie the ambition of some few Bishops and Clergy-men, who made way for *Popes* and *Antichrists*? Tis strange all should conspire thus to eject Christ from his Kingdom and Government, or to abuse the whole Christian world, from holy *Polycarp*, *Polycrates* and *Ignatius* his daies, all Primitive Bishops, yea from St. *Johns* dayes, and yet none detect or decry the fraud, none persevere in the first way, if it were, as is now pretended; Independent or Presbyterian in the many shepherds or many sheep, without any prime pastors and Governours among them as Bishops.

Yea further I demand, whether their divisions, at least into such a *Dichotomy* as they now are in, be not a just jealousy to sober men, that both of these novelties may be in the wrong, since both of them cannot be in the right; whether regular *Episcopacy* may not yet

yet be as the *virtue* or *medium* between these vicious *extremes* which are made up either of parity & popularity, or of Tyrannick and Papall Episcopacy; whether they now find that either of these new waies have any thing so much to plead out of Scripture for themselves, as Episcopacy hath, or the thousandth part so much out of any good *Antiquity*; whether they be not *pure novelties* of later *invention* and unprosperous use, hardly yet formed, and never well settled in this or any other famous or Reformed Church that enjoyed its just freedom, without the oppression of either sacrilegious Princes, or heady and mutinous people.

Can any learned and sober *Minister*, either Presbyterian or Independent, now flatter himself, that there is no *light* or *shadow*, no shew of Reason or Religion, of Scripture or Antiquity for *Episcopacy*? Can they any longer wonder (without ignorance or impudence) that learned and moderate *Episcopall Divines* are so firme to their first principles and perswasions, which are not easily answered, or with any reason overthrown by any ancient example? at least Episcopall men are very excusable in adhering to their ancient and Primitive way, till they find these novell *opposites* to Episcopacy, and rivals to each other, so well reconciled by a firme *Associating* together as may wholly supply the Office, Power and place of *Episcopacy*; which yet they have not done as to the Order, Polity, Peace and Uniry of the Church, or to the satisfaction of the most learned and godly men at home and abroad.

Where, I beseech you (O my good and *gracious brethren* of Presbyterian and Independent principles,) where do you think were the Eyes, the Learning, the Wits, the Hearts, the Honesty, the Conscience of all holy men in all Churches before your time? Can you prefer the *factions* *fancies* of one *Aerius*, or *Acolythius*, or *Ischyas* of old, before all the famous *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Councils*? Can you honestly plead *St. Jerom* for your Presbytery, till you reconcile him with himself, who is plaine and punctuall for *Episcopall* eminency, and onely pleads (at most) for the joynt Counsell and assistance of *Presbyters* (in which rank himself was;) which I and all sober men do earnestly desire, as best and safest for the Church, yea and for Bishops too. Shall one *David Blondel*, or *Walo Messalinus* (that is, *Salmasius*) men indeed of excellent Learning, yet obliged (as *Pet. Moulin* confesseth of himself in his *Epistolary* dispute with the most Learned Bishop *Andrewes*) to plead what might be for the enforced stations, and necessitated conditions of those Presbyterian Churches with which they were then in actuall fellowship and Church-Communion, shall (I say) these two men, which are the greatest props for *Presbytery* (who yet are allowers of *Episcopacy*, though not as absolutely necessary, yet as best for the Polity and Government of the Church, where they may be had) be put into the balance against all the ancient and modern assertors of Episcopacy? or shall the votes of the late Assembly be a just counterpoise against all the chief Reformed *Divines* at home and abroad, as *Calvin*, *Peter Martyr*,

* Postquā com-
perisset Pres-
byterialem sta-
tum circa Epis-
copalem in iis
ecclesiis consti-
tere non
posse, &c.
Vide Salmisii
vitam, p. 50.
Consulebat
Episcopos non
ominus tollen-
dos, &c.

tyr, Bucer, Zanchy, Chemnitius, Gerard and many others, who are all well known to be for Episcopacy and *Bishops*, if they will be *Fathers* and *Fanors* of the true Christian and Reformed Religion, as *Bishops* in Engl. were? Did not *Deodate* from Geneva, & * *Salmasius* from *Leiden*, write *hortatory* (though concealed) letters to the chief *sticklers* (of late) for *Presbytery* in *England*, advising them to acquiesce in and bless God for such a regulated *Episcopacy* as had obtained and might best be retained in *England*? Have not others (abroad) much deplored their want of such *Episcopacy* and such *Bishops* as *England* happily enjoyed since the reformation and ever before?

Can the late Scotized *Assembly* modestly pretend to better light, clearer spectacles, more discerning eyes or more honest hearts for Religion and due *Reformation*, for Christs honor and this Churches happiness, than all the ancient *Councils* or the modern *Convocations* and Nationall Synods of *Engl.*? Or can it now at last seem either an unreasonable expectation in *Episcopall Ministers*, or an unconscientious condescension in those of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* parties, to turne their *Extemporary Presidents* or *Momentary Moderators* into fixed and deserving *Bishops*? can it be an hard matter for them to conforme to uniforme Antiquity, who have so long gratified various novelty? What great matter were it for them so far to satisfie the consciences of *Episcopall men*, yea and the interests of all sober *Ministers*, as not to suffer any further *Innovation*, or longer abscission, or total interruption, or final abruption to befall the Catholick Order and Authority of *Episcopacy* in this Church? the restoring of which would no way injure their own true interests, as *Presbyters* or patrons for the people, who might both have and enjoy all those ingenuous Liberties and Priviledges which they justly claim, short of an absolute, sole and soveraigne power in Church-Government, which is never to be trusted either in common peoples or common *Presbyters* hands. I ask these *Acephalists*, who will indure no head but that on their own shoulders, whether the City of *London* is worse governed, because it hath a *Lord Maior* among and above the *Aldermen* and *Common Council*; whether the *Colledges* in the Universities, or the Companies and Fraternities in Cities, are lesse happily ordered, because they have *Presidents* or *Masters* and *Wardens* in them and over them; whether they think it were better for an *Army* to have no *Colonels* or *Commanders* in chief, but all military *Counsels* and transactions should be managed in war and peace by a meer *Democratick* or popular way, as every souldier fancied his own valour and ability. I doubt not but in all these parts and proportions of good Government, sober men stand convinced that they are then best, when *Counsel* and *Order* make up the Majesty and completeness of Authority, by subordination of all and the *suffrages* of many joyned to the eminency of one worthy person in their severall precincts, stations and jurisdictions. Nor can I think that chief Governours can be hereticall, irrationall, irreligious or Antichristian onely in the point of Church-Government, as if this *polity* and *fraternity*

nity beyond any other were exclusive or incapable of that order and eminency which is the Crown and completion of Government, which is used in all other Societies, and ever was so in the Churches of Christ.

In order therefore to draw the designed plat-forme of *Ecclesiastical Communion* from the novelty, partiality and popular policies of *Associations*, to its just proportions and due dimensions, my last *quare* or propofall to my *brethren* the *Ministers* is, whether all things considered in cool thoughts and consciencious tempers, it were not worthy of all Learned, Godly and sober *Ministers*, first to unite themselves in their judgements, counsells and desires, with all singleness of hearts and mutual brotherly kindness; and then humbly to crave leave of the civill *powers* to permit them, to cast themselves into such prudent and orderly combinations for Church-Government as might best suite, as with the peace and prosperity of this Church, so with the *Primitive* and *Catholick* way of Christs Church; thereby satisfying all honest desires and pious interests of all considerable parties: That neither *Bishops* should be wholly ejected as superfluous, nor yet Presbyters despised as meer ciphers, nor Christian people any way oppressed as slaves or beasts; who having each of them their severall honest interests and just uses, will better attaine their desires in an happy conjuncture than in any separations, which first weaken them apart, then destroy them all.

Nor may this *model* of *Church-union* and *Government* be thought a meer *Idea* or *Utopian fancy*; experience of all times, and the best times for Religion as Christian and reformed, that ever England or any Nation enjoyed, assures us, that it is not onely *feasible*, but every way most *commendable*, as most agreeable to every honest interest, and indeed every way completest, for the glory of God, the honor of Christ, the good of this Church, and the Communion with all other either Christian or Reformed. For by this meanes the scandall and shame of late Schismes would be removed, the ancient Ecclesiastical *succession* continued; the grand power of Ordination will be neither various nor defective; neither innovated nor altered; the *Ministeriall Office* and *Authority* will be most authentick and undoubted; the minds of all Learned and sober men will be satisfied, their heads, hearts, tongues and hands united, Christian charity and brotherly Communion best restored; the reverence and Majesty of Religion, also the honor and dignity of the Ministry as Christian and Reformed, would be mightily recovered; the Peace and Unity of this famous and well-reformed Church would be established, and the tranquillity of the Nation highly settled and confirmed upon the best foundation of peace that can be among mankind.

In all which things we have and do on all sides so far extremely suffer, as we differ by such unreasonable distances and uncharitable defiances, first among Ministers, which are presently followed with all disorder, lukewarmnesse, irreligion, profaneness, arrogancy, Atheism, Affectation and Faction among the people in *England*, chiefly, as I

conceive, upon this account. The needlesse variating, shifting and changing of that Primitive plat-forme, that Apostolick and Catholick order and succession of Ecclesiasticall *Authority* and *Ministeriall* power in this Church, which hath ever been owned with religious reverence and conscience in *Engl.* ever since it was Christian, preserved as sacred by the most *pious* Princes, honored as Divine by the most Religious and reformed Parliaments, prospered by the speciall benignity and grace of God, peaceably enjoyed by all devout, judicious and humble Christians, to the unspeakable comfort of their souls living and dying, when they knew who were their *Bishops*, *Pastors* and spirituall Fathers, owning them with all due respect and love as in Christs stead, submitting to them for conscience sake, as to the *Lord*, and receiving from them good instructions, just reproofes, holy comforts, and heavenly Mysteries, not as from man, but God, after the rule of the Scriptures, and the example of the best Christians in all ages, who looked upon Episcopacy or the *Government* of the Church as fixed, completed and exercised chiefly by Bishops assisted with worthy Presbyters, not onely as a *book* of a larger volume, greater print and fairer binding than *Presbytery* or *Independency* (that is, the sole power of Presbyters or people by themselves) but they looked upon the Episcopall eminency as having more in it of Apostolick power and Ecclesiasticall Authority, both in point of *ordination* and *jurisdiction*, than is either in Presbyters or people by themselves: *Bishops* and *Presbyters* being as the eyes and hands, which are not more *members* of the body than the legs and feet, yet they are the more noble parts, and have more of publick use and virtue as to inspection, direction and operation, for the common good of all parts in the body.

No wonder then if the honor of all *Religion* be much abated, if the renown of this *Reformed* Church be thus abased; no wonder that *Presbytery* it self is so baffled, and *Independency* despised; no wonder that all the Office, Power and Authority of *Ministers*, together with their *persons*, be reduced to such a low ebb, and almost quite exhausted, when Bishops, the grand *Cisternes* and chief *Conduites* of all Ecclesiasticall Orders and Ministeriall Authority (as derived from Christ and his Apostles) are not onely bruised and crackt, but utterly broken, cut off and cast away; whom (yet) no *Presbyter* or *Independent* of any learning or forehead can deny actually to have been in all ages used and esteemed as the constant successors and immediate substitutes of the Apostles, first invested with that power by the *Apostles* themselves, after their *decease* chosen by the Presbyters, and after consecrated by other *Bishops*, to be as the prime receptacles, *conservators* and conveyers of all Ecclesiasticall Power and Ministeriall Authority: not onely as *Teachers* of Divine truths, preachers of the Gospell, and dispensers of holy Mysteries in common with *Presbyters*, but as chief Fathers, Pastors and Rulers of those *larger flocks* which constituted those famous ancient Churches, which were not limited to the bounds of one

one family, or one congregation, or one little parish (in which one Preacher or Presbyter may in ordinary duties suffice,) but they extended to such ample combinations, as contained large Cities and their Territories, in which were many thousands of Christians, many congregations, and many Presbyters, who all made but one Church or polity Ecclesiasticall under one chief Pastor or Bishop, residing with the Presbyters at first in the chief City: afterward these were fixed to particular parishes or villages by the care of the Bishops.

Without whose authority and consent nothing of consequence was done by any in the publick managing of Religion, without the just brand and censure of *Schismaticall arrogancy*: it being ever judged, that Bishops had derived to them an higher degree of Apostolick power and Church-jurisdiction, than ever was or could be in any one or many Presbyters or people without them, who could not regularly nor never did (unblamably) ordaine, of themselves or by their own sole Authority, any Ministers, or exercise the censures of the Church in a plenary and absolute jurisdiction, without deriving their power from their respective Bishops, without whom and against whom few ever acted in any age of the Church; and never any good Christian refused, subjection to and communion with their lawfull and orthodox Bishops; no nor did ever any Hereticks or Schismaicks proceed to such extravagancy as to reject and disclaime all Episcopall order, till of later yeares: whose example hath little in it to make it compared with, much lesse preferred before, Catholick customes and Primitive patternes of all ancient Churches, what ever glosses the wit of men, or their craft, or their successes, or their Godly and necessary pretences, may put upon their variations and schismes.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XII

Objections against Episcopacy discussed.

1. Object.
From the sameness of their Names, Bishop and Presbyter signifying but one office and power.



It is not now my design either to spin out, or to wind and summe up that long and tedious *thread* of dispute, which hath been so much snarled and entangled of late yeares in *England* by popular pens, or cleared and unfolded by more able, learned, and impartiall Writers. Who is not weary now and ashamed of those thread-bare allegations drawn from the sameness or promiscuous use of *Names*; which we know vary with time, and must yield to use and custome: as if *Apostle, Evangelist, Bishop, Presbyter, Pastor, Preacher, Teacher* and *Ruler*, (they may adde *Deacon*, and *Servant*, and *Minister*) were all one in the equivalency of their *power, order* and *authority* in the Church. For any one, nay all these *names* are in the latitude of their sense given to some one man or officer in the Church, yet in the more strict, precise and *Emphatick* sense, they denote different gifts, orders, authorities, dispensations and functions (as well as degrees) in the Church of Christ; which did never confound *Deacons* with *Presbyters*, nor *Presbyters* with *Bishops*, nor all with the *Apostles*; because the chief *Apostles* (who contained in their ample authority and commission all *Ecclesiasticall powers* eminently under Christ) are sometimes called *Presbyters*, *Compresbyters*, and also *Deacons* or *Ministers* of Jesus Christ, and servants of the Church, deriving all these powers in their severall degrees and orders to *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* after them. To the first (as to a lesser sort of *Apostles*, but chief *Rulers* or *Overseers* in the Church) they gave the eminent and peculiar power of *ordaining* *Presbyters*, and exercising spirituall *jurisdiction* over them, as is evident in the power that *Timothy* and *Titus* had given them by Commission from the great *Apostle St. Paul*, who certainly in this was conforme to all other *Apostles* in their severall *Bishopricks* or *Distributions*. To the second, as *Presbyters*, (or a lesser kind of *Bishops* and *Apostles* over private and particular congregations) they gave power to *preach* the *Gospel*, *administer* *Sacraments*, and assist their chief *Pastor* or *Bishop* in governing the Church according as they were required and appointed to their severall duties and charges. But nowhere in Scripture (that I see) do we find either the sole or chief power of *ordaining Ministers*, or of exercising any *Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction* over them by correction, or rejection, given to any one or more *Presbyters*, as such, unlesse men list for ever to play the children, and cavill with the identity or sameness of the names used of old; which calls *Apostles Presbyters*, as a word of honor, and *Presbyters Bishops*, as overseers, and all of them *Deacons*, as servants to Christ and the Church, and all may be called *Apostles* too in some sense, as sent by Christ on his work.

Which *Crambe* is so fulsome a (*λογωμαχία*) cavilling about words, to confound all good sense and order, that all sober men are now weary

weary of it, when they clearly see that all ages and actions of the Catholick Church have sufficiently declared, beyond any fallacy of identity as to Names and titles, the reall and actual differences of persons and duties, or offices, to which words may (at first) be indifferently applied without implying any such confusion of places and powers in the Church, any more than when the name of ruler is applyed, to *supream* and subordinate Magistrates, or when the name of *Officer* is given to Corporalls, Lieutenants, Captaines, Colonells and Generalls, or that of *Alderman* to such as are so by age, or office, or estate; just as if one should obstinately maintain that the petty *Constables* of every parish, the High Constables of every Hundred, and the Lord high Constable of *England* or *France*, were the same things, as to office, power and honor, because the same name of *Constable* is applyed to all of them.

It may with as much reason be urged, that every *Master of Arts* in a *Colledg*, and the *Master of the Colledg* are the same in office, place and power; or that every one who is called Father by nature, age, affinity, adoption, merit, or relation, either *Domestick*, *Civil* or *Ecclesiasticall*, presently may challenge the same Authority over us; and the same Duty or Obedience from us, as our naturall parents have and do expect, because all are called *Fathers*. So we shall have many Gods and Lords, to justifie the Polytheisme of the heathens, because there are many that are in Scripture called Gods and Lords, as the Apostle tells us. 1 Cor. 10.

These Sophisticall *equivocations* from names and words, have been indeed the *bushes* or *thickers*, the *borrowes* and *refuges* a long time of those men who aimed to bring in all factions, innovations and confusions into this and other Churches, onely under such empty colours and fallacious pretentions, out of all which they have been lately so stripped & ferreted by many learned & unanswerable assertors of Episcopacy in its just presidency and authority, that they are now naked and ridiculous to all sober spectators, who see that all the judgement and practice of antiquity, besides the Scriptures analogy, is so clear and distinct against all their petty cavillings and popular levellings, that the reall differences of the powers, orders, degrees and offices in the Church, (as begun by Christ, exercised by the Apostles, also continued in that method and series through all ages,) are not lesse evident than their peevishnesse and pertinacy are, who list to urge the first indifferency or latitude of words, against the after and evident distinctions of things declared and confirmed by the constant judgement and practice of all Churches; which is (in my judgement) the best and surest interpreter and distinguisher of what ever seems wrapped up, or any way obscured and confused in Scripture expressions; otherwaies we must with the Papists own as many Sacraments and Mysteries as these words are applyed to in Scripture, either in the *Greek* or *Latine*. Presbyters might well enough be then called *Bishops* in a generall and lower sense; when there were so many Apostles as chief *Bishops* above them: which

Name

Name of Apostle the modesty of after-Bishops refusing, they contented themselves with the peculiar title of Bishops, and confined that of *Presbyter* to that second order or degree of Clergy-men, as that of *Deacon* to the third, which yet in their latitude are applied to Bishops and Apostles themselves.

I know there have been many things speciously urged for *Presbytery*, and odiously against *Episcopacy*; all which have been so abundantly answered, that it is time they were forgotten, and all enmity buried with them. My aime in this *pacificatory* addresse to all worthy *Ministers*, is not to revive the cavils and disputes, but to *reconcile* all interests, to compose all differences, and to satisfie all demands. Onely, because I know there is no closing or glewing of pieces together with *firmnesse*, where there is not first made an evennesse and smoothnes on all sides, for their apt meeting; I shall here further endeavour fairly to take away some remaining roughnesse, swelling and *protuberancy*, which possibly may be still in some sober mens minds, as great hinderances of the desired *closure* and composition of all sides.

Obj. Secondly
that Presby-
ters did chuse
and empower
their Bishops
of old.

I know it is further urged by some, that every *Presbyter* singly, and much more *socially*, (that is, in a joynt body and *Associate fraternity*) may be rationally thought to have the full power and divine authority of a *Bishop*, to all ends, offices and purposes, since it is well known in all antiquity (as *St. Jerome* tells us,) and it is confessed by all *Episcopall men*, that Presbyters as such primitively chose their *respective Bishops*, as at *Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria*, (from *S. Marks* time) & in other places: so that Bishops may seem primarily to receive all their *authority* and *eminency* from Presbyters, who certainly can conferre no more upon any of *Bishop*, than is radically, seminally and eminently in themselves, as a superiour *Magistrate* that nominates an inferiour or a *Corporation* that chooseth a Major or chief officer, or as *Fellowes* of a *Colledge* who choose a Master or President over them, or as an *army* (which is *St. Jeromes* instance) who choose their *Imperator* or *Generall*. From this ancient and well-known priviledge of *Presbyters* to choose their respective *Bishops*, many conclude their joynt power at least to be equall to any *Bishops*, yea superiour to them, as causall and efficient, insomuch that they may, if they please, exercise it apart from, and wholly without any *Bishop*, by choosing none to be over them or among them, but serving their occasionall meetings with a temporary Moderator rather than a constant Superintendent.

Ans.

To this it is easily answered, That however Presbyters of old did, and of right (as I conceive) ought, by the leave and permission of Christian Princes, to choose and appove the persons of their *Bishops*, as being the fittest men in the Church to judge of a *Bishops* sufficiencies for that place and charge, yet it no way followes that any *Bishop* hath his *Spiritual* or *Ecclesiasticall* power from them, as the original of it, any more than of his temporall Barony and revenues, to which he is admitted by the Presbyters election of him; but

but only he is by their *election* and comprobation duly admitted, and regularly enabled to exercise that *power*, whose roote (as that of Presbyters) rise and foundation is from a far higher principle and greater authority: Just as the *Fellowes* of a *Colledge* choose the Master, President or Warden, at least they admit and accept of him to the possession, enjoyment and use of that power, which is not in them joyntly or singly without their *Master*; nor yet is it derived from them to the *Master*, but he hath it from the first Founders Will, and the *Statutes* or *Customes* of the *Colledg*. In like manner, the *chief Magistrate* of any *City* or *Corporation*, though he be chosen by the Commons or Fraternities in it to his chief place and office, yet his *power* and *jurisdiction* is not from them, but from that *Charter* or *Grant* which gave the first constitution to that *power* and *polity*. So in an *Army*, *Officers* may choose their *Generall* to a power above them, which he enjoys and exerciseth beyond what any one or all of them hath right unto, or any capacity to use; yet doth that power accrew to him from those principles of Right, Reason, Order, Polity and Authority, which is derived and vested in him by the suffrage or consent of many, who have right and reason thus to advise for their common order and safety, by preferring one above themselves; by whose suffrages and consents, as by the Suns beames united in the centre of a burning-glasse, a greater heat and luster of authority is raised, than is in any one or many beames scattered and divided.

By vertue of which principles of reason, order and polity, as these other civil instances, which act by their severall *Charters* and *Statutes*, are neither left at liberty to choose or not choose any to be their chief *Magistrate* or *Governour*; nor yet may they in right reason or law exercise that paramount power without him, but they are bound in conscience and duty, as well as by custome and charter, to choose such a chieftane, and so to invest him in that power paramount above them; yet do they not give the power to that elect person, but the person to that power which was settled before them.

So in the *Church of Christ*, *Presbyters* of old did freely choose (indeed) their *Bishops*, at least they consented afterward to accept of him whom the Prince, or possibly the people in some cases, nominated as a worthy and deserving person; yet neither *people*, nor *Prince*, nor *Presbyter* did conferre upon any *Bishop* that power Episcopall or that eminent Ecclesiasticall Authority, which he had properly in himself to use and exert it after he was thus chosen, consecrated and installed. No, he had it from that *grand Charter* and *Catholick Custome* which was in the Church of Christ; by which the first Apostolick *Canons* or Scripture-Statutes and Institutions not only founded, but derived this *Authority* as received from Christ, and by the Spirit of Christ conveyed it to their Successors the *Bishops*, in the name and power of Christ, for the orderly governing of his Church in all places; which hath been, and (I think) ought where
God

God hinders not, to be continued in the Churches of Christ by the like successive choise or approbation of *Presbyters* in the want and vacancy of their *Bishops*. Nor do I doubt but Ministers are sinfully wanting to that duty which they ow to Christ and his Church, when they cease to do, as much as in them lies, what they ought in this point to do, & might do if themselves did not hinder, their choosing and having their lawful *Bishops*, as well as people their *Presbyters*, according to the Primitive rule and Catholick pattern, which hath the force of a law: it being no lesse necessary for the Church to be *orderly governed* and thus *united*, than to be taught and communicated to in holy things.

Nay, those two or three *Bishops* which, after the great *Nicene Council*, were required to joine in the more solemn *consecration* and investiture of every *Bishop*, did not impart of their own power, but solemnly declared and blessed as good and worthy the choise and *investiture* of him that was first duly elected by the *Presbyters*, and then further confirmed by their publication and benediction, which benediction was never, that I read, done by any *Presbyters*, as being now inferiours to him whom their consent and suffrages had chosen to that *Episcopall* degree and eminency above them, who as *Presbyters* might choose their *Bishop*, but yet not depose him; this work requiring their appeal to the higher power of a *Council* or *Synod* of many *Bishops*, who were in that joynt capacity above any one *Bishop*, and so onely capable to be his judges, upon the complaint of *Presbyters* or people against him. As *Presbyters* have their Office and Authority by *Bishops* ordination as conduits, but not from them as fountaines of it, (there being but one spring of it, which is Jesus Christ) so *Bishops* have their power by *Presbyters* election, as instruments or mediums, but not from their donation, as the *source* and *originals* of their power and authority, which is Christ.

Obj. 3d.
That *Presbyters* are as able and willing to ordain as any *Bishops*.

Thirdly, Some *Presbyters* and *Independents* do with great brow and confidence urge, that *Bishops* are wholly superfluous, because *Presbyters* and any ordinary Preachers, two or three or more of them, are very able and willing every where to beget their like, every petty *Presbytery* is become a seminary or spawner to ordain Ministers and conferre all degrees of *holy orders*; for which they think themselves no lesse fitted than for preaching and administering Sacraments, which (they say) are employments requiring greater abilities, and no lesse authority: yea many Country-*Presbyters* have made themselves and one another of late *Chorepiscopi* or Country-*Bishops*, ordaining Ministers when, where and how they list, without any *Bishop* among them.

And this (they say) with very good success and acceptance to Country-people, who besides the pleasure they take in any daring novelty and insolency in Religion, protest to find no lesse judgement, discretion and gravity, than was heretofore pretended to be in *Bishops* for that service: Nor is it to be doubted (say they) but the ordination, authority and Commission of such *Presbyters* is as valid

valid as that done by *Bishops*, since these Godly Ministers do so try and examine such as come to be ordained, that they commonly pose the best Schollars and soberest men that come to them: Further they pray and preach as well as most *Bishops* did, yea they very gravely exhort and charge the ordained brother with as great weight and severity, both for gifts and graces Ministeriall, as ever the *Bishops* did, though it may be not with so much pomp and formality. Hence they deny the necessity and use of *Bishops*, yea they deny any *flaw* or *defect* to be in their new Presbyterian and popular *ordinations* for want of any other *Bishops* but themselves, who are as pert in their novelty as ever any Prelates were in their antiquity.

That these *Heteroclite* or *equivocall* ordinations have of late been acted in England with much *self applause* and popular parade by meer *Presbyters*, I well understand; but *quo jure*, by what right from God or man, by what authority civill or Ecclesiasticall, I could never yet see; yea, I am sure no law of God or men heretofore ever was thought to give any such power to meer *Presbyters* without, yea against their lawfull *Bishops*: insomuch that many learned and sober men have much blamed, at least suspected, these Presbyterian transactions for *Schismaticall* presumptions, these *ordinations* for disorderly usurpations, at least in such a Church as *England* was, where there were (and still are) venerable *Bishops* of the orthodox faith, reformed profession and ancient constitution, willing and able to do their duty in the point of ordination.

Which in all (ordinary) cases appears to have ever been their peculiar right, specially derived to them as *Bishops* from the Apostles, through all successions of times and Churches, without any interruption; except when some factious and insolent *Presbyters* ventured to be extravagant and usurpant, whom all the learned Fathers, venerable Councils and good Christians in the Church every where condemned as most injurious, because usurping that *Authority* which no Apostle, no Council, no Bishop ever gave to any that were meer *Presbyters* in their Ordination and Commission, no more than the Lawes or Canons of this Church and State. Nor is there (as far as I can perceive) any one place in Scripture, that by any precept or example invests either one or more *simple Presbyters* with the power of trying and examining, of laying on of hands, of giving holy orders, as from themselves alone, of committing or transmitting what they had received to other faithfull men that should be able to teach. All which were given to *Timothy* and *Titus* as chief *Bishops*. 2 Tim 1.2.

The *Pope* of *Rome* (indeed) animated by those *flatterers* which would make him the sole *Bishop* by *Divine right*, and all other *Bishops* as surrogates to him, dependants upon him, and derived from him (as if there had not been 12 or 13, but onely one Apostolick Chaire, or prime seat of Episcopacy) hath sometime given power of ordination to such as were but *Presbyters*, as we read of

some *Abbots* and *Priors*; but it was alwaies to the great scandall of the best *Bishops* and *Presbyters* of the Church, as contrary to all ancient Orders, Canons and Customes of the Church, unlesse he first made them as *Chorepiscopi* or suffragane *Bishops*. But in earnest, it is hard to judge whether *Popes* or *Presbyters* be most enemies to Catholick *Bishops*.

As for the pious pomp and the specious apparences, the formall dressings and verball adornings, which they say are used by *Presbyters* in their late Ordinations in *England*, though I never saw any of them, yet I have heard and read so much of them, as gives me to judge far less to be in them of authority, true, complete and valid, than ought to be. For besides the persons not impowered or commissioned to that office, there is, as I heare, no transmitting, and so no receiving, of the holy *Spirit*, as to that Ministeriall Order and Power, which is thereby derived to Ministers as from Christ, whatever there may be of godly solemnity and plausible formalities, which are (usually) more studied and affected to please the people, there where men are most conscious to the defect of authentick, reall and righteous power. But all these saintly shewes (to wise men) signifie nothing, no nor the personal abilities either of the ordainers or ordained; who cannot by their personall power, knowledge, virtues, graces or private gifts, make any Officer in State or in Armies, in War or in Peace, much lesse in the Church and Ministry of Jesus Christ. Alas, no private capacity in any man can make the least petty *Constable*, or *Bailiffe*, or *Corporall*, or *Serjeant*, without they first have a publick and lawfull Commission from the fountains of Authority, to give them an Authority far beyond any private arrogancy and presumed sufficiency of their own.

Possibly, extraordinary cases may in time be their own excuses in such Churches where *Bishops* may be all dead or banished; or where such as are Orthodox cannot be had, and they that are will not ordain any *Presbyters*, without imposing upon them such things as are erroneous and unlawful: but nothing can be pleaded that I yet see, no nor doth the candour and charity of *Bishop Usher* know how to excuse such *Presbyters* from being *Schismaticks* & *factions*, presumptuous and disorderly, who first cast off and forsake such *Bishops* as are of the same faith and reformed profession, worthy and willing, able and ready, every way authorized by Church and State to do their duty. The contempt and rejecting of such *Bishops* is (I fear) a great sin before God, I am sure a great grievance to such Churches as first suffer those distractions. And no doubt it is, as a great, so a needlesse scandall to most Churches and the best Christians in all the world; nor can it be other then a foule reproach and scorn cast on all pious antiquity, nor will it prove other than a lasting misery to any Church and Nation that wilfully continues that guilt and defect upon themselves and their posterity, especially when God affords them sufficient meanes to remedy that mischief, to supply those defects, and to compose those differences, which are ever following the want, much more the needlesse expulsion of Primitive

mitive *Episcopacy*. For whose power and authority while either *Presbyters* or people are scrambling, they do but make Religion a *May-game*, & bring (as we see) both themselves and their Ministry into contempt: for no *Presbyters* or people can while the world stands ever stamp such an honor and Authority Ecclesiasticall upon themselves, as was in all ages and by all Churches consent (besides the Scripture-Character and Apostolick signature) set upon Primitive and Catholick *Episcopacy*, which ever united, centred and confirmed power in one man; not over all, which the Pope affects, but over their *Dioceses* or *Provinces*.

A 4th *Objection* much flourished by some popular Preachers against *Bishops* and all *Episcopacy* in any Authority and eminency above *Presbyters*, is, that *Episcopacy* is the root of *Popery*; that *Prelates* were the parents of Antichrist; that every *Bishop* hath a Pope in his belly; and that the Pope is no other than an overgrown *Bishop*; that to rout all *Popery*, and raze the foundations of Romes pride, all *Prelacy* or *Episcopacy* must be stubbed up.

Obj. 4. That
Episcopacy
was the root
of the Papacy.

My answer to this is, that this objection sounds as little of truth as it favours much of malice, especially in any *Presbyters* of any learning and ingenuity, who well know the abasing of *Bishops* is the design, and hath been the magnifying of the *Popes* of Rome beyond their line and measure of old; That if *Episcopacy* could have held its Primitive and ancient parity, according to the Apostolick seats and paternes, that one Chaire of Rome had not so far exalted it self in this Western Church above all those that are therefore called *Gods*, because the power of Christ and the word of God came to them as much as to Rome, and is to be derived by them to their successions.

Ans.

Tis certain that *Bishops* did not at first (as *Nimrod*) set up themselves by any private ambition: they were either constituted by the *Apostles* yet living, as *Irenaus*, *Eusebius*, *Tertullian* and others tell us; or when the *Apostles* were dead, the *Presbyters* of every chief city and Territory or *Diocese* did (as *S. Jerom* tells us) choose some *Apostolick* and eminent person from among themselves to be their *Bishop*; not compelled hereto by any civill powers, nor by any popular force or faction, but meerly moved so to do by the precept and pattern, the constant custome and imitation of the *Apostles*, which were so full of pregnant reason, necessary order, and holy polity, that nothing could be better.

If any then be to be blamed for giving occasion to the *Papal ambition*, and what some count the great Antichrist who is, (as *Isid. Hispal.* defines, by so much the more Antichrist, by how much more he professeth Christ, yet lives or teacheth contrary to the rule and example of Christ) it must be either the *Apostles* themselves, who first designed *Bishops* as their successors, or the succeeding *Presbyters* of every Church, who to avoid *Schisme* and *Confusion*, first chose successive *Bishops* in every Church after the death of the *Apostles*; not onely in obedience to their commands, and conformity

mity to their pattern, but in order to preserve necessary polity, Primitive unity, and Apostolick authority in the Church of Christ.

And yet now (behold) by a strange *vertigo* or change of Counsels, *Presbyters* must in all haste pull down all *Bishops*, the better to avoid Antichrist, who lies as much in confusion as error, in schisme as in heresie; none of which will ever advance Reformation or settling of true Religion. So that it is an intolerable insolency and rudenesse of some men, to say or suspect that every *Bishop*, whom the Apostles themselves, or the *Presbyters* after them, first constituted, were but *spawnes* and *embryos* of *Antichrist*, when many, yea most, if not all the first and best *Bishops* for 300. yeares were not onely excellent preachers and wise governours after the way of the Apostles, but such resolute *Martyrs* and confessors, as few of the more delicate *Presbyters* and softer-fingred *Independents* of our age would willingly carry the least stick of their fagots, or touch the least *roale* of their fires, or bear the least stroke and burden of their *torments*. As then the Papall Tyranny, so the Presbyterian Parity, and Independent Anarchy, may and will give (I fear) greater advantages to *Antichrists*, than ever Episcopall order and eminency either did or can do while wisely settled and managed.

Obj. 5. That
Bishops are
prone to be
severe and ty-
rannick.

Fifthly, another great *bugbeare* or *terrificament* which scares some from looking back with the least cast of favour on *Episcopacy*, is the terror they pretend to have had of some *Bishops* sharpnesses and severities, of which say they many godly men feel the smart to this day.

Ans.

My answer is, I do not go about to justify or excuse any unreasonable, unseasonable, indiscreet or uncharitable actions of any *Bishops*, who are justly to be blamed, so far as they exceeded their *Commission* and power, by the Lawes of man or Christ, and the Church, given to them not for destruction; but edification. Though some *Bishops* might shew themselves to be but men, yea and some of them to be harsh and rash enough in their passions, yet these failings and infirmities they neither had nor discovered as they were *Bishops*; no more than tyrants do tyrannize as they are Magistrates, or Judges are corrupt as they are Judges, or *Presbyters* are partiall, popular and imprudent as they are preachers. It must still be granted that not onely some, but very many, yea most *Bishops* in England since the Reformation were as Angels of God in their *light* and *love*; in their excellent learning and worthy living every way, which sufficiently proves that piety and *Episcopacy* may as well meet in one man, as piety and *Presbytery*, or sanctity and *Independency*. If any of these good *Bishops* seemed sometime too severe to some that were rudely refractory against the lawes then in force in this Church and State, possibly those very persons that most complaine of them will be found not short of the sharpest of them: if any of these complainers have suffered by any *Bishops* rigors, I am sure they have had their full and excessive *revenge* upon them. But to avoid the feared *exorbitancy* of *Episcopacy* for the future, it will be sufficient effectually

ually to restore that (*Commune Consilium Presbyterorum*.) common Counsel and concernment of worthy Presbyters to their pristine use and assistance, without which Bishops should do nothing publick and authoritative (according to the Canon of the Council of Carthage, and agreeable to the judgement, as of St. Jerom, so of St. Cyprian, Ignatius, and all the ancients) This (as I formerly touched) is the best preservative of Bishops authority, of Presbyters privileges, of peoples liberty and the Churches safety. As I believe Episcopacy by this time sees it did it self as much wrong as any men could design, in doing many things of publick concern without the presence, counsel and concurrence of their gravest and most discreet Presbyters; and as I think that modest and sober Presbyters shall do not onely themselves a right, but the best Bishops too, in their Christian advice and assistance, to bear (*partem sollicitudinis*) part of the care, trouble, odium and envy, which is prone to offend all good Bishops, as all good Governours in Church and State. So I conclude that violent Presbyters have done themselves, the Bishops, the people and this whole Church, as much injury and indignity as they well can, by rudely rejecting and obstinately refusing (as much as in them lies) to readmit the Order and Honor of Episcopall Presidency, which indeed was the common Honor of the whole Clergy. Episcopacy we know preferred many Ministers of the Gospel to be as Lords and Peers in England whereas Presbytery & Independency have purely levelled and abased all Clergy-men to a plebeian condition, if not to be slaves and vassals, yet to be very vile and servile, even in the esteem of the vulgar. Certainly it was in prudence to be desired by all wise Presbyters and other Ministers, rather to bear much under the burden of the Episcopal yoke (which was to them more (*honor* than *onus*) a dignity than any depression,) than thus by a precipitant impatency to run themselves & their whole Order or function into a plebeian slavery, while they affected an inordinate liberty. It is better for birds to be fed in their cage or restrained than by wandering from them to be starved. The best Bishops were wisely severe, and most venerable when least troublesome; the most rigid of them were not more imperious or intolerable than some Presbyters have been to all Bishops.

The last, but greatest, terror to some men is, that if any thing like a true Primitive Bishop should revive and authoritatively act again in England, especially fortified and assisted with such a strength of wise and grave Presbyters, orderly combined with their Bishops, there might be great danger of the Clergies recovering the Lands and Revenues which once belonged to Bishops and other Church-men in England.

Thus the jealous hearts and mis-giving consciences of many men do beat within them, who have bought Bishops and other Church-lands, which do make them as vigilant over the Bishops (*sepulchrum*) as the Jewes and Souldiers were over Christs, lest the second error of losing Bishops Lands should be worse than the first of taking them

τὸ ἐξ ἐν συν-
βάλιον. Ign.

Concil. Carth. 43
can. 13.

Consensus ho-
norem cum E-
piscopo habent
Presbyteri.

Cyp. ep. 46. &
55. *sepulchrum*.

Communi
Presbytero-
rum consilio
regebantur
Ecclesie.

1. en. Epist.
ad Euag.

Obj. 6. The
jealousie lest
Bishops
should recover
their lands.

Ans.

them away, not onely from very worthy *Bishops* then in lawfull and unforfeited possession, but from the whole Clergy, yea from the service of the whole Church, and of Christ, and of God, who had a sacred interest in them. By what right they were alienated, and are now possessed, let them see who first did seize upon them, and upon that title have either sold or bought them.

For my part, I can look upon *Episcopacy* in its Primitive poverty and present *barenesse*, with as much respect and reverence as in its greatest *pomp* and *superfluity*. I value it and desire it not for *state*, but *conscience*, not for secular ambition, but *spirituall satisfaction*. Let them keep the *lands* that have justly got them, or paid a valuable consideration for them, provided they will but help to restore *Primitive* and *Catholick Episcopacy*, without which *Ecclesiasticall authority*, yea and Ministeriall power, seemes to me and to many wiser men, if not wholly *dead*, and void or null, yet very *defective*, *dubious* and *infirm*; as one that is lame and maimed, yet is still a man, having an *esse* or being as a *true* man, but yet *esse defectivum*, a being short of that fulness, firmness and perfection which might be, were he so complete as he ought to be according to the pattern of God and nature.

The *Herculean* work of *resuming Church-Lands*, and restoring either Revenues or civill Honors to *Episcopacy*, is not to be expected without a *miracle*, such as shall *shake heaven and earth*, despising all humane opposition, and making the unjust keepers to *be like dead men*, for no thunderbolts of divine vengeance are more penetrant and irresistible, than those which fall upon the head of sacriledge, as both Humane and Divine Histories tell us.

True, I think it were an act worthy of this Nations pristine piety and renowned *munificence*, to add something comely for Hospitality and Charity, besides civill respect, to *Bishops*, if they will have any. Nor were it (as I conceive) a work lesse *becoming* the Honor and Devotion of *England*, to repurchase and restore those ancient *Church-Lands* or patrimony to the *Church*, than it was to take them away, and sell them to *lay-bands*. But in this I am not so *solicitous*: the honor of all *Bishops*, and so of *Presbyters*, will be, diligently and wisely to do the *work of God*, which (its probable) will never want the respect, love and liberality of all good Christians, as was seen in *Primitive times*, where *Bishops* were never *poore*, if Christian people were in plenty, peace and unity. As *Mephibosheth* said to *David*, so do I to all my Countrymen and brethren, Let *Ziba* take all, as to *Bishops Lands*, so as those *Bishops* may returne in peace which are after the Lords mind and the Scripture-rule; the Apostles pattern, the Primitive judgement and Catholick practise in the Church of Christ. The lesse there may be of riches and secular honors added to *Episcopacy*, the more it must provoke both *Bishops* and *Presbyters* to holy industry and eminent virtues, which are the best foundations of true honor.

CHAP. XIII.



Y chief ambition is not to procure civill honors or estates to *Bishops*, but so to reconcile all sober Ministers and others to true *Episcopacy*, as may promote that *Christian union* between all Ministers (that are worthy of that name and office,) and all sober Christian people in *England*, which may most remedy and avoid those miserable factions and sad divisions which we see are the pests of true religion, the moths of all *Reformation*, the advantages of superstition, and nurses of profaneness, against which *St. Paul* in his Epistles, and *St. Clemens* in his to the *Corinthians*, so much inveighs, as carnall and not spirituall methods of Religion.

Earnestly exhorting Ministers of all sides to an happy compofure and union.

1 Cor. 3. 3, 4.

I should heartily rejoyce to see before I die the *dry land* to appeare, this deluge of factious confusion not onely to abate but to be quite spent, by which Christian Religion and true Reformation hath lost (together with *Episcopacy*) in one score of yeares very much of that publick Majesty and Authority, that Power and Improvement, that Love and Honor, that Sanctity and Solemnity, that Charity and Unity, which they formerly had and held in *England* for above a hundred yeares, highly to the glory of God, to the happinesse of this Church, and to the Honor as well as Peace of the Nation.

It is great pittie that any man who bears the name of a *Minister* of Christ should appeare to the world other then an able, wise, humble, holy, peaceable and orderly person; that we may not cease to be sociable and reasonable creatures so soon as we undertake to be *Preachers*, as if we presently turn'd *Tragedians* when we grew *Theologians*, Divines in profession but *Devils* in our dissensions; that none of us may be so far bereaved of our wits, as to fancy that we *Ministers* or Clergy-men, beyond all men, may not enjoy nor endure that comely and holy subordination which is lawfull and most necessary in all other societies and fraternities of men, and no less among those that are Presbyters or Preachers, where (we see) God and nature, age and gifts, learning and prudence, distinguish even these men so far, as makes some one or few very fit to govern, and the other, though many more, onely fit to be governed. There is much folly, rashness, juvenility, indiscretion, presumption and vulgarity to be seen even among the community of Ministers as well as other common people; who can never be safe or happy, unless they be settled in some comely Government, Ecclesiasticall as well as civill, yea and governed by some men that are much wiser than themselves.

Certainly Religion cannot prosper or be glorious in the eyes of the world, as Christian or Reformed, if it be not *uniforme* as to the main, both in its source and course, its origination and dispensation. For every notable difference (especially in the same Church and State) seemes to the severall parties and divided sides as a great deformity

deformity in their adversaries. Religion will never be uniforme, if the Ministers or dispensers of it be not wisely united, not onely in their doctrine, but in the derivation and reception as well as dispensation of that holy *Authority* by which they *officiate*: for otherwise one Minister is prone to magnifie himself against all others of any other make & mold, to disparage all that is done by others as sacred, to draw disciples from one side to another, perswading people, according to the feuds which were between the *Samaritan Jewes* and Priests of that Temple against those of *Jerusalem*, that what is done in holy duties by such as are not of his stamp & form is unauthoritative, presumptuous, invalid, meer nullities, and profanations of holy mysteries, without Spirit, Life, Power or Efficacy; an *histrionick* pageantry of Preaching, Praying, Baptising, Consecrating, Celebrating, Censuring, Binding, Absolving, Terrifying, Comforting, as in the name of Christ; when indeed there is either no power or authority, but a new one, that must needs be a *false* one, either usurped, or obtruded, or pretended, by those that have nothing to shew for their Commission, Order and Derivation of such spirituall power, either from the *Scripture*, or the constant practise, or the *Catholick Custome* of the Church of Christ.

Thus everlasting feuds, distances and defiances will follow among people and Pastors, where an harmony is not in this maine point of *ordination*, or *Ministeriall Authority*; which certainly were no hard matter to effect, if Ministers would so far agree (by an Episcopall subordination in an *uniformity* of *ordination*, and all other Ecclesiastical Ministrations) as no Ministers or peoples *just claime* and interest should be either neglected, excluded or oppressed.

1. First, the *rights of people* should be so far satisfied, that no man should be *ordained a Minister*, but in the most publick and solemn convention of the *Diocese*, after publick notice given of his name, and demand what any could say against his being *ordained*: in like manner, no Minister should be obtruded upon any people by patron or *Bishop*, without hearing what they had to object against him, and rationally satisfaction given to them; which was required in *St. Cyprians* time.

2. Next, the *rights of Presbyters* should be so far satisfied, that none should be *ordained a Presbyter*, untill he had passed the orderly triall as of the *Bishop*, so of any Minister that list to examine his sufficiency, or his manners and life; after which done Presbyters should not onely be present at the solemnity of preaching and praying, but such as could conveniently of the eldest and gravest Ministers, might lay their hands with the *Bishops*, or Presidents, upon the ordained, both in their own and others behalfe, as a testimony of a joynt consent on all sides to his ordination.

3. Last of all, the rights and claime of Episcopacy or *Bishops* would easily be satisfied, and very compliant with the other of Presbyters and people, if no *ordination* might passe without either the presence of the *Bishop* as President, or of such a Presbyter as in the *Bishops*

Sacerdos plebe
præ sente sub
omnium oculis
deligatur,
& dignus atq;
idoneus omnium
publico
judicio ac testimonio
comprobetur.
Cyp. Ep. 68:

shops necessary absence should be his *suffragane* or *Viceregent*, nominated by him, and allowed by that *Presbytery* over whom the *Bishop* presideth.

This method and moderation would (as I humbly conceive) both complete and settle, in all sober mens judgements, the *ordination* of Ministers, and (giving satisfaction to all just demands or ingenuous pretensions) it would powerfully and happily unite both *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *people*; as answering all the claimes and expectations considerable of *Episcopall*, *Presbyterian* and *Independent* parties, as to the maine point of unanimous and uniform Ministry.

Among whom a like *correspondency* would easily (if wisely and meekly) be carried on in all other *Ecclesiasticall affaires* of publick concernment, for *Doctrin*e, *Worship*, *Discipline*, *Censures*, *Appeales*, *Admission*, *Abstention*, *Excommunication*, *Absolution*, *Synodal conventions* and the like. It is not imaginable how great an harmony, honor and happiness would hence arise, to the infinite content and comfort of all good Christians, to the great advantage of the Reformed Religion, to the peace of this Church, to the happiness of the Nation, to the Glory of God, and to the unspeakable quiet of many thousands of poor soules; who are now *agitated* with infinite *Scruples*, *Fear*es, *Angers*, *Jealousies* and *Despites* in Religion, according as they are engaged and exasperated in their first entrance or beginnings: all these would peaceably and comfortably apply, by Gods help and Ministers harmony, to the improvement of their soules in faith and repentance, in truth and love; to lead holy and orderly lives; to *bear* with *diligence* and reverence; to *receive* with frequency and charity; to *pray* with understanding and fervency; to *do* all things with meekness and wisdom; lastly, to *die* with earnest desire and blessed hope of further *enjoying* that Christian and sweet *Communion* with God, with *Christ Jesus*, and his *holy* Servants, Saints and Angels, in an other life, of which he hath had so blessed experience and pleasing a fore-taste even in this world, where the onely *heaven* a good Christian can have consists in the happy *Communion* he hath with God and good *Christians*, without which all society is but solitude or worse, an harmony no better than what may be found in hell, which is a conspiracy in sin, and conjunction in misery.

This holy Communion is so much the more divine and joyfull even in this world, by how much it enlargeth it self to greater numbers and extentions; true *Christian love* being loth to be confined to a narrower compasse than the Christian and Catholick faith is, but covering (as light and heate) most ample dilatations and *Catholick diffusions*, seeking (if possible) and as *much as in it lies*, to live *peaceably with all men*, and chearfully with all that are of Christs family, or the *household* of faith, who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

By these and such like peacefull methods of prudence and love, of moderation and mutuall condescension among *Ministers*, (without

further disputing or urging any of their former principles upon which they seemed to differ, much lesse casting any further reproaches upon each other,) I do not see but, by the blessing of God upon them, they might all meet in an happy union and accord in Church-Government, according to those principles of right Reason and Religion, of Piety and Polity, of *Scripture-Canons* and *Catholick Customes*, in which all *sober Ministers* must necessarily agree, as the best rules of *Christian* prudence, the surest methods of holy order, and the firmest bonds of Christian Communion. To which maine ends as all good Christians should chiefly bend all their Counsels, Prayers and endeavours; so, I do not conceive they are so strictly confined and limited by any *precise* rules or formes of any externe Polity and Order, but they may, as occasion requires, for the peace of the Church and edification of Christians in love, use such a *liberty* in their mutuall condescendings and compliances, as shall no way offend the blessed God of Truth, Order and Peace, nor violate any of their own consciences, while they bear such a tender regard to other mens, as they desire may be extended to themselves.

The contentions and confusions in *Religion* must needs be endlesse, if they be left to the naturall passions of most men: Then they may find happy conclusions, when those that are Rulers and Teachers of others, and so not onely more learned, but more prudent, unpassionate and composed (as Magistrates and Ministers ought to be, beyond any men) when (I say) these men do apply the utmost of their Piety, Power, Parts, Zeal and Discretion, by fit meanes to compose all controversies among *themselves*, which will then soon decay and dye among the common people. The Spirits and reputation of *Ministers* are commonly the chiefe sparks and *bellowses*, that first kindle, and after increase to publick flames, the fires of dissensions and disaffections, both among themselves and the people: once extinguish or moderate these enormous heates among Ministers, there will be no such *conflagrations* of Religion among ordinary people, which have of late been more like the black and confused *eruptions* of mount *Aetna*, than the sweet and holy fires of mount *Sion*, or the flames and perfumes of Gods Altar and Temple.

Which that I might be some meanes to restore to this Church and Nation, I have thus made my amicable, humble and Christian addresse, as to all good men, so chiefly to all my *Brethren* and *Fathers* of the *Ministry* in England; who are persons of any competent abilities and considerable worth, as to the duty and dignity of that *great* and *holy*, that dreadfull, Angelick, Divine employment.

I confesse I cannot but passionately deplore, as other mens, so my own *solitude* for these many yeares, by reason of that *unresponsiveness* as to any fraternall meeting with any of them in any publick way; being hereby deprived of that great Comfort, Improvement, Joy and benefit, which might be had by those *excellent* abilities and
graces

graces which are in many of them. It is great pitty, good and able Ministers should be longer severed, whole brotherly union and frequent convenings in orderly and publick meetings, would not onely set a greater edge and brightness on their studies and parts, which alone and confined onely to Country-auditors and associates grow rusty, flat and dull; but they would highly advance the *progresse* of the Reformed Religion, both in profession and power, giving hereby a mighty check as to the encrease of profaneness & atheism, so of *Popery* and superstition; mightily conducing also to the generall peace of the *Nation*, by allaying those unchristian feuds and uncivill heates which every where so much at present affect, infect and disaffect the minds both of Ministers and people. But these meetings of Ministers must be authoritative, not arbitrary, not precarious, but *subpenall*: otherwise the restiveness, laziness, wantonness and factiousness of some will mar all, either forbearing all meetings, or perturbing them, if they be not kept in some awe as well as order by their betters and superiours.

If I knew any *Motives* more prevalent, any words more pathetic, any *charmes* of love more effectually, any grounds of piety or polity more pregnant; if Writing, Preaching, Praying, Beseeching, if any Words, any Teares, any Sighs might work upon *Ministers* of all sides, to bring them to this blessed accord, to publick, friendly and fraternall meetings, to grave, orderly and comely conventions (which would be of great use as well as honor to them) I should in nothing be more prodigall of my time, spirits and paines: Then would Ministers be able to redeeme their Persons, their Office, their Orders, their Sacred Authority, their Religion, from vulgar contempt, from *mechanick* arrogancy, from those base prostitutions and levellings, to which those (*γῆγενός, terra filii*) sons of the earth, vile and *meane men*, have of late yeares debased, as the holy Ministry, so all heavenly Mysteries: then would that rust and rusticity, that plebeian Spirit and ungenerous temper which possesseth many Ministers out of feare and flattery, be removed; then would that scurfe and mosse, that barrenness and canker which is now upon Christian and Reformed Religion, be taken away, and that floridness with fruitfulness, that beauty with *holiness* be restored, which *Tertulian* so excellently sets forth among Primitive and persecuted Christians in their assemblies, “In which were highly conspicuous a reverentiall fear of God, a modest and mutuall regard to each other, a most intentive diligence to duties, a most solicitous care of themselves and others, a most prepared and deliberate communicating in holy things, carried on by the most deserving eminency of some, and the most religious subordination or consciencious subjection of others; all parts of the Church and Clergy were happily united, and God was all in all, his glory the centre, his love the circle or band of all their aimes and actions, their hearts and thoughts.

The venerable piety and almost *Divine Majesty* of such conven-

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tions

Tertul. de pref.

c. 43.

Ubi metus in
Deum, ibi
gravitas mode-
sta, diligentia
attonita, cura
solicita, com-
municatio de-
liberata, pro-
motio emerita,
subjectio reli-
giosa, ecclesia
unita, Dei
omnia.

stions (wherein Bishops, Ministers and people were of *one heart and one mind in the Lord*) advanced the reverence of their censures, monitions, reproofes, abstinctions and excommunications to so great a regard and *just dread*, that no good Christian great or small disdained the authority of the *Bishop*, or slighted the judgement of the Clergy, which judged and declared the mind of the whole Church, because according to the mind of the Lord Christ, and of God himself.

Then was it that lapsed and scandalous sinners were soonest brought to be penitents, in so humble, yet comfortable a manner, that as St. *Jerom* saith of *Fabiola*, and St. *Ambrose* of others, *They furrowed their faces with sorrowes, and plowed their cheeks with teares*; they paved the Churches with their prostrate bodies, which were so penitently pallid and deplorable, that they seemed only *living corpses* and *breathing carcases*. So few Christians did then entertain their sins with smiles, or laugh at those *Teachers* that reprov'd them, or schismatically separate from those *Orthodox Bishops*, with the Clergy, that justly censured them, as obnoxious to Gods judgements, and unworthy of Christian Communion, till they amended: no man or woman ever lived or died in peace of conscience, whose soul was justly wounded with these *arrows*, the censures of the Church; they either *drank up* their sensuall and proud Spirits, and brought them to repentance, or they *sank* them into a desperate state, both of obstinate sin and eternall horror.

Such holy and happy *Assemblies of Ministers*, consisting of authoritative *Bishops* and orderly *Presbyters*, were farre more to their honor and comfort, more befitting their breeding and learning, their labours and industry, their parts and worth, their sacred function and dignity, than to be pittifully scared and over-awed by *Country-Committees*, and a new sort of *Tryars*, where grave Ministers are oft catechised, chastised and contemned by such men as are (some of them at least) of very *moderate*, that I say not meane, abilities (except their estates be instead of all reason and Religion, all learning, worth and wisdom,) very incompetent judges (God knowes) of the Doctrine and Manners of Ministers, unlesse in matters of civill misdemeanors, for which there are *higher courts* and abler judges appointed, to heare and determine matters according to law, with more honor and lesse partiality than Ministers can expect from such men as are very sorry Magistrates and worse Ministers.

This is a certaine *maxime*, the cheapnesse and despicableness of Ministers ariseth chiefly from their mutuall *divisions* and dissociations. Their union and harmony will be their Honor, Safety and Happinesse. I pray God shew us all, and guide us in the waies of his and our own peace.

And (in earnest) it is high time for us as Ministers of Christ, and as sober men, to give over our popular Projects and pragmatick activities, our secular policies and state agitations, by which we have all gained far lesse than if we had onely *intended the Crosse of Christ*, and imitated

Hier. ep. 36.
Amb. de pen.
. l. c. 16.
Sulcarunt lacrimis genas,
& vultum flentibus exarabant; mortis speciem in spiranti corpore præferabant.

imitated the patience as of our *great Master*, so of the best of our predecessors; not to *concerne* our selves so much in Crownes and Sovereignities, in Kingdomes and Commonweales, in Parlements and Armies, in Killing and Slaying our brethren upon Christs score, as in saving our own and others *souls*. What was of old falsely and odiously objected, hath of late been too much verified in many of us, *You take too much upon you, O you Sons of Levi*, both in sacred and civill affaires. Let us learne to rule our own passions, to obey actively in all lawfull and honest things our *superiours*, and passively in others: Leave it to God to rule this, as all States and Kingdomes, by what hands, heads and hearts he pleaseth. Let us in all times do all things, rather in a *Ministeriall* then *military* fashion, Honestly, Humbly, Meekly, Charitably, Unanimously, and the God of peace will be with us in this private and publick posture; we shall better beare the frownes or favours either of Princes or people, who will never be our friends, if we be our own enemies.

Num. 16. 3.

C H A P. XIV.



AVING done my duty to those that are of my own profession; as Ministers (how ever they differ at present in the derivation of *their orders* and exercise of their Ministeriall Authority) my next addresse must be to those persons whose influence, sociall or solitary, *personall* or *Parlamentary*, either is, or may be, most effectually by their Counsels or Commands, by their proposals or power, to recover the Purity, Order, Unity and Stability of *Religion* in this Nation.

Humbly exhorting Magistrates to assist in so good a work.

It is not fit for me to presume to suggest to *persons* so much above me in prudence and experience, as well as power and reputation, any thing that lookes like *counsel* or advise. I know *Superiours* are prone to take those suggestions for affronts from inferiours, as if they thought themselves wiser than those that rule them.

But yet our *humble petitions* have acceptance with God himself, not as suggestions to his wisdom, but submissions to his will, and supplications of his goodnesse. No *Christian Empire* was ever so imperious as to disdain the prayers of any that craved their favour and assistance in just and faire waies. And since I find few *Ministers* of any party will begin or joine with me in such a *request* to those that are our Superiours, better I presume to supplicate alone, than that no man of any calling should importune the *Sovereignty, Nobility* and *Gentry* of this Nation, in a business of so great and publick concern, before the mischief spread too farre, and the cure be desperate; which will then be, when there shall be few sound minds, honest hearts, and *whole parts* left in the *Land*, all or most being infected with Ignorance, Irreligion, Atheisme, Profanenesse, Popery, or indifferency; the inevitable effects that will follow the divisions, distractions

distractions and debasings of the *Clergy*, both among themselves and the common people.

To you therefore, that are the *highest* and *greatest*, the *honorabest* and *richest*, the *wisest* and *strongest*, the most noble and generous, the most knowing and ingenuous persons, do I with all humble importunity recommend this reall Cause of God and of Christ our Saviour, the cause of the Christian and Reformed Religion, the cause of this Church and Nation, the cause of your own and your posterities welfare.

Isa 40.1.

Zech 3.3,4.

Is it not high time, after so many *tosings* and *Tragedies*, in which this Church and its Ministers have had so great a share, at last to *speak comfortably to Sion*, to tell her that her warfare is accomplished, to take off the filthy garments wherewith her Ministers of all sorts have been clothed, to cover their shame, to bury their mutuall reproaches, to restore the honor and authority of their calling, to encourage and improve in waies of publick conspicuity and harmony those excellent abilities which are in many of them; which divided and at distance from each other, are either quite lost, or perverted to maintaine popular parties and *factious* against each other? Many Ministers have been and are *silenced*, being thereby driven to *extreme poverty*; most are dispersed and despised, not onely by vulgar insolencies, but by mutuall animosities, jealousies, distances and defiances. Few of us have that *Christian courage* and *constancy*, by which the Primitive *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, as an united *Clergy*, were still preserved entire among themselves, when most persecuted by enemies: we are so divided, that we are justly *dejected* and easily destroyed. Many of us have by our *folies* forfeited the honor of our function; some of us by our secular policies and compliances have prostituted the *sanctity* of it to the fedities and insolencies of Laymen. We have *digged* those *pits* into which we are fallen, and filled those *dungeons* with *mire* in which we now stick.

Jer. 38.

It is a memoriall of everlasting honor to *Ebedmelech the Ethiopian*, that he helped with great tenderesse and humanity to draw the Prophet *Jeremy* out of the dungeon, where he was ready to perish.

England hath now for many yeares had many Prophets in *dungeons* of *disgrace* and *darknesse*, yea all are sunk into the *dirt* and *mire* of obloquy and contempt on one side or other. I beseech you, be not tediously or anxiously inquisitive, how we came there; but apply of your goodnesse and noblenesse fit meanes to draw us out. Let not the Christian and Reformed *Ministry* of this Church, which was the most renowned in all the world (without any doubt, offence or envy I speak it) let not this be (like *Elisha*) the *scorene of fooles*, the *mocking-stock* of children, the *May-game* of *Papists*, the laughter of *Atheists*, the object of fanaticke petulancy and vulgar insolency, the wonder and gaze of all forrainers, the grief and astonishment of all sober men at home and abroad, who for some yeares have beheld the *factious* and divided, the disputed and despised state of Ministers,

ministers, the poor and pitefull shifts they have made to keep their heads above the waters, not to be quite *overwhelmed* with Poverty, Anarchy and Contempt, while alone and solitary they signifie not much, and joyntly or socially they are now nothing at all; having no publick harmony or fraternall correspondency, no concurrent counsel, no Synodical convention or Ecclesiasticall Authority, being never summoned by Authority to meet or consult together, never so farre countenanced as to have any thing of publick concernment, to advise or execute in order to the generall good of *Religion*: their names, their persons, their calling, their ordination, their preaching, their praying, their consecrating and dispensing of holy *Mysteries*, their censures and reproofes, or whatever *discipline* any of them affect or dare to exercise, according to their own fancy and private Authority, all they do with the greatest Gravity, Solemnity and Sanctity, is vilified, slighted, abhorred, and as it were *spit* and *spewed* upon by some bold foreheads and foule mouthes, on one side or other, without any other remedy or redresse, than what their private discretion or their patience, either willingly or perforce, supplies them.

These, these (*O noble Gentlemen and worthy Christians*) are now your Divine *Teachers*, these are your ghostly Fathers, these the best and brightest of your *Clergy* at present; generally esteemed and treated as the *filth* and *off-scouring* of all things by vulgar minds: yea many of your modern *intruders* into the Ministry are no better than the very *scum* and refuse of all *Trades* and *Occupations*: if *necessity* pincheth them, or *pride* provoketh them, or *shame* banisheth them from their first stations and mechanick employments, presently they dare to *preach*, when they can do nothing well. The most illiterate and plebeian spirits, who are fitter to serve *swine* than the *soules* of Christians, (*ad has magis quam aras apti*) men that want all things befitting preachers of the *Gospel*, except onely Lungs and Tongues, such as are quite broken and despairing as to any other way of living, these aspire to be your *preachers*: how enabled, how examined, how ordained, by what authority they are sent I know not; but I am sure they run amaine, striving by all popular acts to out-run, yea and over-run, the *Ancient, Grave and Sober sort of Ministers in England*, whom they look upon as their *fore enemies*, eagerly persecuting them till they run themselves out of breath. Then being *tired* in one place, they *ramble* to some other, till use and confidence hath so completed them in boldnesse, that they dare own themselves in all companies, (but such as are grave, good and learned) to be *Ministers of the Gospel*, after any new mode and fashion that they list to take up.

Nothing can be a *work* of more Christian piety, prudence and compassion to this *Nation*, than to *redeeme* the *Ministry* of it from that pitefull posture and sad condition whereto it is at present condemned by that divided, despised, and on all sides either doubted or denied, *authority*, which Preachers challenge to themselves. All
are

are represented by some or other to the people as *Falsarii, Cheates, Impostors, Seducers*. Certainly it were worthy of the *Wisdom* and *Honor of this Nation*, to remove (as all others, so) in the first place this great grievance, scandall and stumbling-block out of the way of all Christians; to take away this reproach of our *Reformed Religion*, whose God, and Saviour, and Spirit, being *but one*, its Faith, Gospel and Sacraments the same, its Ministeriall power and *Authority* can be but *one* in the true Authority and *Authenticke Commission*, both as to its *Originall* and *Derivation*. There is no speedier way nor easier to sow up the *rents* of *Christ's garment*, to cleanse and close the wounds of his body in this Church, than to poure the *Wine* of healing and the *Oyle* of Union upon the *Ministers of the Gospel*, by persuading, yea commanding and conjuring them to be of one *heart* and one *mind* in the Lord.

Nothing is more worthy that *Wisdom* and *Power*, that *Piety* and *Honor*, (to which *you*, as Gentlemen, and Christians, and Reformed, do pretend) than to advance by your counsel, industry and authority, so *Christian* a work as the setting of Religious Order and Unity, an harmonious Government and Uniforme Authority among the Ministers of the Gospel. I know all the *Gates of Hell* will be against the designe, and oppose it with what ever power and policy can be found among the *Devills*: But the work (like that of *building the second Temple*) is *Gods*. Honest endeavours will be their own rewards; how much more the desired effect, if attained? which is so good and great, that no minds truly great and good but earnestly desire to see that day, when they may behold the *uniforme face* of a Nationall Church among us, such a *Reformation* as is without any remarkable defect or deformity, specially so black and fundamentall as these are, the Divisions, Distractions, Confusions among the Clergy, the vilifying and nullifying of all Ministeriall Order and Ecclesiasticall Authority; that such an *Honor* and *Respect* may be restored to your *Ministers*, as may exempt them and all religious *Ministrations* from profanenesse, scurrility, contempt; that your Ministers may be such men of Learning and Worth, of *Wisdom* and Meeknesse, of Fraternal Love and Kindnesse, that they may both deserve and rightly use the just favour, supports and respects given them; the benefit of all which will most redound to your honor and the happinesse of your posterity, when they shall behold such *Religion*, such *Reformation* and such Ministers, as they shall see cause to reverence, love and value in conscience.

Religion is nothing if it be not esteemed as *sacred*; *sacred* it cannot be if it be once ridiculous; and ridiculous it will be, if once it appeare either to have or make many strange and *antick faces* before the people, who have all this in-bred *principle* in them, that as true Religion can be but one, so it ought to be *Uniform*, and its Teachers *Unanimous*, both in their Divinity and their Authority: for variety in Ministers breeds uncertainty, inconstancy in holy duties, inconstancy breeds indifferency, indifferency breeds levity, levity
futility,

futility, futility folly, folly presumption, presumption atheisme and licentiousness among people, who from many Religions grow to any, and from any Religion to none at all; common people having neither capacity, ability or leisure to *disintangle Religion*, when it is offered them all snarled with the factions, disputes and janglings of their Ministers. They cannot wind up any great bottom of piety, who all their lives are *untying* the knots and undoing the *snarles* of the *scaine* of Religion, which ought by the wisdom of Christian *Magistrates* be presented to them in the most easie, comely, orderly, authoritative and well-composed forme that can be, and all little enough.

If the Christian and *Reformed Religion*, which hath been so famous and flourishing in *England*, be left to the coldnesse and indifference of some, the loosenesse and rudenesse of others, also to the inordinate fervors and contentions of a third sort, (which are the *predatorious flames* and *Gangrenes* daily *mortifying* the native heate and moisture of Religion, which consist in truth and love,)

If all things of solemne *Mysteries*, sacred order and *Divine Ministry*, be still left to dissolve, first into plebeian ignorance and insolency, next into open profanenesse and atheisme, and at last to shift for shame into Popish Superstition and *Roman Communion*; must not the fate of your, either *miscreant* or *miserable*, posterity necessarily be such, that their teeth will be so set on edge by the *sowre grapes* you have eaten and left for them, that they will not endure sound Doctrine, much lesse *wholesome Discipline*? Thus untaught and ungoverned, unbred and unfed in Religion, can you expect other from them than all debaucheries, *immoralities*, and such *Atheisticall* indifferences and impudencies as the heart of man easily runs into, if left to it self, as the *Horse* and *Mule*, without bit or bridle of Religion and conscience to restraints them? May they not have cause, in their sad reflections upon the Beauty, Order, Honor and Happiness of Religion in *England*, which they may read of in former daies, (besides the many afflictions and civill dissensions which have and will inevitably follow *divided Religion*, to an irreligion in any Nation) may they not in their doubting, dying and despairing retreats, have cause to count you, yea and to curse you, as their carelesse and cruell parents? who are never quiet or content, till you settle your honors, estates and civill affaires in some safe posture, as you imagine; but are wholly negligent as to any religious establishment, which many men feare, oppose and abhorre, lest in *cleare waters* their faces should appeare the fouler; varieties and uncertainties of Religion being most fomented by those whose piety is wholly resolved into policy, who never tasted how gracious the Lord is in the waies, meanes and fruites of true Religion.

But for you (O my noble Countymen) that have seen and rejoyced in that *glorious light* of *Reformed Religion* which shined so long and illustriously in the *Church of England*, how can you with any conscience or comfort leave the world, and leave your posterity with

your Country exposed to such variety, uncertainties, distractions, deformities and confusions, as to the *Reformed Religion* and its Ministry: which makes them look like the Temple of God in *Jerusalem*, after *Nebucadnezzar* and *NebuZaradan* had visited it with fire and sword, so defacing and deforming it, that it was the pitty of all good men, and the scorn of the wicked.

Sutton, in vita
Aug.

As *Augustus Caesar* was wont in his most impotent passion of grief and vexation to teare his haire, and cry out (*Redde, Vate, Legiones*) O *Varns*, restore the Legions of brave and veterane souldiers, which thou hast so unadvisedly or unworthily lost, (when they were slaine by the *Germane surprises*) so may you heare the soberest Christians and truest-hearted English-men in their grief and shame cry out,
 “*Reddite nobis Religionem Reformatam, Uniformem, Christianam,*
 “*primævam, Catholicam; Reddite Ecclesia Anglicana priscam pietatem,*
 “*pacem, ordinem, pulchritudinem, patrimonium, regimen, Majestatem*
 “*debitam, & decus antiquum: Reddite nobis patres, fratres, filios spiri-*
 “*tales; Episcopos atate, virtute, authoritate venerandos; Presbyteros li-*
 “*teratura, industria, humilitate, unitate, ordine conspicuos; Plebem probe*
 “*instruam, modestam, sobriam, mutua charitate amulam, non effra-*
 “*nam, infrunitam, laceram, non erroribus lascivam, non novitatibus sedam,*
 “*non scabie rigentem, non nimia petulantia deformem, non irreligi-*
 “*osam, &c.*

This was the voice of the Church of England, while it dared to speake *Latine*, which being now scandalous and reprochfull to many, as the language of the Beast, not understood by them, *She* is forced to expresse her Prayer in English for mens better understanding. Restore, restore I beseech you to me, to your selves, to your country, to your posterity, the purity, the peace, the sanctity, the solemnity, the sobriety, the order, the honor, the unity, the solidity, the stability, the power, the efficacy, the fruites and works of true Christian and Reformed Religion; Restore to us the happinesse of living, not onely united in one civill polity as men, but in one Ecclesiasticall Correspondency, Combination and Communion as Christians. It is more for our honor and peace to be Members of one Church, than of one Commonwealth; to have the same Religion and Devotion, than the same Lawes and Statutes.

Restore to us those prime veines and Catholick conduits of Ecclesiasticall order, of Church-power and spirituall authority (under Christ) those paternall Pastors, those Primitive Bishops, those successive Apostles: That so we may have such Presbyters as have the Catholick Character of due Ordination, and the most undoubted Derivation of Ministeriall Authority upon them, being at once able and willing, duly proved and empowered by Christs deputed Ministers and the whole Church, to consecrate and dispense holy Mysteries to us; not in the new names of Presbyters, or people, or Parlements, or Princes onely, but in the name of Christ and his Church, according to the commission he first gave to the Apostles, and they transmitted to their successors in a constant, undoubted, and uninterrupted succession to this day.

Redeeme

Redeeme this ancient Church and renowned Nation from those *lice* and *flies*, those *locusts* and *frogs*, whose importune malice and wantonneſſe ſeeks to deface and devour whatever yet remaines of the *Reformed Religion* in England.

Redeeme all ſober Chriſtians, whoſe little life affords them no leiſure to play with Religion; redeeme them from the *Rents* and *Schiſmes*, the raggs and tatters, the breaks and diviſions, the fragments and fractions, the chaines and fetters, the childiſh and ridiculous janglings, the ſcandalous and pernicious liberties, with which pragmatick Spirits ſeek to poyſon and to imprifon their judgements and conſciences.

Nothing is, at leaſt ought to be, more preſſive and urging upon your Honors and Conſciences (who are perſons ſenſible of theſe two great regards to God and man) than theſe concernments of true Religion; whoſe influence reacheth to the eternall intereſt of your own and your poſterities ſoules. Nor is their laſed eſtate to be helped by faire words and ſoft preteations, by *demure ſilences* and wary reſerves, by State-ſtratagems and politick artifice, by vaporing of reſormations, and conniving at popular inſolencies, as if they were tenderneſſes and liberties due to conſcience. No, the recovery of Religion is to be effected by potent convictions and impartiall ſuppreſſions of all enormous opinions and actions, by ſerious trying of errors, and eſtabliſhing of ſound Doctrine, by juſt reſtraining all *inordinate liberties*, by encouraging an able and uniform Miniſtry, by diſcountenancing all ſanatick novelties, by compoſing al uncharitable diviſions, and by puniſhing all pragmatick arrogancies, which evidently vary from, or run counter againſt, that truth, order, miniſtry, authority and holy Diſcipline of Religion, which Scripture and all Catholick conformity to it have commended to all Chriſtians as Chriſts will and appointment, which being accordingly ſetled in this Church and State, ought not to be contradicted or rudely contemned by any new lights, by pretended inſpirations, or the novel inventions of any man or men whatſoever, ſeem they never ſo holy, ſo devout, ſo well-affected, ſo ſincere, ſo ſaintly. This and other true Churches of Chriſt did know very well what belonged to the unity, ſanctity, charity and conſtancy of Religion, as Chriſtian and Reformed, long before the new fry of any *Factioniſts* or *Enthuſiaſts* were known in the Engliſh or Chriſtian world.

Then will the honor of the *Reformed Religion* recover, take root, flouriſh and fructifie again in England, when it is by due authority and juſt ſeverity cleared of all that ruſt and canker, that *moſſy* and *barren* accretion, which of later yeares it hath contracted, chiefly for want of thoſe *Eccleſiaſticall Councils*, ſacred Synods and Religious *Conventions*, which (being called and encouraged by civill authority) will beſt do this great work of God and the Church, freely and impartially, ſolidly and ſincerely, learnedly and honeſtly diſcuſſing all things of difference, diſorder or deformity in Religion. Theſe, theſe would (by Gods bleſſing, and your encouragement) remove in a

short time all that putrid matter, from which the scandals, offences and factions do chiefly arise, and by which they are nourished in the licentious hearts and lives of some men, who dare do any thing that they safely may against Religion. These, as the ablest and meetest Judges of Religion, would soon discern between the vile and the precious, and separate the wheat and the chaffe in Christs floore, wisely using the flaille and fan of his word and Spirit.

CHAP. XV.

Councils or
Synods the
proper means
to restore lap-
sed Religion.



Herefore is our Religion so miserably lapsed and decayed, through the ignorance, negligence and impudence of men, because it hath not for these many yeares been under such hands as are most proper either for its care and preservation, or its cure and recovery. Courts of Princes and Councils of State, the Spirit of Armies and the Genius of Parliaments, are not (alone) apt agents or instruments for this work, though they may be happy promoters, and authoritative designers and contrivers of it. Saint Ambrose and others of the Ancients observe, that it never went well with the sound part of the Church, when the disputes of Religion (as between the *Arrians* and the *Orthodox*) were brought into *Princes Courts*, and determined by their *Counsellors* and *Courtiers*.

Euseb. vit.
Const.

It was not more piety and modesty than prudence and generosity in *Constantine the Great*, when he had conquered *Licinius* with other enemies, and entirely obtained the *Roman Empire*, when he had power absolute and soveraign enough to have made what Edicts he listed for Religion, yet that he then called the *Bishops* of the Church throughout the *Roman world*, and other venerable Teachers attending them, to discusse the differences in Religion, to compose the breaches, to allay the jealousies, to reforme the disorders, to search and establish the true faith, to confirme the ancient Government, to adde vigor to the just *Discipline* of the Church, and due authority to its true *Pastors* or *Bishops*. All which were happily done by the wisdom, piety and moderation of the famous *Nicene Council*, in which *Constantine* himself was oft present as to his person and Counsell, though he never voted or determined any thing of Religion among the *Fathers* of that glorious *Assembly*, lest he should seem to over-balance or over-awe the truth by his authority, or to eclipse the Church by the State.

This, this was that Primitive and Catholick way of Ecclesiasticall Councils and Synods, used first by the *Apostles*, and after by all their successors, the *Martyrly Bishops* and *Pastorly Confessors* of the Church, which endured the fiery trials of heathenish and hereticall persecutions, who had Ecclesiasticall Councils and Synods of Church men for their heliefe and remedy, before they had the favour of Christian Princes for their refuge or defence.

To

To this proper method for Reforming of any Church and restoring Religion, all *Princes* that were true *Patrons* and *Protectors* of the true *Church* have applied their powers and counsels for the repairing of decayes, rectifying disorders, condemning heresies, vindicating fundamentall truths, composing differences, and restoring peace in the Church of Christ; calling together such *Synods* and *conventions* of the Clergy as did beare most proportion to those inconveniences or mischiefs which they sought to remedy, either in greater or lesser circuits, according as the poyson and infection of Heresie or Schisme had spread it self. The welfare of Religion and healing of the Church of Christ was never (heretofore) left to every private Christians fancy, or to particular *Presbyters*, nor yet to single *Bishops*, to act according as their opinions, passions and interests might sway them; nor was it ever betrayed into the hands of onely *secular men*, either *Civill Magistrates*, or *Gentlemen*, or *Tradesmen*, who are as fit (generally) for *Church-work*, as Clergy-men are to marshall Armies, or to manage battels. The building of Gods *Tabernacle* and his *Temple* required men of extraordinary gifts and excellent *Spirits*, proper and proportionate to those works: As the *Leviticall Priests* of old did judge, not onely of *plagues and leprosy*, but of all controversies about the *Law and Religion*, to whose determination all men were to submit under paine of death. And as *Aaron* standing between the living and the dead stopped the spreading of a plague and mortality among the people; even so hath the Lord ordained the *Evangelicall Ministers* to be as *shepherds*, *feeders*, *defenders* and *rulers* in his Church; also as *Physicians* and *Fathers* of the flock of God, whose lips ought to preserve knowledge so as to discern both the contagion and the cure; applying (as their duty is) such (*ὡς ἰατροὶ διδάσκοντες καὶ ταῖς*) sound Doctrine and Discipline, as are both wholesome food and healing physick. Certainly all other Lay-undertakers and tamperers with Reformation and Religion; are but as *Empiricks* and *Mountebanks*, having neither that ability nor that authority which is requisite in Religious undertakings: But after much paines and charge they alwaies leave Reformation and Religion, Church and Clergy, more unsearched and unsound, unbound and ulcerous, than they found them: God never following those with the blessing of the end, who disdain to use those orderly meanes which his holy wisdom hath directed them to; who lay the *Ark of God* upon the cart, and think to draw it by the *beasts of the people*, when it should be orderly and solemnly borne by the shoulders and hands of those that are consecrated to that holy service as the *Priests of the Lord*; which method is not onely more for the honor and solemnity of Christian Religion, than for the glory of the blessed God; that his name might be sanctified even before the world, in the managing of true Religion, not slightly or slovenly, not with unwashen hands and preposterous confusions, but with that holy respect and humble reverence which is due to the Majesty of that God and Saviour whom Christians profess to worship.

Of Ecclesiastick Councils called by Christian Princes.

Deut. 17.8.

to v. 14

Numb. 16.43.

1 Sam. 6.7.

&c.

Tis

Tis ridiculous for *Princes* and *States-men* to have the best *Physicians* for their pleasure; the most learned and experienced *Physicians* for their bodily health; the most able and renowned *Lawyers* for their secular *Counsels*; the gallantest *Souldiers* for their military officers; the best *Mathematicians* for their *Engineers*; and the best *Mariners* for their *Pilots*; that so these things might succeed to their worldly honor and happinesse; and (yet) in *matters of Religion* to content themselves either with no idoneous *Physicians* and fit *medicines*; or with such *quacking applications* and applicators as are no way apt for the work; having neither skill nor dexterity to handle so tender; yet so dangerous, sores and wounds as those of Religion many times ate, not onely affecting the heads of men, but coming neereſt the very hearts of them: yea and I may say these Church-distempers affect the very heart of Christ himself, both God and man.

Mark 15. 16,
17.
Luke 23. 11.

We find secular Magistrates and Judges many times (with *Herod* and *Pilate*) ready to set Christ at nought and condemne him; souldiers we know have *mocked* him, buffeted him, crucified him, and parted his garments among them: But they were his choise *Aposles*; with other *ordained Ministers*; that *professed* and *preached* him. These, these first planted, fenced and watered Christian Religion; these preserved, propagated and pruned the Church of Christ to this day, as the *husbandmen* or *labourers* of Christs own sending into his vineyard, as workers together with God in the great work of saving soules: with these *Aposles* and *Ministers* he promised to be (meaning them and their true *successors*) to the end of the world; as he hath been to this day, never failing to assist Godly *Bishops* and other faithfull *Presbyters* of his Church; to do his work, as in private so in publick, when they did orderly meet as *his servants*, in *his name*, to his glory and his Churches good, suffering themselves to be impartially guided by his word and Spirit, without serving the factions interests and sinister policies either of Prince or people.

Mat. 1. 9.

Act. 15. 22.

ver. 28.

Then, then was it that *Councils* and *Synods* appeared to all sober-minded and humble-hearted Christians as the *Starre* did to the *wise men* at *Ferusalem*, guiding them to Christ with exceeding great joy, in orderly waies of truth and peace becoming Christian Ministers and people; which was the blessed effect of the first Church-Council we read of; where *James Bishop* of *Ferusalem* with the *Aposles* of the Lord (as chief) and other *Elders* or *Presbyters*, being met in the presente of Christian people, did so consult, discusse and resolve the *diffensions* then risen in the Churches, as to send their determinations with this *style* and *title*, *It seemed good to the holy Ghost and to us*: whose *Canons* were read and received not onely with reverence and conscience, but with joy and consolation. So welcome and usefull to all good Christians are those meanes which are fitly and wisely applied, after Gods method and the *Aposles* pattern, to the reliefe and recovery of the Church.

The

The care of summoning and convocating such *Ecclesiasticall Parliaments* when need requires, is worthy the piety and Majesty of Christian Princes and soveraigne Magistrates, in whom that Authority resides, as nursing Fathers of the Church: but certainly the management and transaction of Religious affaires in them by way of devotion, disputation and determination, is the *proper work of Church-men*, that are Godly, Learned, Wise and Honest, both of *Bishops* as fixed and chief Rulers of the Church, and of grave *Presbyters* as the *Representatives* of the other Clergy, chosen, deputed, intrusted and empowered by them, fully and freely to deliberate and determine in those great concernments, as Gods word and their own consciences shall direct them, without any to over-awe them or to dictate to them.

I am not ignorant of the jealousies and prejudices that many (even wise and good Christians) have of such *Assemblies, Synods, Convocations or Councils*, as are made up onely of *Ecclesiasticks or Clergy-men*: Whose oft unhappy successes *Gregory Nazianzen* (that great *Divine*, and good *Bishop*) complains of in his dayes, when the *Arrian* faction, by the partiality of Emperours infected with their poyson, strongly vyed in their *Conventions* against the *Orthodox* decisions, the ancient Faith and Catholick customes of the Church, setting up ever and anon in their juncto's and conventicles (as *St. Hilary* expresseth it) *Diurnall Creeds and Menstruom Faiths*, being many times but (*ἀνσεκαὶ σύνοδοις*) *theevish Synods, furtive Conventicles*, suborned and slavish Assemblies, either transported by humane passions, or biassed by partiall affections, or leavened with popular factions, or over-awed by secular powers and sacrilegious policies, which made such conventions, as the *hills of the robbers*, predatorialious oppressors of true *Religion*, pillagers and spoilers of the Church of Christ, of which too many sad instances have been in ancient and later daies both at home and abroad.

Especially when such Assemblies meet not summoned by *lawfull Authority*, not chosen with *Ecclesiastick freedome*, not sitting with completeness of members, not voting or disputing with rationally, ingenuous and Christian liberties: but all things must be carried not after the *Nicene* but *Tridentine* fashion, as if the *holy Ghost* were sent to the Assessors in a carriers cloke-bag, or a souldier's knapsack; the most learned and sober men must be mute, and not dare freely to speak their minds, without being posted and exposed to popular hatred, even to the outraging and hazard of their persons, unlesse they speak to that *key and tune* to which the organe of faction is set.

These methods of *Church-Councils and Assemblies*, I confesse, are so *Mechanick*, so *Tyrannick*, so *Satanick*, that nothing is more mischievous to the Church of Christ and true Religion, whose condition instead of being thus mended, is alwaies marred and betrayed to further errors, factions and confusions. I pray God deliver his Church from such *Conventions*, where either Lay-men shall over-

number

number and over-awe the Clergy, or Clergy-men shall vassalate their *consciences* to gratifie any potent party and novell faction, to the prejudice of that truth, faith, order, ministry and government which were once delivered to the Churches of Christ. Not onely *England*, but all *Christendome* hath cause to curse the day when such snares and stratagems of Satan began to be laid in Synods and Assemblies, from thence to take effect on the whole, or any part of the Christian Church; as eminently in the second Council of *Nice*, the last of *Trent*, and that at *Westminster*: the first setting up Images in Christian Churches, to the scandall of Religion; the other a thousand new imaginations never owned before as of Christian faith; the last, which is the first of any that cryed down Episcopacy or Prelacy.

But the *abuses* incident to *good things*, through the distempers of men and evill hearts, must not exterminate or deprive us of the right use of them; for then we should not onely forsake our wits and reason, but our meat and drink, our clothes and sleep, yea and the light of the Sun, and breathing in the aire, yea our very Sacraments and Scriptures, our frequent Sermons, and extemporary as well as set prayers, yea & our *Presbyters* as well as our *Bishops*, for in all these *hony-combes* or hives, do hornets, wasps and drones very oft shrowd themselves; by these, as *St. Austin* observes, all errors, heresies and schismes seek to support and shelter themselves.

But where such Ecclesiasticall *Synods* and *Councils* as were the first so famous *Generall ones*, of *Nice*, *Ephesus*, *Chalcedon* and *Constantinople* (besides many other *Provinciall* and *Nationall Synods*, in *Asia*, *Africa* and *Europe*, also here in our *Britany*, of which the most learned *Sir H. Spelman* hath given us a liberall account, as *Sirmondus* of those in *France*: where, I say, they were lawfully called by the chief Magistrate, or freely convened by the *Bishops* consents, and impartially managed, with the feare of God and love of his truth, so as becomes men of learning, gravity and good conscience, in so grand concerns as import the peace of the Church, the satisfaction and salvation of mens soules: in these cases it cannot be denyed, nor sufficiently expressed, with how happy *successes* God hath alwaies blessed those *meetings*; their pious results and peaceable determinations being the votes of that publick *Spirit* of Christ, to which the *private Spirits* of all true *Prophets* and *Preachers*, no lesse than of Christian people, will, as they ought, be subject: Truth and Peace have for many yeares after flourished in those Churches that have been most blest with the frequency of such Synods. As frequency of *Parlaments*, when they are as they ought to be, (the highest, fullest and freest *Counsel* of the *Nation*) is the best preservative of our civill peace, and of the vigor of our *Laws*, so would frequent *Nationall Synods* (rightly constituted and managed) be, as I formerly demonstrated, the best *Conservators* of the purity, peace and proficiency of our Religion as *Christian* and *Reformed*.

When

When *Convocations* of Ministers should meet and sit, not onely for forme and fashion, to be the *Umbra's* of *Parlaments*, to put on their gownes, to tell the clock, and to give their monies, but to look seriously and effectually into the state of Religion, that it suffered no *detrimēt* by any practise or pretention, by profanenesse or superstition, by any defects or excelses, under the colours of affected novelty, or antiquated Antiquity; if the hand that held the scale and standard of Religion, were here fixed by Authority, that Nationall Synods should be the Conservators of Religion, it is not imaginable how much all worthy Ministers would study to improve their studies and imploy their parts to increase their gifts and graces, that they might be meet helps in so grand and publick services for God and his Church: such as now are like bitten and over-dopped shrubs, would then grow to the procerity of tall trees and goodly Cedars.

What is there so great, so glorious, so usefull, so advantageous for Religion and the good of the Church, that might not here by many acute eyes, diligent hands, able heads and honest hearts be effected?

The great use
of Nationall
and frequent
Synods.

1. How might all *new opinions*, which the *luxuriancy* of mens imaginations are prone to conceive and bring forth, (it may be with no evill minds, as honest women oft do monstrous births) be here timely and duly examined, and either smothered or allowed to live, being either fully confuted or seriously confirmed?

2. How might the purity, solidity and profundity of true Doctrine here be contained and maintained, as the waters for the Temple were in the *brassen Sea*?

3. How might the first *Catechistiqall principles* or *foundations*, with the second and third storyes of Religion, be here methodically digested and prepared for the use of all sorts of people, younger and elder?

4. How noble an *appeale* and impartiall a *Sanctuary* would both Doctrine and Discipline here have; which none could in reason or modesty either wave or refuse?

5. How might the *Devotionall* parts of Religion be here admirably composed, and so disposed as might supply both the infinite *defects* which have followed the late *Indirect Directory*, and the *apparent wants* which are found of a fitting publick Liturgy? The disuse of which hath not onely exposed the *solemnity* of publick Prayers and Sacramentall consecrations to each private Ministers Spirit and abilities; but to his defects, disorders, excesses, errors, indispositions and extravagancies: yea they have brought a very great neglect of publick and private duties among all people, through the ignorance and indevotion which is grown among us. Further, they have occasioned infinite partialities, whisperings, tumults, strifes, disdaines and divisions among all sorts both of Ministers and people; who have not onely the *word of God*, but the *water and the blood*, both the *Sacraments* of Christ, in great respect for

mens persons, parts and gifts. One Minister will have Sacraments, another will have none: one is cryed up, another cryed down, asconsecrating and officiating better or worse than another: one is very long, flat and tedious; another too short, obscure and concise: one affects such strange words and odde *phrases* in his *consecration* and distribution, as either amaze or scandalize the receivers, which I have known: some Ministers do all by their own either constant or occasionall formes; others covet to imitate the patternes and expressions of leading and popular Preachers. I humbly conceive much good might be done, even in this particular, if all Ministers were tyed to use some one grave, devout, complete and emphatick form, such as should be established with all due regard to the former Liturgie, and yet permitted with that, to use what further prayers and praises they thought convenient, or their fervent hearts moved them to, for their own and their peoples occasions; of the discreet performing of which, they should have other judges besides themselves, who should not suffer them to be tedious, extravagant or impertinent.

6. By such *Synods* moving in a constant orb or fixed sphere, how easily might a *noble Commentary* upon the whole *Scripture* be composed and commended to the use of this Church, for the clearing of the *Scripture-sense* and meaning, and for confirming the Readers of them in the true faith; which many not understanding with the Eunuch, wrest to their own destructions for want of an interpreter? For neither *Geneva* notes, nor *Diodates* touches, nor the late endeavours of some of the Assembly, do in my judgement come up to that light and lustre which would be required, and might be attained, in so admirable and usefull a work, whereto much good materials are already prepared by the excellent labours of English Divines upon most parts of the *Scripture*. To this *Commentary* might be added such directions for Readers more at leisure, as might commend to them those excellent English or other *Authors*, who had wrote well on any one *book*, or *chapter*, or *verse*, with reference to the most remarkable Treatises or Sermons, which have been set forth in the *Church of England*, which beyond any Church, ancient or moderne, had a fulnesse of such *spirituall gifts* or *propheying* powered forth upon it; which are now generally shrunk and withered, much abated and quite buried, chiefly for want of such publick employment, improvement and encouragement, as Ministers are capable of and aptest for.

7. By the concurrent influence of such publick *Counsels*, all *difficulties* in Doctrine, Discipline and Church-Government might easily be maturely debated, gravely resolved, exactly stated, and wisely composed.

8. More compendious, cleare, easie and constant waies of *inspiring Religion* to common peoples *grosser* minds might be prescribed, than those are of loose, rambling, arbitrary and diffused preaching, where after twenty yeares preaching (yea and with great applause

applause many times as well as good paines,) yet poor people are most-what very ignorant or raw as to the very first and maine *principles* of Religion; which I humbly conceive might be drawn up into so many short *discourses* and cleare Summaries, as might every *Lords-day* take up one quarter of an hour, or little more, before and after noon, in the *Ministers* distinct reading some one of them to the people in such a *constant order*, as once in every half year might finish the whole *series* of them: which might be printed for the use of such as can reade, and for others that cannot reade, this frequent inculcating and constant repeating of those main points, so set forth, could not but much *improve* the sound understanding of plainer people in the doctrines, mysteries, graces and promises, precepts and duties of true Religion; which now they learne either not at all in some necessary points, or so rawly, raggedly, loosely and confusedly, that it comes far short of that judicious and methodicall solidity which they might attaine, if they were clearly, uniformly and constantly taught, so as they could best beare and heare, understand and remember. Nor would this be any hinderance to preaching, praying or catechizing, but a great furtherance to them all, & what ever people had beside from the meanest *gifted Minister*, they might be sure to have every *Lords-day* one or two heads of good *Divinity* well set forth to them, yea and one or two chapters of the Bible well explained to them, till the whole were gone through. Which would be a great meanes to prevent the odd, idle and addle senses, by which silly or pragmatick-spirited people pervert and corrupt the Scripture, not onely by their private and weak, but by their ridiculous, erroneous and blasphemous interpretations: the variety and loosenesse, besides the easinesse and flatnesse of most mens preaching, doth rather confound than build common people in Religion; all which by constant Synods might be amended.

If the Church of *England* were so barren of godly, able, learned and honest Ministers, that a *good* and safe choice of fit members cannot be made every time such *venerable Synods* and *usefull Assemblies* should meet; if we of the Clergy are all so *degenerated* as to become (of late yeares) either *dunces* and unlearned, or erroneous and corrupt in our judgements, or licentious and immorall in our manners, or partiall and imprudent in our designs, or base and cowardly in all our *dealings*, that we are not to be trusted in the *mysteries* or *managery* of our own calling and function; truly tis pity we should be owned any longer as Ministers of Christ in this or any Church; being so unfit for our own sphere and duty.

Nor can I understand how it should be that Mechanick Artificers, Merchants, Tradesmen and Souldiers should still be thought fittest to be advised with in their severall waies and mysteries of life; onely the *Clergy* should be thought so defective in all abilities and honesty, as not to be trusted with any advise or counsell in publick matters of Religion, no more than with any place in any civil counsell or transactions. *Parlament-men* they may not be; while the most puny-

puny-gentry, petty Lawyers, and triviall Physicians, while *Merchants* and *Milleners*, *Gold-smiths* and *Copper-smiths*, while *Drugsters*, *Apothecaries*, *Haberdashers* of small wares, and *Leather-sellers*, and while every handy-crafts-man and prentice aspire to be not onely *Committee* but even *Parlament-men*, yea and it may be *Counsellors* of State. Onely *Clergy-men* must be wholly excluded, (as *Monks* condemned to their beades and bellies) while those lay-Masters challenge not onely all civill Counsels and Honorable employments to themselves, but they further seek to engrosse even those great concernments of Religion; not allowing any *Ministers*, of what ever size their Learning, Wisdome and Worth be, to move in their own mystery or joynt and publick interests, further than as they are impounded to their parish-Pulpits, and *tethered* to their *texts* or *desks*. Every sorry and silly mechanick dares to arrogate as great, (nay far greater) Empire-influences and latitudes in the publick management of Religion, than the best *Divines* in *England* may ever hope to attaine, or adventure to use, in any sphere private or publick, unless there be a more indulgent and equall regard had to the worth and calling of *Ministers* than of late-yeares hath been had.

O happy England, whose *Lazzy* and Communalty of late hath so excelled thy *Clergy*! or rather *O miserable England*, who either hast such *Church-men* as are not fit to be advised with or not trusted in Religion; or which art so unworthily jealous and neglective of them; as not to trust or use them in those great and sacred concernments for which they were educated, and in which they were heretofore not onely thought, but known, to be as able as any *Clergy* in all the world, till they were thus divided and shattered, thus disabled and disparaged, most of them rather by popular discouragings, prejudices and oppressions, than by any reall defects in themselves either of *Piety*, *Learning* or *Honesty*!

I cannot sufficiently pittie and deplore thy sad and miserable fate (*O my Country*) which either abusing or abusing, at least not using thy worthiest *Clergy* for such publick ends, deprivest thy self of the most soveraigne, nay onely ordinary meanes under Heaven whereby to recover thy self to the former Beauty, Honor, Lustre, Stability and integrity of true Religion which thou didst enjoy: everlasting divisions, deformities and confusions wil be thy portion, without a miracle, if thou trustest to those *Egyptian reeds*, the novel pretensions and usurpations of ignorant and arrogant Lay-men, of inspired and aspiring *Levellers*, which will pierce into thy hand and heart while thou leanest on them. Nothing can restore or preserve the health and soundnesse of Religion but those waies which are tryed, *Authoritative* and *Authentick*, which have Gods *Image*, Christs *Power*, the Spirits *Wisdome*, the *Apostles prescription*, and the *Catholick Churches Character* upon them; which may first perswade mens judgements, and then oblige their consciences to *obey* for the *Lords sake*.

All methods used in Religion that are perverse, popular, novell, arrogant or invasive, contrary to the sacred and venerable *methods* of Gods direction and the Churches Catholick Custome, are like *flukes* and *banks* ill-bottomed, soon blown up, having neither depth nor weight, foundation nor superstruction to make them good. Nor shall I ever think the *Lawes* of *Parlaments* more binding to obey in civill things, than such *Canons* of *Church-Councils* are obligatory as to submission in religious matters; where nothing is decreed contrary to Gods expresse will in his Word, nor beyond those generall latitudes and Commissions of Charity, Order, Peace, Decency and Holinesse, which God hath indulged to his Church.

Certainly the *Wolves*, *Foxes* and *Boares*, *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks* and *heathen* persecutors, had long ago scattered the severall flocks of Christ into corners, and dissolved the face of any visible Church on earth, if after the severall sad dispersions and vastations of them, the chief *Pastors* and *Bishops* of the Church, (succeeding to the ordinary power of Apostles) had not either in Oecumenick Councils, or in their particular *Diocess* & *Provinces*, taken care with their brethren to call together and settle in Holy Communion of faith and manners the *remaines* of their dispersed Presbyters and disordered people. To which good work of calling Councils and Synods, for the rectifying and restoring of Religion, all good Christian *Emperours*, besides the *Bishops*, did cheerfully contribute both their *favour* and *Treasure*, as the most noble way in the world to employ them.

Shall the *Counsels* and *powers*, the tributes and revenues of Christian *Magistrates* and people, be onely laid out in making war at home and abroad, onely to recover or keep up their civill peace, or to build their own houses? and is nothing to be laid out to maintain the *Faith* of *Christ*, to keep the fort of *Sion*, and to build the *Towers* and *Temple* of *Jerusalem*, to restore and preserve the Purity and Peace, the Sanctity and Solemnity, the Order and Authority of Christian, yea Reformed Religion? Must that be left (like *Pauls*) to impair or repair it self as well as it can? or onely be committed to the care of such men as are commonly better at pulling down than building up Churches, who neither know how to begin nor how to end any Church-work, having neither heads nor hands, materials nor skill, line nor rule fit for such businesse? And when they have done all they can in bungling and new waies, neither the *Clergy* or Ministers under their power, nor the Laity or people under their command, will much more regard, as to conscience, what is so done by only Lay-mens magisterial decrees and imperial appointments, than they now do consider the *Covenant* and Holy League, or the Directory and Engagement, new models for Religion, cut out not so much by nationall Synods and Councils as by swords and pistols, and accordingly both esteemed and used by all men that are of *sound* and *judicious* minds, not corrupted with partiality, credulity, popularity and novelty. For how can those bind the conscience of the Nation in the most indifferent things of Religion, who

who never had the choice, counsell or consent of all Estates in the nation, either to advise, or determine, or enjoyne any such things, which require (to make them valid and conscientiously obligatory) the Sovereignes call, the Clergies counsell, and the Parlements sanction?

CHAP. XVI.

The method
of restoring a
settled Church
and united
Ministry.



Well know how hard a work it is for the best and wisest of men to stop the leakes of Religion, to repaire a broken Church, or to buoy up a sunk and lapsed Clergy, when once they are either *overwhelmed* with the corrupt Doctrines and licentious manners of Preachers and Professors, or split with intestine Schismes and Divisions, or *debased* with vulgar usurpations and presumptions, or oppressed with the secular policies and *sacrilegious* injuries of violent and unreasonable men; who are alwaies afraid lest the renewed light and restored vigor of true Religion, with the due Authority of its Ministry in the *Church*, should give any stop or check to their extravagant lusts and enormous actions. To which purpose such pragmaticks will be sure either utterly to hinder all good meanes that may effectually recover the true interests of Religion and its Ministry, or else they labour impertinently to apply such onely as they know will render them more incurable, and set them next doore to an *impossibility*.

Which will be the State of the Church of England, if the Recovery of Religion, as to its visible Beauty, Order, Unity and Polity, be either managed by *Lay-mens Counsels* and activities onely, excluding all Ministers from all publick, equall and impartiall consultations; or if, on the other side, Church-affaires be wholly left to the various heads, divided hands and partiall designes of such as are now called *Preachers*, and pretend to be *Ministers*; among whom (commonly) the *weakest heads* have the most *pragmatick hands*, and men of least abilities are greatest sticklers, though it be but more to puzzle, confound and destroy themselves and others. On the other side, such *Clergy-men* as have most of solid Learning, sober Piety, sacred Authority, and real Sufficiencies for such a work, will be either afraid or ashamed to act or assist in it, if they have not some publick Commission with equall and impartiall encouragement from those in power. For certaine, meer *mechanick* and *illiterate preachers*, (such as some people now most affect) will never be able, if willing, to do any good in so great and good a work, no more than *wasps* are like to make honey: Ignorance and disorder, faction and confusion being for their interest, as muddy places are best for Eeles. Other Ministers, though never so willing and able, yet, as tooles that are blunt and have no edge set on them, can never carry on such a work handsomely, unless their late rust and dispiriting,

spiriting, their poverty and depression be taken off; unlesse their mutuall contempts, distances and jealousies be fairly removed; unlesse they be restored to such Charity, Comfort and Courage, as becomes Learned and Godly Ministers. Such a constitution as was heretofore most eminently to be seen in the *Ecclesiasticall Synods* and *Convocations* of the *English Clergy*, while they enjoyed, by the favours of *munificent Princes* and the assistance of *unanimous Parliaments*, those many *noble priviledges* both of Honor and Estate, together with their undoubted Ecclesiasticall Authority, which were by ancient and moderne Lawes settled upon them; which kept up the Learning and Religion, the Credit and Comfort of the Clergy of this *Nation*, to so great an height both of Love and Reputation, that neither the *petulancy of people* nor the *arrogancy* of any parasitick preachers either dared or were able thus to *divide* and *wound* them and the Church, through the pretences of such Liberties and Reformati^ons as knew no bounds of modesty or common honesty, so far were they from any true grounds of *piety* or Christianity.

Nor will the divided and depressed *State of Religion* in this Church ever recover its pristine vigor, its due authority, its holy influence or its honorable esteem, unlesse you (*O my noble and honored Countrymen*, who are persons of most publick eminence and influence) be pleased to make it one of the chiefest objects of your Counsells, Prayers and endeavours, to revive the *drooping Spirits*, to raise the dejected estate, and to *re-compose* the shattered posture of the *Clergy* or *Ministry of England*; in whose ruine the Reformed Religion will be ruined, and in whose recovery true Christian Religion will be recovered to its just harmony, stability, and honor: for it is impossible that *Religion* as Christian and Reformed should enjoy either unity, reverence or authority, while the chief Pastors, Preachers and Professors of it are in so dubious, debased and divided a condition.

Since then the Religious happine^{ss}e of this Church and Nation chiefly depends and moves upon this *one hinde*, give me leave with all humble and earnest advise to commend to your Christian consideration, First, the *preservation of the very being or essence* of a true and authoritative Ministry, upon which depends the visible polity and orderly being of any true Church, also the powerfull dispensation and comfortable reception of all *holy mysteries*; Secondly, the (*bene esse*) well-being or flourishing estate of such a true Ministry, by which it may be kept in such order, honor and unity, as may redeem it both from vulgar arrogancies, contempts and confusions, also from mutuall factions and divisions; by which meanes (of later yeares) the very face of a *Church*, as to any *National harmony*, fraternity, subordination and Communion in *England*, is either quite lost, or so hidden, deformed and disguised, that not onely the sacred dignity and authority, but the very *Name* and *Office* of a true *Minister*, is become odious, infamous and ridiculous among many people, who either will have no Ministers at all, or
onely

onely such as themselves list to create in their severall *Conventicles*, which are, in respect of the true Church and *Clergy* of England, no more to be esteemed than the *concubines* of jealousy and *harlots* of adultery are to be compared to lawfull *wives*, that are *Matrons* of unspotted *honor*.

The essentials
of a true Mi-
nist-y.

1. The *Essentials* of a true *Christian Ministry* consist, First, in the *person* or *subject* fitly qualified for that calling; Secondly, in the *commission* or *power* by which the proper *Forme* and *Authority* *Ministeriall* is duly applyed to any person so qualified.

1. The Subject
matter of the
Minist-y must
be able and
apt men.

1. The person, subject matter or recipient of *Holy Orders*, ought to be such persons as are furnished with those *Ministeriall* gifts and abilities, both internall and externall, for knowledge and utterance, for unblamable life and good report, as may make them not onely competent for that holy work in generall, but likewise fit for that particular place whereto God by man doth call them. Of these reall and discernable *competencies*, (besides those sincere and gracious propensities in charity to be hoped and presumed to glorifie God in that service, not out of ambition, covetousness, popularity, or meer necessity, but out of an *humble zeal* and an holy choice) a judicious, serious, strict, solemn, publick and authoritative *triall* and approbation ought to be made, as was appointed in the Church of England, by such Ecclesiasticall persons as are in all reason most able, and so most meet to be appointed by law for the examining and judging of *Ministers*, both as to their personall sufficiencies, and the publick testimonies of their life and manners.

In this point I know some men are jealous that some *Bishops* in former times were too private, remisse and superficiall, approving and ordaining *Ministers* onely upon the *Chaplaines* triall and testimony, which after proved but sorry *Clerks*, for which easynesse they had (many times) to plead the meannesse of those *Livinges* to which such *Ministers* were presented, as could not bear an exacter triall. Poor people must have such *preachers* or none in such starving *entertainments* as were in many places, which, like heathy grounds, neither can breed nor feed any thing that is grand or goodly.

Were the *maintenance* of *Ministers* every where made competent, nothing should be more severely looked to by the *ordainers* of *Ministers* than the competent abilities and worth of those to whom they transmit and impart that *sacred power*, *charge* and *Ministration*. For, not onely the consciences of the *ordained*, but of the *ordainers*, stand here highly responsible to God and the Church, that God may be glorified, that the Church both in generall and particular may be satisfied, that both other *Ministers* may cheertfully joyne with them in the work of the Lord, and that their *peculiar charge* may receive them with that due respect, love and submission, which becomes those that *minister* to them the holy things of God in the stead of *Iesus Christ*, as his *Stewards*, *Lieutenants* and *Embassadors*. No men will *conscienciously*, no nor *civilly*, regard any *Minister* (when once the plebeian heat of faction is allayed) of
whose

whose sufficiency, and authority too, they have no just confidence, because no publick triall, credible testimony, or authoritative mission: How much lesse, when men shall have pregnant evidences of a *Ministers weaknesse, ignorance, folly, schisme and scandall* many waies? 'Tis true, in the highest and exactest sense (as the Apostle sayes) none are sufficient for those things; but yet in a lower and qualified sense, none ought to be ordained who are not in some sort sufficient for them. Because none are by way of Divine equivalency worthy, we must not therefore admit such as are in humane & morall, or intellectuall proportions utterly unworthy; since the Lord of his Church is pleased in all ages to give such gifts and blessings to mens tenuity, as may in some sense fit those *earthen vessels* to be workers together with God, by the help of the excellency of his Divine power, whose operations in this kind are not miraculous, as without any fit meanes, but morall, and proportionate to the aptitude of such meanes as God hath appointed and required in his Church for humane ability and industry.

When the Materiall qualifications of one that is a Candidate or Expectant of the Ministry are thus examined by the *ordainers*, & discovered to all those who are concerned, the next care for the Essentials of a Minister consists in applying that true Character, stamp and Authority, wherein the Essential Form and Soule as it were of a Minister of the Gospel doth consist; which (as I have in another work largely declared) doth not arise from any thing that is common in Nature or Grace, from any morall, civill or religious respects, for then all men, and women too, that have naturall or acquired abilities, religious or gracious endowments, might presently either challenge to themselves the place, power, office and authority of a Minister of Christ and his Church, or communicate it to others as they please; which would be the originall of all presumption and confusion in the Church of Christ, as much as parallel practises would be in civill States, if every man should put himself into what place and employment publick he listeth, either magistratick or military, without any Commission or expresse authority derived to him from the fountaine of civill or magistratick power.

No, the true, valid and authentick authority of an Evangelicall Minister of any rank and degree, as *Deacon, Presbyter* or *Bishop* in the Church, consists in that Divine mission and Ecclesiasticall Commission, which is duly derived and orderly conferred to meet persons, by those who are the lawfull and Catholick conduits of that power, to whom it hath been in all ages and places committed, and who are in a capacity to transmit or communicate and impart it to others by way of holy ordination, such as *Iesus Christ* received from his Father, such as he derived to his Apostles, such as they committed to their deputed successors, the *Bishops* and *Pastors* of the Church in all Ages and places; of which we have two expresse witnessses and great exemplifications in the commissions given by Saint Paul to *Timothy* and *Titus*, both as to ordination and jurisdiction;

T t t

Such

Secondly, The
essential Form
of a true Mi-
nister, right
Ordination:

2 Cor. 3. 16,

2 Cor. 4. 7.

Such as hath been preserved in the Church through all times and places as a *sacred depositum* of Spirituall power, enabling *Bishops* and *Presbyters* to act as Ministers of Christ, in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in those holy Offices and Mysteries which are instituted by them for the calling, collecting, constituting and governing of the Church in a regular society and visible polity; which least of all affects or admits any novelty or variety in its holy orders or authority.

Which great Trust, Power and *Commission* for duly ordaining and sending forth *Ministers* into the Church of Christ, no man nor wilfully blind but must confesse that it hath been in all times, parts and states of the Church of Christ executed, if not onely, yet chiefly, by the *Ecclesiastickall presidents* or *Bishops*, in every grand distribution of the *Churches polity*: So as it was never regularly, warrantably or completely done by any Christian people, or by any *Presbyters* or *Preachers*, without the presence, consent or permission of their *respective Bishops*, in the severall limits or partitions.

Nor was this great, sacred and solemn work of *Ordination* ever either usurped by *Bishops*, as arrogant and *imperious*, or executed by them as a thing arbitrary and precarious; but it was alwaies owned, esteemed and used by all true Christians, both Ministers and People, as an *Authority Sacred* and *Divine*, fixed and exercised by way of spirituall *Jurisdiction* and power *Ecclesiastickall*, specially *inherent*, and eminently *resident* in *Bishops* as such, that is, so invested with the peculiar power of *conferring holy orders* to others, even from the hands and times of the *Blessed Apostles*, who had undoubtedly this power placed in them, and as undoubtedly ordered such a *transmission* of it, as to *Timothy* and *Titus*, so to all those holy *Bishops* that were their Primitive Successors; who did, as they ought, still continue that holy *succession* to all ages, by laying on such *Episcopall* hands as were the unquestionable *Conservators* and chief *distributers* of that Ministeriall power, ever esteemed *Sacred*, *Apostolick*, *Catholick*, and *Divine*, being from one *fountain* or source *Iesus Christ*, and uniformly carried on by one *orderly course*, without any perverting or interrupting from any good Christians, either *Presbyters* or people. Nor were they ever judged other than factious, schismaticall, irregular, impudent and injurious, who either usurped to themselves a power of *Ordination*, or despised and neglected it in their *lawfull* and *orthodox Bishops*, upon any pretence of parity or popularity; as Learned *Saravia* proves *unanswerably* against Mr. *Beza*, when to make good the new *Presbyterian Confession* at *Geneva*, he sought in this point to weaken the ancient, *Catholick* and constant *prerogative* of *Episcopall* Ordination; which never appeares either in *Scripture* to have been committed, or in any *Church-History* to have been used by any *Presbyters* or People, apart from, much lesse in despite and affront of, the *respective Bishops* which were over them.

This great power of *Ordination*, which the Author to the *Hebrewes*

Ordinatos fuisse
Presbyteros à
solis Presbyteris,
nullo exemplo,
nulla auctori-
tate probari
potest.
Sarav. Cont.
Bez. de grad.
Min. c. 22.

browes signifies by the solemn ceremonie of *laying on of hands*, is Heb. 6.2. esteemed by that Apostolick writer as a *maine principle* or *chief pillar* of Christian Religion, in respect of *Ecclesiastick* Order, Polity, Peace, Authority and Comfort; necessary for all Christians, both as Ministers and as people, in sociall and single capacities. For there is ordinarily no true and orthodox believing without powerfull and *authoritative preaching*; and there can be no such preaching without a just *mission* or sending from those in whom that *Sacred Commission* hath ever been deposited, exemplified and preserved; which were the *Bishops* of the Church beyond all dispute, who did not ordaine *Presbyters* in private and clandestine fashions, but in a most publick and solemn manner, after fasting, preaching and praying, so as might best satisfie the *Presbyters assistant* and the people present at that grand transaction: both of them being highly concerned, the first what Ministers or fellow-labourers were joyned with them in the *work of the Lord*, the other what Pastors and Teachers were set over them as from the Lord, and not meerly from man, in any natural, morall, or civill capacity; whence the authority of the Christian Ministry cannot be, since it is not of *man* or from man, but from that *Lord* and God, who is the great Teacher and Saviour of his Church, who onely could give power as gifts meet for Eph. 4. the *Pastors, Bishops, and Teachers* of it.

These serious, weighty and undoubted perswasions, touching one uniforme, holy, and divine *ordination*, being fixed in the consciences of all wise and sober Christians; it will follow without all peradventure, that *true Religion*, as Christian and Reformed, will never be able to recover in this or *any Christian Nation* its pristine lustre and Primitive Majesty, its ancient life and vigor, its due credit and comfort, much lesse its just Power and Authority over mens hearts and consciences, untill this point of *Ordination*, or *solemn investiture* of fit men into *Ministeriall* Office and Power, be effectually vindicated and happily redeemed from those moderne intrusions, usurpations, variations and dissentions, which are now so rife among Preachers themselves, whence flow those licentious and insolent humors so predominant in common people, who by dividing, the other by usurping, both by innovating in this point of *Ordination*, have brought those infinite distractions, contempts and indifferences upon Religion and its Ministry, as Christian and Reformed, which are at this day to be seen in *England* beyond any Nation that I know under Heaven.

It is most certain, that the major part of mankind, yea and of formall Christians too, do not much care for the *power of any Religion*, nor for the Authority of any Ministry, no nor for any serious profession or form of Religion, further than these may suite with their fancies, lusts and interests. If custome or education have *dipped* them in some *tincture of Religion* during their minority, if the cords of counsell and example have bound them up to some form of godlineffe in their tender yeares and tamer tempers; yet, as they grow

grow elder, they are prone to grow *bolder* to sin, and to affect such *refractory liberties*, as may not onely dispute and quarrell some parts, but despise and trample under feet all the frame of Religion that is not indulgent to their humors, or compliant to their inordinate desires and designs. Especially when once they find publick disorders, distractions and disgraces cast upon that very *Religion* in which they were instituted; when they see contumelies and affronts cast upon that whole *Church* in which they were baptized, and all manner of contemptuous insolencies offered to those chief *Church-men*, by whom they had received the *derivations* and *dispensations* of all Holy Orders, Truths and Mysteries. When men see *new Religions*, new Churches, new Ministers and new modes of Ordination set up, to the reproch and defiance of all that went before, who, I beseech you, of most ordinary Christians (who are yet agitated by their youthfull lusts and unbridled passions) will be so constant as to hold fast that *profession* which formerly they had taken up: Who will continue to venerate that Church and Clergy whose heads they see *crowned* with *thornes*, and their faces besmeared with blood and dirt, whose *comeliness* is deformed with the spittings, buffetings and scornings of those that seek to expose them to open shame, and to fasten them to the Crosse of death and infamy: Alas, they will not at all regard in a short time any orders of the Church, or any *ordination* of Ministers, or any *sacred ordinances* and mysteries dispensed by them; since no pleas, never so pregnant and unanswerable, for the *Antiquity*, *Uniformity* and *Constancy* of that way and method which was used in all ages and places of the Church of Christ, since no *gracious* and *glorious successes* attending such *ordaining Bishops* and such ordained Presbyters, since nothing prevails against vulgar prejudices and extravagancies, provoked by that impatient itch they alwaies have after novelties.

Many we see will have no Ordination, no Ministers, no Sacraments, rather than *Bishops* should have any hand in ordaining. The honor of that Ordination which was in all ancient Churches must be cruelly sacrificed with all ancient and Catholick *Episcopacy*, rather than some mens passions for a parity, or popularity, or an Anarchy in the Church be not gratified. All *Bishops* as such, and all Presbyters, and all Christians, and all Churches, and all holy duties performed by them in that station and communion, must be cryed down, yea thrown down, as the *adulteratings* and *prostitutions* of the Churches Liberty, and of the purity of Christs Ordinances. The hands of *Bishops* and *Presbyters* too, though joyned and imposed in *Ordination*, must be declared as impure, vile and invalid; yea a flat, novel and impertinent distinction must be found out to vacate the *Bishops* eminency, and yet to assert the Presbyters parity and sole power, as resting in any three, two, or one of them, though never so petty, poor and pittifull men in all respects, naturall and civill, sacred and morall. Yet these (forsooth) some fancy as Presbyters may still ordain, because a *Bishop* (say they) did so, meerly

as a Presbyter of the same degree and order, not as having any eminency of office, degree, authority or jurisdiction above the meanest Minister; which St. *Jerom* and all antiquity acknowledged as a branch of Apostolicall dignity and eminency peculiar to a *Bishop* above any one or more *Presbyters*.

Which reproches against the persons, power and practise of *Bishops* in *England*, as usurpers and monopolizers in this point of *ordination* (which they ever challenged and exercised as their peculiar honor, office and dignity in this as all Churches) if they could by any Reason or Scripture, by Law of God or Man, by any judgement or practise of any one Church, or of any one godly and renowned Christian in any age or History of the Church, be verified, so as to make their power of *ordination* to be but a *subtile* or forcible *usurpation* in *Bishops*, it would have been not onely an act of *high Justice* to have abrogated all the pretensions of *Bishops* to that or any power in the Church; but it will be a work of *admiration*, yea of astonishment, to the worlds end in all after-ages and successions of Christian Religion, (which will hardly last another 1500 yeares) to consider the long and strong delusion which possessed the Christian world in this point of Ordination, as onely *regular* and *complete* by *Bishops*, where their presence and power might be enjoyed. Nor will it be more matter of everlasting wonder to ponder, not onely Gods long permission of such a strong delusion, but his prospering it so much and so long as a principall meanes to preserve and propagate the Ministry, Order, Government, Peace and Power of true Religion, and the true Churches of Christ, which were never without *Bishops*, as Spirituall *Fathers* begetting (as *Epiphanius* speakes) both *Presbyters* and people to the Church.

Nor will it be the work of an *ordinary* wit, whether *Presbyterian* or *Independent*, to salve all those aspersions and diminutions of either ignorance and blindness, or fatuity and credulity, or weakness and impotency, which must necessarily fall from this account not onely upon the wisest and best *Church-men*, but upon the most Christian and wise Princes, the most zealous and reformed *Parliaments* of *England*, who in the *grand Reformation* of this Church, and ever since for neer an 100. yeares, have after grave counsell and mature debate, approved and appointed, countenanced by a law, and encouraged by their actuall submission, the *ordination* of *Ministers* chiefly by the authority of *Bishops*, never without them. And this they did certainly not out of *policy* but *piety*, not in prudence onely but in conscience, convinced not only of the lawfulness of *Bishops*, but of the necessity of them (where Providence doth not absolutely hinder or deny them, as it never did in *England*, or elsewhere) by the example of the Apostles, by the ancient, constant and uniform practise of this and all Churches, by the suffrages of all Learned and Godly men of any account in all ages. To all which were added as great preponderatings in behalfe of *Episcopacy*, the many and most incomparable *Bishops* that have been in all successions of the Church;

Church; the many *Martyrs, Confessors, excellent Preachers, Writers and Governours* of that order; lastly the *unspeakable blessings* which by their Ordination, Consultation and Jurisdiction have been derived to the Church of Christ. If all Estates in the Reformed Church of England have been hitherto deceived, as to this point of *Episcopall Ordination by Bishops*; sure they are the more excusable, because they have erred with all the *Christian world*. Nor could they be justly blamed, if when they reformed superfluous *Superstition*, they yet abhorred in this point so great and dangerous an *innovation*, which must needs shake and overthrow the faith of many, if the peculiar office and power of *Bishops to ordaine* Ministers and governe the Church were either onely usurped, or wholly invalid, as some of late have pretended, not with more clamor than falsity.

But if all these jealousies and reproches cast upon *Bishops* and their Authoritative *Ordination* (as a peculiar office and exercise of power eminently residing in them) be most false, and by some mens calumnies heightened to such impudent lies, that no *cruciations of Hell* or *belchings of Beelzebub* had ever more blackness of darknesse in them, or more affrontive to the glory God and the Honor of the *Catholick Church*, whence, I beseech you (O my Noble and worthy Countrymen) is that dulness, stupor and indifferency come upon us in England, so far, as not onely connives at the arrogance of some Presbyters, who without Scripture-precept or *Catholick-patterne* challenge this ordaining and Governing power as onely and wholly due to themselves, discarding all *Episcopall Eminency and Authority* above them; but the *very beasts* of the people are so far flattered, as to be suffered with their *foule feet* daily to trouble and confound that cleare fountain, and constant streame of *Ministeriall Authority* and *Ecclesiasticall succession* by way of *Episcopall Ordination*; which was ever of so solemn and conspicuous use in all Churches, of so venerable a succession, of so ancient and-uninterrupted a derivation, from the very Apostles dayes and hands, that it never failed to keep its course (as some rivers do through *salt waters*) amidst all the confusions which either heathenish, hereticall, or schismaticall persecutions raised in the Church.

Yea, no *Hereticks*, no *Schismaticks*, (except *Aerius* and his few complices, who, discontent for not obtaining a *Bishoprick* which he sought, and turning *Arrian*, was the first, the onely and the fittest engine to oppose *Episcopacy*, as *Epiphanius* observes) were ever so wild, so fanatick, so desperate, as to cast off all *Episcopall succession & Authority* over them, both in Ordination and jurisdiction; yea they knew no meanes to keep their *confederacies* and *factions* better together, than that which they saw had alwaies been serviceable to preserve the true Churches communion. Though the *Manicheans, Arrians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Pelagians* and others, together with the *Novatians, Donatists*, withdrew from, or were justly excluded by the *Bishops* of the sound and orthodox profession; yet still these Hetero-

dox Opiniasters had not onely *Deacons* and *Presbyters*, but *Bishops* of their own: Some of which *Bishops* afterward returning to the Catholick Communion, were not degraded from their *Episcopall* power, but onely suspended from the exercise of it in another *Bishops* jurisdiction or Diocese without his leave; which being granted to some of them, gave occasion to those *Chorepiscopi*, which were *Bishops* without particular title and locall jurisdiction, but yet enjoying and using this power of *Ordination* in some Country-Townes and Villages, by the permission of the *Bishop* or *Metropolitane* of the Diocese or Province, residing in the chief City: which indulgence was after (as the Church-Histories tell us) taken away from the *Chorepiscopi*, when it was found to occasion great inconveniences, by admitting two *Bishops* in one Precinct or Diocese.

Certainly, what is so pregnantly Catholick and usefull, that not onely all good men, but even such as were evill could not but approve and use it, it were not onely folly, but frenzy, to cast quite away: (if it were the full vote and free act of the Nation.) What *Apology* could be sufficient to excuse this *Nation*, either among Churches abroad, or to posterity at home, when they should see that by a rash, partiall and popular precipitancy we have been hurried, against all Reason, Honor and Religion, to forsake or to stop up the ancient fountains of living waters, which have alwaies flowed from *Episcopall Ordination*, (supplying this, as all Churches, in all places and offices with orderly *Presbyters* and usefull *Deacons*) onely to try what those pits will afford which *novellers* have digged to themselves, and which they eagerly obtrude upon this Church, notwithstanding they are already found by sad experience to hold no such cleare and pure waters, either for Doctrine or Discipline, for Authority or Unity, for Order or Peace, as those were which the Apostles digged, and the Catholick Church ever used and esteemed for sacred?

In this great point then of *Right Ordination*, and true *Ministeriall Authority* (of which the Learned Mr. *Mason* professeth, next his salvation, he desires to be assured) it is (as I humbly conceive) not onely piously, but prudently necessary for our Reformed Church, Religion and Ministry to be effectually vindicated, and by all possible meanes fairly united. If there were ever any other way of *Ordination* used or allowed in the Church of Christ, let the Authors, Histories and instances be produced, either as to their grounds or their practise. If there were never any other either used, or approved, or thought of, besides that which was in the Church of *England*, managed by *Bishops*, as necessary and chief agents in it; truly it is but Justice, Reason, Conscience and Honor to own this Truth, to follow this *Catholick precedent*, to returne to an holy conformity with pious Antiquity, which neither invented nor induced *Bishops* or *Episcopall Ordination* and jurisdiction as an affected novelty, or a studied variety, but they followed (doubtlesse) herein what was received from the very first *Bishops*, who succeeded to the Apostles, as authorized and placed by them.

Mr. *Mason*
Preface to his
Defence, &c.

So

Tertul. l. de
Præf. adv. Har.
l. 32, & 34.
Cont. Marc.
l. 4. c. 5.
Euseb. hist.
l. 5, 6, 7.
Irenæus l. 4.
c. 6. lib. 5. c. 10.
Cyp. ep. 52. &
passim.
Which authori-
ties are after-
ward at large
cited in this
Book.

So that as the succession of *Bishops* was lineally reducible to the Apostles, (which *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Nicéphorus*, and others evidently prove, not onely by their publick *Registers*, but by their private memories, when the names of *Bishops* were fresh in Christians minds, and not very numerous, as in the second and third Centuries) No lesse may be affirmed of *Ordination* by *Bishops*, it had its precept and pattern from the Apostles, expressly committed and enjoyned to some persons as chief *Bishops*, never trusted to meer *Presbyters* alone, much less to people in common, so far as any Record of the Church, Sacred or Ecclesiastick, doth informe us; whose constant silence in this case is a better *Testimony* against all innovation of *Ecclesiasticall Ordination*, than all the *Sorites*, the *Rhapsodies*, heapes and scamlings of I know not what broken scraps and wrested allegations out of any *Scriptures* or *Fathers* can be: by which I see some men have sought, with much dust, sweat and blood, to bring in their new, uncertaine, unaccustomed and unauthentick formes of *Ordination*, exclusive of any *President* or *Bishop*, who ever was as the *principall Verb* in a sentence, which cannot be wanting, without making the sense of all other words very lame, defective, incoherent and insignificant.

These grand *perswasions* joyned to the sad experiences made in *Englands* late *variations*, do thus far command me to be more intent and earnest that in this point of valid, complete, undoubted and most authoritative *Ordination* we might be made uniform; that all Ministers, like *currant money*, might have the same *image* and superscription upon them.

It is most certaine that the Christian and Reformed Religion will never be able to shine either clearly, or constantly, or comfortably upon the consciences of Christians, either as Ministers or people, while it is in this great point of *Ordination* so darkned, clouded and eclipsed, that it lookes like the Sun wrapped in sackcloth, or the Moon turned into blood. What Ministry, what Ministers, what *Ordination*, what Ordained, what Ordainers, what Ordinances of Christ will (in time) be much esteemed in *England* by the Nobility, Gentry or Yeomanry, when they shall see various waies of *Ordination* daily invented and obtruded, pittifull *Novelties* induced, uniform *Antiquity* discarded, Primitive *Episcopacy* exautorated, a subordinate *Presbytery* scorned, a popular parity and petulancy indulged every where to make what extemporary Priests and Preachers they list of the dregs and meanest of the people, as little (God knowes) to their own soules benefit as to the Churches peace, or to the honor of this Nation, though they do it with as much facility as children make little babies of clouts, or statues of clay, as *Nazianzen* alludes?

For what I pray you will these new propagators, with all their progeny of new-ordained, new-fashioned, new-coyned and new-commissioned Preachers, signifie to the more sober sort of mankind, or indeed to the very plebs and vulgar, especially among people

Veritatis præ-
dicatorem u-
nim diei spatio
velut è luto
statuam fin-
gunt.
Nazian.

People so curious, so querulous, so proud, so pragmatick, so petulant, so insolent, as are in *England*: Will sober Christians ever much care for any Ministers unlesse they be commended to them as *meet to be such*, not onely by the highest wisdom and civill orderings of this Nation, but also as set over them in the Lords *Name*, and Christs *Authority*, by an holy and solemn *Ordination*? such, of which they have the least and indeed no cause to have any *doubting* or *slighting thoughts*; which is the case onely of Episcopall Ordination. English Christians of any estate, worth, weight, or wisdom, will never be contented to be taught and reprov'd, to have their children *baptized* at the *Font*, or themselves *communicated* at the *Lords Table*, by such Ministers as shall have onely the petty *tickets* of an humane act or State-*ordinance*. No, they will, and justly ought to require the grand *Charter* of *Divine Authority*, conferred in the way of *Catholick* and true *Ordination*: That so *Ministers* may be able to justify their function and actions, not onely in Law, but in conscience; not as *Emissaries* from men, but as *Embassadors* from God, *Commissioned* by Christ and his *Deputies*, *employed* in his *work*, and armed with his power. There goes much more to make a Minister of Jesus Christ, than to make a *Constable* in an Hundred or a Parish, or to make a *Captaine* in a Troop, or a Justice on a Bench; who yet cannot expect to be owned as such, unlesse they can evidence their Commission and Authority to be rightly derived from the soveraigne originall of civill *power*: no more may Ministers, unlesse they can shew the right source and course of their sacred *Authority*.

While Ministers preach and practise, Baptize and Consecrate with divided *tongues*, *distracted hands* and *distorted heads*, as to this point of their *Ordination*, they are likely to produce no better successes, either to this *Church* or *Nation*, than those mortar-men did, whose work deserved the nick-name of *Babel* or Confusion. The essentiall forme and difference, the whole life and operation, the proper virtue and efficacy of a *Christian Ministry* and Minister, depending (as I have shewed) upon the truth, sanctity and *validity* of *that Authority* with which he is invested, and by that enabled to do the work and office of a Minister; without which no man hath any more to do, than his meanest groom or foot-man, with the acts properly Ministeriall, Military or Magisteriall, whatever abilities or call he fancie himself to have.

So that if once your Wisdom and Piety (O worthy Gentlemen) could find a way to put the Clergy or *Ministry* of this *Church* (as formerly we were) into an *uniform* way of sacred, complete and undoubted Authority as to their *Ordination*, then (and not before) will they appeare like the *Angels of God* ascending and descending in their orderly courses; then will they be enabled and esteemed powerfully to pray to God for you, powerfully to preach from God to you, powerfully to consecrate and exhibit holy mysteries to you: Then will they be like the *Lamps of the Temple*, or the shafts of the

Golden Candlestick, (which were all of the same make and fashion, and supplied with holy oyle from the same source) shining with a lustre more than humane in your severall congregations: how much more will they appeare like *Angelick* and *Celestiall* Quires in their *Ecclestaſtick Convocations* and *Synodall Conventions*?

Whereas now Ministers are in all Places, Cities and Countries wretchedly divided, monstrously deformed, and miserably disabled, mutually accusing and clamoring against each other, alwaies barking, or biting, or howling, either tormenting or tormented, as the *Devils in Hell*. One *superciliously* abhors what another devoutly adores. One *viliſies* what another venerates. One Minister with his party pulls down what another builds up. One execrates what another consecrates. One nullifies what another magnifies. One formally officiates who is counted no Minister, and really is none; another is thought to be but halfe a Minister, or a kind of mungrell; a third is reputed for more than an ordinary Minister, as having his Commission by inspiration or conspiracy. One is thought superfluous, yea superstitious, in his Ordination, because he had a Bishop with Presbyters to ordaine him; another is judged defective and dwarfish for want of a Bishop; a third hath neither Bishop nor true Presbyters to ordaine him, but either begets a body to himself as an head, or is chosen by a popular body to be their head. This makes both Preachers and people at such distances and defiance in Religion, that one counts that sacriledge which another boasts of as sacred. One is called a mocker of God, an usurper in holy offices, and a contemner of the Churches Primitive and Catholick Custome; another is derided as a doting Antiquary, a superstitious Priest, or proud Prelate, who can relish no bread but what is old and moldy, nor any drink but what is out of a *Gibeonitish* bottle.

Thus are all holy mysteries and duties, which any Ministers performe, made either very disputable or despicable to the people, while all their authority on all sides, as dispensers of them, is so much questioned, doubted, divided and denyed in the great point of their mission and Ordination; which is most essentiall to a Minister, and most fundamentall to any Churches Peace and Polity, requiring (next the maine Articles of Faith) to be settled in the clearest and most unquestionable way, with most uniform Authority, most conforme to all pious Antiquity; whose ancient and Catholick patterne as to *Episcopall* (that is Apostolicall) Ordination, is no more with prudence to be changed either into *Presbyterian* or *Independent new formes*, than the Church hath cause to exchange *Dauids Psalmes* for any such godly *Balads* or *moderne Hymns*, as we see some Ministers, with more piety (I hope) than good poetry, have sometime commended to the harsh and unharmonious voyces of ill-tuned and ill-stringed Congregations.

Add to all these, not onely the *inconveniencies*, but mischiefs, which are not more uncomfortable than pernicious to the interest of the true and Reformed Religion. For from the divisions of Ministers,

sters, as to their *rise* and *descent* or *Ordination*, follow not onely strangeness, but *strifes* and *emulations*, *evil eyes* and *secret feudes* against one another, each being either jealous of, or contemptuous toward another. But furthermore, from this difference in their *Ordination*, they are tempted to affect, to broach and to preach different *Doctrines*. For those *peeled rods* which alwaies lye before their eyes, as to their Orders or Characters, their Ministeriall Admissions and Stations, do occasion their *conceiving* and *bringing forth* a ring-*straked* and *spotted kind* of Religion, even as to *Doctrine*; that by the discriminations of their opinions either in faith or manners, they may more testifie their distances from, and animosities against each other as *Ministers*.

Men of very good parts, yea and of piety many times (as Saint *Jerome* and *Ruffinus*) from lesser disputes and differences, are transported to wide and sharp defiances; not onely as to their *persons*, but as to their *perswasions*. Hence we see Ministers of different descents commonly affect to be known by some different points & *Doctrines*. Presbyterians and Independents are thought generally to follow Mr. *Calvin* in all points, as sworne to his dictates or determinations; who was a man, though of excellent parts, yet not of Divine and infallible perfections, but mixed with humane infirmities, passions and imperfections. Episcopall Divines are suspected most-what to have at least a tang and relish of *Lutheran*, *Arminian*, & *Pelagian* opinions; some are said to run out to a ranknesse of *Socinianisme*: though the most and best of them I know do confine themselves to the Doctrine of their Mother the Church of *England*, which was neither inconstant, curious nor superfluous, but cleare, necessary and constant, owning no Dictator but Christ, and no Canon of Faith but the Scriptures; doing and determining all things of Religion with great gravity, counsell, moderation, charity and circumspection, besides a just & soveraigne Authority, which swayes much with the Episcopall Clergy. As the Church of *England* did not despise *Luthers*, *Melanchthons*, or *Calvins* judgement, so it justly preferred its own before theirs, or any one mans, being alwaies guided by the concurrent Wisdome and Piety of many Learned and Godly Clergy-men, both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, no way inferiour to those or any forraigne Divines, and in some things far their superiours, not onely as to the eminent places they held in this Church, but as to the great discretion and temper of their Spirits, which made many of them fitter for the glorious Crown of Martyrdom which they enjoyed, than either of those two hotter-spirited, yet renowned men, who died in their beds, who had not onely to contend with the Papall errors and superstitions, which then extremely pestered them and all Christendome, but with their own passions and transports, yea and with those many popular extravagancies which they rather occasioned, I hope, than designed among the vulgar, who presently fancied that they had the precepts and patternes of those great men, *Luther* and *Calvin*, to animate them

to popular, seditious, rude, injurious and *rebellious* methods of Reformation; in which the very plebs or populacy imagined themselves better able to judge of Religion, than any of their Governours in Church or State, and because they had more hands, therefore they must needs have better hearts and heads to do that work, when and how they listed. Which mad methods as the *Church of England* never used in its practise, so it perfectly abhorred in its Doctrine, to which few Ministers do heartily, ingenuously and fully conforme, who have forsaken its Discipline and Ordination; from which who so flies furthest, commonly wanders and wilders most in Enthusiastick, Familistick and Anabaptistick opinions.

In order to this designe of restoring an *uniforme* and *Authoritative Ordination*, O how ingenuous, how religious, how prudent, how just, how charitable, how noble a work would it be on all sides, for wise and worthy men, to have some regard to those few clusters of *Episcopacy* which are yet remaining in *England*, as a seed in which may be a blessing; if the learned and venerable *Bishops* yet living among us were fairly treated and invited to such a concurrence and common union in this point of Ordination as might transmit both it and their Authority, without any flaw or scruple of schisme, interruption, or fraction, as most valid, complete and authentick, to posterity, according to the Catholick and Primitive pattern! O how great a security and satisfaction would this conjuncture and derivation & completion of holy orders by *Bishops* with *Presbyters* give to many learned mens scruples, and to many good Christians consciences, without any injury or offence (that I know) to such of any party as are truly pious and peaceable, who (no doubt) would be glad to see that no disorder or discord might be in *holy orders*, from which (as from a good & well-tempered *spring* in a Watch,) all the regular motions of the *wheelles*, and the true *indications* of the hand are derived, directed and depending! There can be nothing but clashings, enterferings and confusions in any Church, or society of Christians, where there are crosse-grained, *contradictive*, or *counterfeited* Ministers, as to their Ordination. Here must be laid the principall and corner *binding-stone* of our happy Constitution and Communion as a Christian Church, or Ecclesiasticall polity. The affecting of novelty and variety in this (as to the maine of the Ministeriall Order, Power and Authority,) had been the way to have made at first a very crasie and weak *Reformation* in *England*, and is now the way to deforme, yea to destroy all again, giving infinite advantages to the projects and policies of *Rome*, also to the licentious distempers of mens own hearts and manners: which considerations have made me the more large and importune, as in a point of no lesse consequence and importance as to the visible constitution and managery of any Church, than the unity and uniformity of civill power or Magistratick Authority is necessary for any Commonwealth or Kingdom, where divided magistracy doth certainly tend to *distraction*, and so to *destruction*, as our own late miseries do

do abundantly convince us, as to our civill peace and secular interest: And truly no lesse will a *divided Ministry* intallibly tend to the *distraction* first, and then the *destruction* of this Church and the Reformed Religion: a *new Ministry* portends either no Ministry, or no true one. And where most Reverend Episcopacy, (which hath so many glorious marks of Primitive Antiquity, Rare Piety, Signall Prosperity, Undisputable Universality, Apostolick Order, Scripturall Authority and Divine benediction upon it; where this) comes after 1600. yeares of Christianity, and one hundred yeares of an happy Reformation, to be questioned, baffled, exautorated, there is no great likelihood that the *novices* and *punyes*, *Presbytery*, or *Independency*, or *Anabaptisme*, or *Enthusiasme*, should take any great root in the love and esteeme of any Christians, who if Learned, Wise and Upright, must needs have greater confidence of and reverence for an *Episcopall Ministry*, than for any *new-modes*, which never yet had, at their best, any thing either very desirable or very commendable in them, as to Wise and Grave mens affections and judgements. And take them in their passions, pragmaticalnesse, popularities, partialities, novelties, varieties, inconstancies, confusions, injurioulness and insolencies, by which they have either begun or increased their parties, waies and designs in many places, many times against the will and Authority of *lawfull Magistrates* and Soveraigne Princes, no lesse than against the *dignity & authority* of the *Bishops* and *Fathers* of the *Church*; look upon the best of them (I say) under these marks, which are almost inseparable from them, (especially in the height of their lusts and hopes, which are as their rutting time, which secular ambitions and popular acclamations raise them to) I believe, as they will never obtaine the *consciencious respect* of the wisest and best men, so, nor will they in conclusion constantly enjoy the vulgar flatteries, and applaudings of weak or wicked men; who having not cast any *anchor* of fixation to their judgements and affections, either in clear Reason or sound Religion, in Equity or Charity, in Faith or Love, in holy Antiquity or Primitive conformity, but preferring factious and fancifull novelties before Catholick and Uniforme Antiquity, they must needs be everlastingly *fluctuating* in their endlesse inventions, ambitions, inconstancies and vertiginous Reformations of Ministry and Religion, which are commonly biassed by some private advantages, over-throwing them to invent or embrace some gainfull novelty, contrary to that due veneration and humble submission which all sober Christians owe to *Primitive simplicity*, and that Catholick Authority which is indeleibly stamped upon the Univerfall Churches custome, consent and practise, agreeable to the Scripture-Canon or rule, which it ever was. All which are in no one thing more evident than in this of the *Originall constitution, derivation and transmission* of the *Ministeriall Order, Office and Authority*, by the way of Episcopall eminency; where *Bishops* with their *Presbyters* did ever rightly ordaine *Evangelicall Ministers*, but *Presbyters* with-

without any *Bishops* above them never did, by any allowed example or usuall practise in any Church, from the Apostles daies, till the last Century.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the well-being of the Clergy or Ministry.

1. In point of maintenance and support.



THe *Essentials* or *Being* of true *Ministers* thus restored and preserved both in their *Ability* and *Authority*, the first to be searched by due Examination, the second conferred by lawfull and Catholick Ordination; the next thing which craves your counsell, care and charity (most worthy Christians) is the (*benefice*) well-

being of your Clergy, both for their maintenance and their respect, for their single support and their sociall consorting. For poor and alone, or rich, yet scattered, like disjoyned figures and cyphers, they will signifie not much as to publick reputation or gubernative influence: But together their *Competency* and *Communion* will make up that *double Honor*, which the Apostle by the Spirit of God requireth as due to such *Evangelicall Bishops* and *Ministers* as rule well, labouring in the Word and Doctrine, according to the place and proportion wherein God and the Church have set them.

The *personall maintenance* of *Ministers*, by which they may comfortably subsist, diligently attend, and cheerfully dispense the things of God to their severall charges, I put in the first place, not as the more *noble* in respect of the common good and joynt honor of the Clergy, but as naturall and most necessary: for as Ministers will have no great spirit or ability for private employment, so much less joy or confidence in any publick Church-Government, if they have not such convenient support as may countenance and embolden them to appear in publick. Without doubt, nothing is more unbecoming the *Honor* and *Grandeur*, the Plenty and Piety of any *Christian Nation*, than to keep their Clergy poor, indigent and dejected: so beyond measure is it vile for any Christian people to rob their able *Ministers* of that *honorable maintenance* which once they have been lawfully possessed of, and long enjoyed, as devout donations given to Gods Church and his more immediate Servants, the Ministers of the Gospel, by pristine piety, for the publick good of mens soules: but above all things to be abominated, is that *Atheisticall Hypocrisy*, whose fraud pretends to Reforme Religion, (as *Herod* promised to worship the babe Christ, when he intended to kill him,) by reducing the dispensers of it to sordid poverty and sharking necessity; by compelling Preachers to use *Mechanick Trades* and extemporary preachings; yea, and after all this, by laying the weight even of Church-Government upon such weak and low shoulders, either of such poor *Bishops* or *Pygmy-Presbyters*, who must (forfooth) live upon popular contributions and arbitrary *Almes*, after the Primitive and Apostolick pattern (as some men urge) even

of

1 Tim. 5. 17.

of St. Paul, and of other prime Preachers at first, who they say preached gratis, having no set salary, and exacting nothing as due from the people.

Which Primitive and Apostolick patterne is not more impertinently and injuriously, than falsely and impudently, urged by illiberal men in sacrilegious times: For they may easily find that the justice and power of demanding hire or wages as due for their work, was urged and owned by St. Paul, as due by the Law of God under the Gospel as well as before it; though sometime remitted in tendernesse to the temper of mens hearts and Estates in those hard, yet charitable, times, when there was so much of gratitude and charity in zealous Christians, that there needed nothing as of compulsion and necessity; and in which very cheap, though extraordinary, gifts did most what enable the Apostles and others, beyond what Ministers may now expect under the rate of much Time, Charge, Study and Paines. Atas, those Primitive Preachers needed not to be very solicitous for their support or salary among true Christians; when tis evident that Christian people had generally such largenessse of hearts, as offered not onely the Tithes but the Totall of their Estates, Goods, and Lands too, to the support of their Preachers and their poor. However it is not to be doubted, but that as the Apostles, so all Bishops and Ministers of the Gospel may with as much equity as modesty demand, receive and enjoy whatever was then or afterward, either occasionally or constantly, conferred upon them by any Christian people or Princes: the distribution of which was in Primitive times chiefly intrusted to the care of the Bishops, who appointed both rewards to Presbyters, and relief to the poor.

So that it must needs be barbarously covetous and Judasly sacrilegious, for any Christian people violently and unjustly to take away from their Learned and deserving Clergy, either such other Lands and Revenues, or those very Tithes which people have once put out of their power, by giving them to God by an act of solemn and publick consent, testified in their nationall Lawes, every way agreeable to the Will and Word of God, to the Light and Law of Nature, to the Patriarchicall Tradition and Practise before the Law of Moses, to Gods own proportion and appointment among the Jewes, to the Apostolical approbation and the parallel ordaining of the Lord under the Gospel, or to the right and merits of Jesus Christ, (beyond the type of Melchisedech,) whose Evangelicall Priesthood being to continue in the Church, surely deserves no lesse honor and maintenance than the Aaronicall and Leviticall, and much more sure than any Priestly office among the heathens. Yet who hath not either heard or read in all Histories, that the very heathens, out of an instinct of gratitude and Religion, did every where offer the Tenth of their Fruits, Corn, Spices, Gumms, Minerals, Metals, and spoiles in war, to the Temples and Priests of those Gods (as Ceres, Apollo or the Sun, to Diana or the Moon, to Mars, Jupiter, Bacchus, &c.) by whose Divine influence and bounty they believed themselves to enjoy those good things?

And

1 Cor. 9. 6.

Act 4 34. 35.

Gen. 14. 18.
Num. 18. 20,
21.

Deut. 10. 9.

1 Cor. 9. 14.

Gal. 6. 6.

Heb. 7. 9.

Mat. 10. 4.

And can any true Christian people have so base and penurious hearts, as to fancy that they then *honor Christ* most, when they part with least of their *substance* to his service? that of all *Priesthoods* which have ever been in the world (among civill or barbarous Nations) Christ shall appeare the most *beggerly* and *necessitous*? Can any true believer thus requite the Lord that bought them, and gave himself a rancome for them? will they compell the *blessed Jesus*, who while he was on earth became poore to make them rich, now he is risen and ascended to Glory in Heaven, to suffer poverty, hunger, thirst, nakednesse, shame and contempt in his *Ministers*, to whom Christ professeth, who so giveth *ought in his name*, as to his servant and Minister, giveth *to himself*? And no doubt, who so taketh any thing from them, *taketh from Christ*, and is a *robber* of his *Saviour*.

So that nothing is or can be more impudent and abhorred in the sight of our God, our Saviour, and all good Christians, than for a *Nation* that is fat and full, *ample* and *opulent* in all plenty, forraigne and domestick, to debase and impoverish their *Bishops*, *Pastors* and *Ministers*; to force them to live on popular *pistances* and vile *dependances*; to make them as *mercenary* and *arbitrary hirelings*; to expose them to all those *sordid flatteries* which attend *sharking necessities*. How must this abase that sacred Honor and Divine *Authority*, which is and ought to be highly regarded and revered in true *Bishops* and *Ministers*? Which of them thus *halsred* and *lamely led* by the vulgar, shall dare to speak the word of God with all comely boldnesse and Christian freedom? How can such poor and petty preachers have the confidence and courage, without being ridiculous, to reprove the faults of any men, great or small? Experience hath taught us, how miserably even poor Ministers must crouch and comply for *morsels of bread*, not onely to good *Lords* and *Ladies*, but to very sorry *Masters* and *Dames* in Country as well as City; who all affect this glory, to be thought (*πατριστες*) *patrones* and *benefactors* to their preachers as to their servants, not of right and duty, but of almes and charity: so supercilious are these *gratitudes* of almost all sorts of Christians, when they count them not debts but gifts; not a legall or a Religious Tribute to God and their Saviour, but a contribution to their poor Minister, the streame of whose tongue must set the mill of his teeth on work; he shall feed little to his own pleasure in this, if in the other he please not his gracious and inconstant contributors.

This *station* and *posture* of Ministers, as to popular dependance and arbitrary Almes, is the most *intolerable turpitude* and *vilest dehonestation* that can befall any ingenuous man in the world, and most of all incongruous to those who pretend to any publick place, of Government or imployment, with conspicuity, and under any notion of authority, either Civil or Ecclesiastick.

Do but make, for triall sake (*O my noble Countrymen*) your *criminal Judges*, your *civill Magistrates*, your *country-Justices*, your *Com-*
missee-

mittee-men, your *Military officers*, your *Bayliffs*, *Majors*, and chief *Burgers* in the *meanest Corporation*; make these of pittifull, poor, hungry, thred-bare wretches, let them be alwaies shifting and sharking, digging or thatching, spinning or weaving, scraping and begging for their subsistence, and living upon precarious *salaries*, such as people list to give them, for which they shall have no more legal right or claim than *Mountebanks* and *Juglers* have for those rewards from their gentle *spectators* and benevolous *auditors*; would any thing (I beseech you) be more putid, abject, vile and despicable in the eyes of the people of *England* or any Country, than such *musthroome Magistrates*, such *Go-by-ground Governours*, notwithstanding they may possibly have the *formalities* of a Broad Seal, a white Staffe, a Paper or Parchment Commission? will they not in time be as *noysome* to a Country, and noxious to Justice, as the *dead frogs* were in *Egypt*?

To avoid which deformed and *ridiculous spectacles* in Civill-Government, doth not the wisdom of this as of every Nation, either find those men invested with *Honorable estates*, whom it chooseth to or placeth in *Magistratick place* and power? or else, if their merits be beyond their Estates, are they not presently endowed with such salaries and pensions, either out of the Princes *Exchequer* and *publick Treasury*, or out of the emoluments and *perquisites* of their places, as may bear out their Authority with some form of *Majesty* and *respect*? At least, they may redeem both their place and persons from that popular scorn, *scurrility* and *insolency*, which is never more malapert, than when it finds want and poverty, like vermine, pinching the backs, and oppressing the bellies of those men who undertake to rule or restrain, to curb or controll common people.

Which is no very welcome office to the *vulgar*; among whom true Religion finds so much to oppose, so little to please or correspond, as to the humors, lusts, fancies and passions of men, that its *Ministers* must naturally and necessarily be subject and exposed to all manner of opposition, despite and despiciency; unlesse those so obvious and innate mischiefs be, as in all piety and policy they ought to be, avoided, not onely by the *conspicuity* of *Ministers*, approved learning, good abilities, *prudent demeanour* and *due Authority*, conferred in their regular and uniform *Ordination*, but further, by that comely entertainment and competent maintenance, of which common people have a more lively sense and reall tast (as the dunghill-cock had of the *barly-corn*) than of all their other *internall jewels* and *ornaments intellectuall*: which will not signifie much (as is evident in many hundred instances of worthy *Ministers*, both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, in these times) if people find them cloathed in *thred-bare coates*, and almost starved by the straightnesse and tenuity of their *worldly condition*; which aspect makes even parents themselves, who are our naturall Princes and Gods, very prone to be despised by their children. Nor can it but ill become any ordinary *Minister* that is worthy of that name and office, but worst of all will it suite

Eccl. 9. 15.

with those who affect to be, or indeed are, or ought to be chief *Governours* and *Bishops* in the *Church*; whose publick entertain-ment ought to be such as might extend beyond their private and domestick necessities, to something of publick *Hospitality*, *Charity* and *Magnificence*: which were the proportions heretofore allowed by the noble and generous temper of the *English Nation* to its Clergy, both *Bishops* and *Priests*, the better to bear up their dignity and authority among the people. The words of a poor man, though wise, are forgotten or unregarded, as *Solomon* observes: boldnesse and freedom of speech in poor men seems impudence; an authoritative carriage in them is counted arrogancy; their very zeal seems either impatient or insolent. All nations ever abhorred a beggerly Priesthood, as a blasphemous disparaging of the honor of their God.

Nor is indeed (in my judgement) any thing at this day more worthy of the Wisdom, Piety and Honor of this Nation, after all its long war and vast expences military, than to begin to think of doing their duty to God, by finding out, and effectually using some fit meanes to put on Christs cloaths again, to make every *Church-living* in *England* and *Wales* so competent as may maintaine one, and in some great populous places two competent Ministers, that both Preaching, Catechizing and Visiting, with other offices, may be more fully performed. Alas, what can twenty, or thirty, or fifty pound, or less than an hundred pound a year do, to supply the studies and families of any able and ingenious Minister? to keep up his Spirits from rusticity and sordidnesse? to preserve his person and calling from contempt? to make him in some measure Charitable and Hospitable, cheerfull and considerable?

Much we know was once pretended for the settling and enlarging the maintenance even of the inferior Clergy, even then when much was intended to be taken away from the chiefest of the Clergy, both of Lands, Houses and Honors. This last I am sure hath been sorely executed; the former is yet for the most part to begin: nay most Livings in *England* are abated twenty, yea thirty, in the hundred since those specious proposalls; just as the burthens of the *Israelites* were sorer after the newes of their deliverance. O when will that blessed day come, in which the just pitty and generous piety of this Nation will by some most prudent and equable waies make either a just restitution or some moderate compensation to *Church-men*; not onely to maintaine something of publick Order, Polity, Honor and Government among them, but so as may support private and painfull Ministers in their *little Parishes*, where unlesse they be able to live in some decent sort in their own Houses and Tables, they can never serve well at the Temple and Altar? They ought at least to be redeemed from biting and debasing poverty, though they be not tempted to grow rich; a blessing now denied to most Ministers beyond any that are publick agents or officers, yea and the meanest Farmers mechanick Artisans.

Much

Much envy, spleen and bitterneſſe have by ſome popular and envious *orators* been heretofore vented againſt *pluralities* or *benefices*, when two or three would ſcarce make one *competent living*: A like cenſorious ſharpneſſe hath been uſed by ſome againſt *Bishops ordaining*, and *admitting* to poor and pittifull *Living*s ſome poor and pittifull Miniſters. Alas, better Miniſters cannot in reaſon be expected without better maintenance: Mend this, and then in Gods name mend the other; *good workmen* will not be had, nor can they live upon ſmall wages. This deep and *old core* of this *Nations* ſin and ſhame, its ſore and ſuffering in Religion, ought firſt to be pulled out and cured, then will ſtrength, health and beauty follow in all parts. It is *poverty*, *tenuity* and *deſpaire* that commonly tempts Miniſters, that are conſcious to their *neglected* and *unrewarded abilities*, to be either factious and popular, or debauched and diſcontent. This *Church* had fared much better if ſome Miniſters bellies had been fuller. Some were ready to flatter any factious ſpirit that kept but a good Table, and would feed them without an affront: others having an envy at ſome of their brethrens and Fathers preferments were ready to turne all to confuſion; juſt as *Joſeph*s brethren reſolved to make him away, becauſe of his gay coate and his dreames of honor. Men are then moſt willing to be quiet when they are at their eaſe. There was ſcarce one Miniſter that had any dignity or Church-preferment, yea or a *good Living* in *England*, that was either forward or fomenting of our late troubles upon a Religious account. Men that have *moſt wool* on their *backs* will be moſt wary of the briars, and moſt obedient to Lawes, both Civill and Eccleſiaſtical.

As to the relief of *Church-livings*, much might in a few yeares be done, if the work were once well begun by *publick adviſe* and *conſent*; partly by buying in of *Impropriations*, which are uſually little improvements to any Gentlemens Eſtates, and I believe no great cordiall to their *conſciences*, veſpecially while they ſee the *neceſſities* to which poor *Vicars* and Stipendiary Incumbents are driven, beſides the *ſorry proviſion* that is made for poor peoples ſoules in thoſe *Living*s, where there is ſcarce bran enough left to make aloaſe of bread for the *Prieſt*, or a cake for the *Prophet*. Some advantage might be further made by uniting two or three little *Living*s that are contiguous or neerly adjacent; it being no *ſacriledge* for two fixpences or three groates to give a good *ſhilling* to the *Temple*. Much help alſo might be by abolishing all *injurious* and *defrauding cuſtomes*, which ought not to prejudice Gods right, or the *Churches Dues*. Not would it be a ſmall comfort to Miniſters moderate *Living*s, if their rights and dues by *Law* or *Cuſtome* were once ſo valued and ſtated by an *equable rate* in every pariſh, that there might be a power in ſome officer, as in other pariſh-rates, to levy them as they were ſetled and due, without any further *vexatious* and *chargeable ſuites* at Law.

For if the *Labourer* be worthy of his hire, it is but juſt he ſhould have

have it, without spending one half of it and much time to get the other; yea in most cases the charge of a *suite* at Law comes to more than that is worth which is detained. I know some petty *Lawyers* and propping *Attornies* will not favour *this motion*, thinking it will take grist from their Mills; but such of them as are pious, just, and generous Christians, will as readily vote for and advance such an Act for settling Ministers rights, as they did that for *treble dammages*. Last of all, it would be an act of great ease and favour, if Ministers might be exempted in part from *publick taxes* and *Town Charges*, or at least be rated as for *Goods*, and not for *Lands*.

Certainly these and such like as just as *pious projects* were not hard to be executed, as well as *invented*, if men had as quick a *sense* of their soules *interests* as of those which concern their *Estates*: Greater matters by far have been done of late yeares, with far greater expence and far lesse benefit to the *Nation*. The value of one yeares *tax* laid in for a stock or *foundation*, together with the additions of *private bounty* (which I am confident would be cheerfully cast into this Treasury or Exchequer of the Church) would in a few yeares do this great work; I meane purchase in Improprations, which the Learned and pious *Bishop Bedel* calls Badges of *Babylons* captivity, and plain Church-Robberies, in his Sermon on *Rev. 17. 18.* lately set out by Dr *Barnard*. This Redemption should begin there where is most need. We know that *small stock*, which was intrusted in the late *Kings daies* to some *Feoffees* for this use, had so attractive a spirit and *diffusive an influence* in *England*, that I believe by this time the work had been much advanced, if not well-nigh finished, in all probability, if it had been begun, carried on and nourished by as much publick favour as it deserved in the *design*, if it was without any leaven of faction, sincerely to Gods glory, to this Churches good, and the *Nations* both honor and happiness; which will never so much thrive by the vast charges of any domestick or *forraigne war*, as it would by one such noble benevolence and contribution, which would very much set the *Reformed Religion on floate* again, which every where (now) toucheth ground, by reason of the low estate either of many Ministers, who have small and *killing Livings* with great Charges, or of the poor people, who must needs have leane and *starving preaching*: yea some people have no Ministers at all, others as good or worse then none; men whose sordid lives confute all that little they do or can preach, which God knowes is very little, and little worth, full of froth and vapour, if they aime to make up their abilities with popularity, or very flat and dead, while they are at best very small, and run very low in their preaching, praying and living. And all this misery for want of such ingenuous meanes as should invite, entertaine, encourage and oblige a Minister to be able, carefull and painfull among them; which is now more necessary than heretofore, because the fashion we see is, to have all duties exposed to and performed by Ministers *private abilities* and *personall sufficiencies*, which are not to be obtained, nor maintained, nor encreased at cheap rates. But

But this great and good work, so much to the honor, stability and advantage of the *Reformed Religion*, as it would be infinitely to the regret of the *Romane party*, who are glad with exceeding great joy to see the Reformed, Learned and Renowned *Clergy of England* thus foyled and cast down to the ground, licking the dust of mens feet, and trampled under foot; so it is a mercy which *Satan* hath hitherto envied and hindred to this Church and Nation by Gods permission, who hath hitherto thought fit to deny such a blessing both to Ministers and people, from whom he hath suffered the policies and passions of men, in order to save their purses, of late to take away almost all that ancient Ecclesiasticall patrimony or dowry of Estate and honor, which was long agoe given to maintain the dignity and authority of this Churches Ministry and Government in the persons of its Ecclesiasticall Governours, *Bishops* and others of the dignified Clergy; who, I think, might very well deserve as good salaries as any *Major Generalls, Colonels and Captaines*, being no lesse both usefull and necessary for the eutaxy or good ordering of the spirituall *Militia* in the Church, than those are for the secular *Militia* in the state, if they were as duly impowered, payed and encouraged as the others are.

Nor do I doubt but if ever this Nation be so happy as to know its greatest defects and miseries in this point, and heartily to resolve the speedy applying of meet remedies to them, it will be so wise and worthy, so just and generous, as to find out waies not onely to provide a settled competency for all competent Preachers, but also to annex some comely and honorary reward to the eminency of those who shall be fit to be used and owned as chief Presidents, Moderators and Governours, that is, *Bishops* in the Church; without which all Religious poliry will be as a body without sinewes: For Rulers without some remarques of estate and respect upon them, will be like veines without blood or spirits. I have heard there are yet some such fragments remaining of the *Bishops* and *Cathedrall Lands* unfold, which might serve in this case to good use. *Theodoret* tells us that *Constantine* the Great gave provision of Corne out of the *Imperiall Granaries* to Christian *Bishops*, the better to sustaine their dignity; which allowance *Julian* the *Apostate* took away from them, but following Christian Emperours restored to them. That great and witty engine of *Antichristian policy* (*Julian*) well knew that neither the Polity, Order and Government of the Church, nor yet Christian Religion it self in peacefull and plentifull times, can thrive, increase or prevaile among the generality of mankind, if it be not either loved or revered; neither of which it can be, if it be not publickly valued; valued it cannot appeare to them, when they see the chief dispensers of it despised; despised of necessity they must be, if either their spirituall and sacred Authority be doubted and denyed, or their civill condition be either necessitous or no way conspicuous: which posture will soon give great advantages to any contrary party and faction, never so deformed with error and superstition, against all pretentions that

*Totod. hist.
l. 4. c. 4.*

that may be brought of such reformation as shall end in the *beggerie* and desolations, in the disorders and distresses of its chief Preachers and Professors. Under which burdens of poverty and disgrace Reformed Religion and its able Ministry wil soon decay and moulder away to nothing, while poverty and contempt shall be on this side, but plenty with honor shall attend the *deformities* of its enemies.

I know there have been of late some *petty projects* offered by men of *wary* and *thriftypietty*, to levell greater Livings, and to make such augmentations to one Minister as shall *gripe* and *grieve* another; so robbing *Peter* to enrich *Paul*: But (alas) so grand and heroick a work is not to be done any way except by *publick munificence*, either of *restitution* and *donation*, or redemption & *purchase*, which may redeem the long *captive Livings* from *Papal Appropriations*, *Regal Confiscations* and *Lay-Impropriations*, which have a long time detained them from those *Religious* uses and *ends* for which they were at first by *God* designed, and by man devoted, which was the comfortable subsistence of preaching Ministers, that they might help both to save the *soules* and to relieve the bodily necessities of poor Christians; who will never learne or value true Religion very much, when they see the preacher one of the *poorest men in the parish*, jealous that when he dyeth, the parish must be charged with his poor wife and children. Alas, Ministers are sad Pastors of *soules* when they want food for their *own boates*; they are pittifull Rulers of Christs flock, who are in worse case than ordinary poor shepherds, who have their *scrip* as well their *crook*, and something in their bag to relieve, as well as in their hand to discipline their sheep, and defend themselves.

But I leave this (to many men unwelcome) consideration of *Ministers maintenance*, either as *governing* or *governed*, to the wisdom of those who have largest hearts, purest consciences, and liberallest hands: None but such will lay to heart *so great a concerne* as this is for Gods glory, Christs honor, and the good of *soules*. For other wretches, I know how their penurious, covetous and sacrilegious pulse doth beat; they are in nothing more envious and jealous: tis equally harsh and odious to them to heare of any thing to be given or restored to the Church, being much more sensible of any damage and injury done to their private purses and Estates, than of such publick detriments and depreffions as cloud the glory of their God and Saviour, eclipse the honor of this Church and State, vilifie and, upon the point, nullifie the dignity of the *Ministry*, and prostitute the *soules* of poor people for which Christ hath died to ignorance and Atheisme, to licentiousnesse and hypocrisie; it being more with many men to save a *penny* than to save a *soul*, more willing to spare a sound tooth out of their heads, than one pound or shilling to advance Religion: they are for a cheap heaven or none; so willing they are to perish with their money, rather than live by lightning the ship a little.

CHAP. XVIII.



After the foundations of a true Christian Ministry are thus laid both for its *Being*, which consists in reall abilities discovered, and in *valid Authority* conferred after the most venerable, Catholick and authentick custome of the Church, which being conforme to the word of God, ought in such cases to be as a *Law* sacred and inviolable; after I have further set forth the *wel-being of the Clergy*, and in that of the whole Church, by sustaining able *Ministers*, in their severall degrees and stations, with such ingenuous *maintenance* as may become not onely the honor of the work and workmen, but the *Glory* of the Christians God, the love and value of their Saviour, and the beauty or majesty of the Church, in which they are employed in so sacred, solemn, publick and constant services, which ought in all reason and Religion to be kept up by all good Christians to some outward conspicuity and decency, as far as Gods indulgence affords men peace and plenty;

The next thing I humbly commend to the Noblenesse, Wisdome and Piety of my *Country*, for the further strengthening and preservation of the *being* and *wel-being* of this *Church* and its Christian Reformed Religion, both in Ministers and people, able Preachers and honest Professors, is so to combine, cement and unite all worthy Ministers and other Christians in an uniforme and holy harmony of due *subordination*, holy *discipline* and decent *Government*, as may best keep them (by Gods blessing) from such fractures and factions, such schismes and swellings, such dashings and dividings against and from each other, as have of latter years not onely bartered themselves and each other to great diminutions, weaknings and deformities, but they have crushed this whole Church, and crumbled its former *intirenesse* and *amplenesse* to so many broken bits and pieces, through the impotent ambition of those Ministers or people, who being least apt or able, are most greedy to govern of themselves, and loth to be governed by others: which refractori- nesse hath not onely defaced the beauty, and broken the unity of this Church, but further threatens to shake the civill peace, stability and consistence of this Nation, whose honor and happinesse is not onely now at the stake, but much abated, and in hazard to be quite lost, if that publick wisdome and courage be not applied which is necessary to recover the blessing of the Reformed Religion, and the unity of this Church, to such a posture of settled- ness, order and unity, as shall not need to feare either fanaticke Confusion or Romish usurpations, which are the great plots and designs laid against this Church and Nation of *England*.

I easily foresee, that nothing will be a more hard, knotty and sinny work, than the *recomposing* of this Church to any Ecclesiastical Uniformity, Charitable Harmony and Orderly Government,

Of meet order,
Government
and subordi-
nation among
the Clergy.

1 Cor. II. 16.

Episcopatus
emulatio
s. b. snatum mi-
ter.
Tert. de Bap.
c. 17.

if either the late sharp passions, private interests, or mutuall prejudices of any one of the parties so divided from each other in *England* be made the partiall and scanty measures of Church-Order and Polity: For the animosities and Antipathies among them are such, that they will on all sides disdain to be forcibly cast into any one of the pretended models which are on foot. The onely probable and *feasible* way to reduce all sober Ministers and honest people to a conscientious and charitable *Communion* is, for the wisdom and piety of this Nation to do as *Constantine* the Great did, when he burnt all the querulous demands and uncharitable petitions of the *Eccllesiasticks* against one another, so reconciling them all, while he utterly silenced all their quarrels, and buried their complaints. In like manner the best and speediest method of our union will be, to lay aside all the earnest pleas and violent pretensions of all sides, either *Episcopal*, *Presbyterian* or *Independent*, which have occasioned or increased our late differences; and onely to examine calmly, seriously and impartially, what was the *Idea* of Church-Order and Government for the first three or four hundred yeares, that is, twelve hundred yeares at least before these late contests and debates were raised, or indeed thought on in this or any Church.

Reperimus veteres episcopos non aliam regendam ecclesiam formam veluisse fingere ab eo quod verbo suo Deus præscripsit. Calv. Inst. l. 4. c. 4. Sect. 4.

Certainly the *Primitive*, *Catholick* and *Apostolick* posture of the Churches Polity, Order and Government, must needs be the true pattern in the Mount, as Mr. *Calvin* confesseth: in which times there was lesse leisure for ambitious or factious variations, the Church being either persecuted most-what for 300. yeares, or miraculously refreshed, at its freedom in the fourth Century through Gods indulgence, and the munificence of *Constantine* the Great and other Christian Emperours, who, as Princely nursing Fathers, studied the Peace, Unity and prosperity of the Church, as much as that of the Empire.

In both which conditions, both calme and storme, it is most remarkable, that as no one *Author*, *Father*, *Historian*, *Synod*, or *Council* did any way doubt, dispute or divide about Church-Government, before the Great Council of *Nice*; so when that great and *Oecumenick Council* did come together to take a survey as of the Churches unity in sound Doctrine and Manners, so of its Discipline and Government, that it might gather together and recompose what ever the tempestuous times of persecution had shaken or shattered; yet this grand, most venerable and holy Assembly did neither begin any new *Hierarchy* or Government of the Church, nor did they in the least sort tax former times of any *Innovation*, *Alteration* or *desertion* from the *Primitive*, *Apostolick* and *Universall* pattern, which was still fresh in mens memories: but they began their Session and *Sanctions* with that solemn approbation & confirmation of the former ancient Customs or Orders of the Church *Catholick*, as holy and *Authentick*, which all men knew had prevailed from the beginning. Nor was there then any doubt or debate in the generall as to the point of *Episcopall* presidency or jurisdiction; however, as to their

their respective *Dioceses* and particular distributions some disputes had risen: But as to the succession of chief *Bishops* from the very *Apostles* daies and Seates, they had most evidently continued in all Churches without any interruption, or variation of the forme or power, however the persons had been oft changed by mortality.

Certainly it is most easie for all learned, honest and unbiaſſed men to see what the *uniform* and *Catholick* form then was of all Churches orderly combinations. I dare appeale to *Independents* and *Presbyterians* as well as *Episcopall* men, to declare *bona fide* what they find it was in the first and best times, after Churches were once fully formed and settled in their severall partitions. No man not more bold than *bayard*, or more blind than a beetle, but must see and confesse, that according to the first platform which we read of in the *Acts* and *Epistles* of the *Apostles*, the *Order*, *Polity* and *Government* of the Church was completed, settled and continued, first in *Deacons*, who had the lowest degree of Church-office, order and Ministry, consisting in reading the Scriptures, in making collections for the poor, in distributing of charity, in visiting the sick, in providing things necessary, safe, convenient and decent for Christian *Ministers* and *people*, when they met to serve the Lord in one place; which place or house from hence was called *Dominicum*, or *Κυριακὸν*, a Church, or House of the Lord.

Act. 6.
1 Tim 3.8.
Deacons.

Next these in order, degree and office were *Presbyters*, that is, ordained preachers, to whom was committed, by the *Apostles* first, and after by *Bishops* their successors, the Charge and Office of *Catechizing* the younger, of *Preaching* to the elder, of *Baptizing* believers and their children, of *consecrating* the holy Elements of the Lords Supper, and of admitting worthy Communicants to receive them: besides, the grave and venerable *Presbyters* had, as brethren, the privilege of electing their *Bishops* also of counsell, confessions and assistance with their respective *Bishops* in publick concernment and grand transactions of the Church.

Presbyters.

Above both these, in eminency of place, degree and power as to *Bishops*, gubernative Authority, were those prime *Bishops* or overseers of the Church, first called by the name of *Apostles*, as immediately set by Christ in that *Episcopacy*; next were those that were personally appointed by the *Apostles* to supply their absence, or to succeed them in that ordinary presidency and constant jurisdiction which was necessary for the Churches peace, union and good Government: of which we have two pregnant instances in *Timothy* and *Titus*, who to be sure had *Episcopall* power given them, not as Evangelists or Preachers, but as Ordainers and Rulers of many *Presbyters*. After these *Bishops* of a lesser size constantly succeeded, being first chosen by the *Presbyters* of each grand Church or *Diocese* to that power and office, and then consecrated to it or confirmed in it by neighbour-*Bishops*, who solemnly imparted to them, and invested them in that Eminency of Ordaining and Ruling power which is properly *Episcopall*, not onely for the dispensing of holy mysteries, for the preaching of the word, and absolving penitents, as *Presbyters* (who were a minor

Bishops.
Act 1.20.

¹ Ep. to Tim.
cap. 3. & 5.
and Ep. to
Titus cap. 1:

Episcopi, quos
& Apostoli
successores re-
linquunt, ip-
sis suum migi-
sterii locum
tradentes.
Irenæ. l. 3. c. 3.
Habemus
enumerare
eos qui ab Apo-
stolis constitui
sunt Episcopi
in Ecclesiis, &
successores eo-
rum usque ad
nos.
Irenæ. l. 4. c. 6.
& lib. 5. c. 10.
Ordo Episcopo-
rum ad origi-
nem recens in
Johannem sta-
bit Authorem.
Tertul. adv.
Marc. l. 4. c. 5.
Sicut Smyrnæo-
rum ecclesia
Polycarpum à
Jobanne collocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit, perinde utique & ceteræ exi-
bent (ecclesie) quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constituunt Apostolici seminis traduces habent. Tertul. lib. de presc.
adv. Hæc. c. 32. & 34. De Johanne Apost. Clemens Alexandrinus narrat, post mortem Domitiani & reditum suum
à Patmo in Ephesum in vicinas gentes abiit, ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ἡ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρχόμενος, Episcopos
constituens, & Ecclesias in ordinem digerens. Lib. de Div. Sal. Origeni falsò ascripto, ex judicio cl. Usserii & Macheni.
Jampridem per omnes provincias & urbes ordinati sunt Episcopi, &c. Cyprius. p. 52.

Successiones
Episcoporum
qui Apostolos
sequuti sunt
7. libris de-
scripsimus.
Euseb. l. 4. hist.
cap. 1.
So. Theod.
hist. l. 5. c. 27.

sort of Bishops) but for confirming those who had in infancy been baptized, for solemn excommunication and absolution, for examining and ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, for transmitting that Episcopall and Ministeriall power in a constant and holy succession, according as they had received it; so for judging of and inflicting public censures and reproofes, likewise for all Synodal Conventions and representations of the Churches; lastly for the authoritative enacting and executing of all Ecclesiasticall decrees and Church-disciplines: all which things Bishops did as a Major sort of Presbyters, though a Minor sort of Apostles, if we may believe the judgment, practise and testimony of all Antiquity in the purest times, which are diligently collected, evidently set down, and unanswerably urged by many late writers, who have brought forth such a cloud of witnesses as to this point of Ecclesiasticall Order and Government by Deacons, Presbyters and Bishops (a threefold cord, not to be broken,) that men may as well deny the Evangelicall History, as the Original, Institution and Succession of the Evangelicall Ministry, and the orderly constant Government of the Church by the service of Deacons, the assistance of Presbyters, and the superintendency of the Apostles, whom no sober man denies to have been, while they lived, the eminent Rulers, authoritative Overseers, and chief Governours and Bishops of all the Churches where they were fixed, or which they had under their particular care and charge. Nor may it with any more shadow of reason or truth be denied, that Bishops in a distinct place and eminent power were a successive and secondary sort of Apostles, inferiour to them in their immediate call, in their extraordinary gifts, and the latitude of their power; but equall to them in that ordinary, constant and regular jurisdiction, which was and is ever necessary for the Churches good Order and Government.

If all sorts and sides would look beyond their own later prejudices and presumptions to this holy patterne, this so cleare, constant and Catholick prescription, they would be ashamed of such grosse ignorance or impudence, such peevishnesse or partiality, as should beyond all forehead or modesty affect any novelty or variety from an Ecclesiastick custome and an Apostolick precedent, so undeniably Primitive, so famous, so glorious, so prosperous, so never altered or innovated (as to the maine) that all true believers, all humble Deacons, all orderly Presbyters, all Confessors, all Martyrs, all Synods, all Councils, submitted and subscribed to the same form and kind of Government in its severall stations and degrees, according as the wisdom of the Church saw cause to use its prudence, power and liberty (as Calvin, Zanchy, and Bucer tell us) in having not onely Bishops, but Metropolitans

ropolitanes or Arch-Bishops, Primates and Patriarchs (*ad conservandam disciplinam*, as **Calvin* ownes,) for the better Order, Unity and Correspondency of the Church in all its parts, which were never quarrelled at, till pride begat oppression, and envy schisme in the Church; till foolish and factious spirits chose to walk contrary to the true principles and proportions of all right Reason and Religion, of all prudence and polity, which are to be observed in all Societies, sacred or civil, which the *Divine* wisdom (as (a) *St. Ferom* observes) had exemplified in the ancient Church of the *Jewes*, and directed us to (as (b) *Salmasius* confesseth) in all successions of Churches, by the Spirit of wisdom which Christ gave to his Apostles, and all their immediate successors the *Bishops*, who were conform to them, and impowered by them to be a kind of *Tutclary Angels*, or presidentiall Intelligences, in the larger circles and higher orbes of the Church, where (as in *Ephesus*, and the other grand Metropolitane Churches, which are denominated by the Spirit of Christ and the pen of the Apostle from the chief Cities in those Provinces) there were no doubt many Christian people, Presbyters and Deacons, yet all these subject (as (c) *Beza* glossing on *St. Ferom* confesseth) to that one (*αρχιεπισκοπος*) *Provost* or *President*, as their *Bishop* in that Precinct or Oeconomy, which either the Apostles had constituted, or the Church had digested it self into as it increased.

*Calv. Inst.
l. 4. c. 4. Sect. 4.

(a) Apud nos 4-
postolorum locum
tenent Episcopi.
Hier. ep. 54.
ut sciamus
traditiones
Apostolicas
sumptas de ve-
teri Testamento,
quod Aaron &
filii ejus & Le-
vite in Templo
erant, hoc sibi
in ecclesiis vin-
dicant Episcopi,
Presbyteri &
Diaconi.
Hieron. ad
Euaq.

(b) Episcopus
ecclesie regendis
unius preposi-
tus est, qui plu-

ribus unius ecclesie presbyteris preest: Bono fine hoc institutum esse nemo negat, quum optima ratio fuerit ita instituendi. Salmas. Walo Meffal. pag. 413. (c) Neque enim Hieronymus quum diceret, ecclesias initio fuisse communi presbyterorum consilio gubernatas, ita desuper esse existimandus est, ut somniaret neminem ex presbyteris illi carui prefuisset. Beza de Minist. grad. c. 18.

Contrary to which meridian patterne and most manifest exemplar of Church-Government, if (as learned (d) *Zanchy* acknowledgeth) any one instance in any age or place of any *Father*, *Councill*, or *Historian* could be found, of any one Church in its grand Polity, or larger Communion, I confesse I should then make some scruple whether *Episcopall Government*, however it might seem the best, were the onely one to be used in all times and places; whether Church-Government were not a matter of Ecclesiastick prudence, rather than of Apostolick prescription, or Divine appointment. To which opinion *St. Ferom*, that he might qualifie and moderate the incroachings of some *Bishops* upon *Presbyters*, or gratifie perhaps his own passion and discontent, sometimes seems to have inclined, contrary to his cooler and more constant judgement, set forth at other times in many passages of his potent and vehement writings, as well as in his practise. Which allay as to the Divine institution and absolute necessity of *Episcopall Government* as established by the Apostles, seemes also to have swayed with Mr. *Calvin* and his followers, when they found themselves put upon such a necessity as they thought might justifie their altering of it for a time, though not

(d) De Episco-
pis & Minist.
ordin. quid
certius ex histo-
riis, ex concil-
lis, ex omnium
Patrum scrip-
tis? quis ego
sum qui quod
tota ecclesia
approbat im-
probem?
Zanchi. Con-
fess. p. 7.

their rejecting or reprobating of it for ever, which he never did, however his reputation, interest and engagement carried him off from the more pompous and usuall way of Episcopacy, as it was abused in the Church of *Rome*; but he well knew, ever judged and confessed that Primitive *Episcopacy*, which consists in a *presidentiall eminency* of power and jurisdiction in *one Minister over many*, appears to have been laid out by the wisdom and Spirit of Christ in the Apostolicall patterne and prescription, as is evident in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, not as a matter of *arbitrary freedome*, which might be lightly changed, as people, or Ministers, or Magistrates lifted, for their conveniences, but as an holy *method* and wise proportion of *Government*, best in it self, fittest for the *Churches Order, Peace and Communion*, sacred by the Characters of Gods direction, Christs designation, constitution of his Church in the Apostles, execution and derivation of it, also in the *Churches Catholick imitation*; upon all which grounds it hath ever been esteemed by all godly and learned Christians, not onely *venerable*, but (as to the main modell and fabrick of it) *inviolable*; so that they who first factiously, presumptuously and rashly change it, must needs highly sin against God, his Church, and their own soules, however others that are forced to follow such changes may be excusable.

The *superstructures* of *Episcopacy*, as to civill *Honor* and *Estate*, may indeed be variable, by publick consent, with times and manners of men; but the foundations I believe are not to be removed, which are laid upon the naturall, civill and religious grounds of diversity, disparity and excellency of one man above many; proportionable to which Polity, Order and Authority are best settled and managed, and not upon the *loose* or *slippery bottomes* of parity or popularity, neither of which have either those principles, proportions or perfections of *Government*, which the Spirit and wisdom of God hath laid out by the Apostles practise, in *Primitive Episcopacy*, and transmitted by a constant *succession* for the Churches good, which cannot be preserved or advanced, where there wants comely gravity, due authority, and a *diviner beame* of Majesty in Government and Governors than can be found in any way of levelling and abasing them, which are the high-waies (as all wise men ever observed) to all *faction, sedition* and *confusion* both in Churches and States: of which truth no Age hath seen and suffered greater or sadder *experiments* than ours, since some pragmatick or ambitious Spirits have made *miserable essayes* to alter and abolish the ancient authority and order of *Episcopacy*, onely to bring in their various novelties; which are so far from the true Grandeur and solid Majesty of *Government*, that they are already found to be pittifull and petty projects rather than pious or profound inventions, confusing themselves as much as confounding others.

Could we then on all sides in *England* be so ingenuous and candid, as to lay aside all moderne designs, disputes and differences, which have made mens eyes so squinted, bleared or blood-shorten in the point

point of *Church-Government*; could we remove the fancy of secular pride, pomp and ambition in one sort of Ministers, the vulgar passions, prejudices and envies of a second sort, also the pragmatick and plebeian humors of a third sort, with the private designs and worldly interests of all; cleare all our hearts of these *prepossessiones* and *distempers*; no doubt the face of holy order and wise *Government* in the Church will easily appeare, to the satisfaction of all wise and good men, who are either worthy to govern, or willing to be governed in a true Christian and charitable way.

For certainly Church-Government or Ecclesiasticall Polity, (about which we have had of late in *England* so great contests, even to much bitternesse and blood) is no *Scholasticall subtilty*, no intricate nicery, no *speculative sublimity*, no *metaphysicall profundity*, which require either accurate *Criticks*, or long-winded *Divers*, or Logical *Disputers*, or Scepticall *Sophisters*, to find out the Primitive form, the true proportions, or ancient patterne of it. It is plaine (as *Beza* and *Bucer* observe) in *right Reason*, pregnant in the proportions of all order, naturall, civill, military, religious. It is palpable in *Scripture-patternes*, as Mr. * *Calvin* confesseth: it is most apparent in the practise of all Churches. It must be weaknesse or wilfullaesse, passion or peevishnesse, that hinders any man from seeing the true *Idea* of it. It is made up of wisdom and power, not onely humane, but divine, of due authority cemented with true charity: a modest and moderate superiority with meek subordination, faithfull counsell with equanimous commands, meeting together, these make up the holy *Oeconomy* or *Polity* of *Church-Government*.

In which, first many humble Christians of one congregation do submit to one duly-ordained Minister, as set over them in the Lord, so far as concernes their private duties and relations: secondly, many grave and discreet *Presbyters*, with their people, submit to one venerable Bishop, as a Father or chief Pastor, chosen to be over them in things that concerne more publick relations and common duties, in which their joynt counsell, assistance or obedience is required. The Bishops office and work is, not only Ministeriall, in common with their brethren the other Ministers, but Juridicall or Judicall, declaring and exercising the necessary power and eminent acts of Ecclesiasticall Discipline and authority with them, among them and over them: not in the way of secular dominion, gotten and kept by civill force or factious ambition, which our blessed Lord forbids to those that are chiefest or greatest of his Disciples and flock; but in a way of paternall authority, which chides with love, chastens with pitty, being tenderly severe, and most compassionately cruell, when it is compelled to exert the sharpest authority, doing all things according to the word, example and Spirit of Christ Jesus, in Meeknesse of Wisdom, not to the destruction, but edification of the Church in truth and faith, in charity and unity. To these *Presbyters*, *Bishops* and Christian people, are *Deacons* subordinate and servient in all things necessary for decency, conveniency, charity, and carrying on of the Churches

Surgente natura, & necessitate fligitante, sensum coierunt ecclesie.

Bez. de grad. min. c. 14. Sect. 4.

*Hoc consensabat legi Christi, & fiebat ex jure corporis Christi. Bucer. de vi & usu min. p. 565. *Calv. on Tit. 1. 5.*

For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou mightest ordain, &c. Discimus ex hoc loco non eam tuam fuisse equalitatem inter ecclesie ministros, quin unus aliquis autoritate & consilio p. effect.

Churches Authority, both in private congregations and more ample *conventions*; part of whose office we see time and custome had devolved upon our *Church-Wardens* and *Overseers* for the poor.

These ends and meanes, this order and proportion, this constitution and execution of *Church-Government* by Episcopacy, as far as it is conform to *Catholick Antiquity*, and settled by the consent of any Christian Church and Nation by its *Synods* and *Parlaments*, I do in no sort conceive to be arbitrary, precarious or mutable as to the *maine*; (however it may be reduced and reformed in its deviations) (except in cases of invincible necessity, which may dispense with Sabbaths, Sacraments, and all publick externall duties of Polity, yea of Piety) so far am I from judging it any part of prudent Piety or true Reformation, for men rudely to baffle and despise, wholly to abrogate and extirpate it; because I cannot but look upon it as Scriptuall and Apostolick, sacred, and binding Christians *consciencies* to due approbation, obedience and subjection to it for the *Lords sake*, who undoubtedly intended the right constitution and constant regulation of his *Church*, with Order and Honor, no lesse than that of *States* and *Common-weales*, for whose peaceable Polity the Gospel hath set so many bounds and bonds of subjection. Sure neither Church nor State can be honestly or handsomely governed in any way of parity or popularity, where every one thinks himself *fit to command*, and so disdains *to obey*; according to those innate passions which are in all men, and oft in good men, and in good Ministers too, who being many, are as prone to run into many distempers and dangerous *exorbitances*, if they be left to themselves. As Mariners are without a Pilot, or sheep without a shepherd, or souldiers without a Commander, or people without a Prince; even so are Christians without ordained Ministers, and Ministers without Authoritative *Bishops*, exposed to all manner of Schisms, Disorders, Factions and Insolencies;

Which must necessarily follow, where the Clergy is either not at all governed by any Grave and Worthy Ecclesiasticall persons, or by such Ministers as have none but a popular and precarious Authority, or where Ministers are onely curbed and crushed by the imperiousnesse and impertinency of meer *Lay-men*, yea and of such as are not fit to be Judges or Rulers in the least civill affaires, much lesse over Learned men, whose Place, Office and Concerns are properly religious as they stand related to God and his Church. Nor can the Clergy be in much better case, when they are by a Democratick or *Levelling* spirit cast into such spontaneous Associations and Confederacies as give to no Minister that orderly and eminent power, respect and due authority, which is fitting for the Government of the Churches; nor yet teach common people that modesty and submission, which are necessary for such as desire to be well and worthily governed.

When all is said and tried that can be in point of Church-Government, I doubt not but it will be found true, as

Beza

*Ecclesia salus
in summi sacer-
dotis (i.e. Epi-
scopi) dignitate
consistit.
Hieron. adv.
Lucif. c. 4.*

Beza expresseth it (in the happy State of *England*,) that *Episcopacy* is (*singularis Dei beneficentia*) Gods singular bounty and blessing to this and any *Church*, which he prays it might alwaies enjoy, where it may be rightly enjoyed and religiously used; which the *Augustane Confession* and all *Reformed Churches* with their most eminent Professors did desire to submit unto, as a most speciall meanes to preserve the *Honor, Unity* and *Authority* of the *Church* and its *Discipline*, which, as a great River, growes weak and shallow, when it is drawn into many small channells and rivulets. How suitable and almost necessary a right and *Primitive Episcopacy* is for the temper of *England*, I shall afterward more fully expresse: at present it may suffice to shew how easie the *restoration* of it would be, if all sides would sincerely look to the *Primitive* pattern of *Church-Government*. First, if the *Diocese* committed to the *presidential inspection* of one worthy *Bishop* were of so moderate an extent, as might fall under one mans care and visitation, and be most convenient both for the private addressees and dispatches, & also for the generall meetings of the *Clergy* in some principall place of it; it would much remedy the great grievance of long journies, tedious expectation, and many times frustraneous attendance at *Westminster*, to which all *Ministers* are now compelled to their great charge and trouble, many times for a small Living, and sometime for a meer repulse. Such Counties as *Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Middlesex* with *London*, may seem proportionable to make each of them one *Episcopal* distribution: greater Counties may be divided, and lesser united. Secondly, if the generality of the *Clergy* or the whole *Ministry* of each *Diocese* might choose some few prime men of their Company to be the constant *Electors*, chief *Counsellors*, *Correspondents* and *Assistants* with the *Bishop*; to avoid multitudinous, tedious and confused managings of elections, *Ordinations* and other publick affaires. Thirdly, if in case of *Episcopall* vacancy, the generality of the *Clergy* meeting together, might present the names of three or four or more prime men, out of which number the *Electors* should choose one, whose election should stand if approved by the *Prince* or chief *Magistrate*; if not, they should choose some other of the nominated. Fourthly, the person thus chosen and approved on all sides should be solemnly and publickly consecrated by other *Bishops*; in the presence of the *Ministers* and people of the *Diocese*. By these meanes as there will be no crowd or enterfering among the *Clergy*, so there will be great satisfaction to *Prince* and people, without any clashing between the *Civill* and *Spiritual* power, which must be avoided; considering that not onely the exercise of all *Church-power* must depend on the leave of the *Prince* in his *dominions*; but also the *honorary* settled maintenance of the *Bishops*, as of all the *Clergy*, is but *Eleemosynary* in the originall, from the pious concession and munificence of the *Prince* or *State*, who as they will not in conscience or honor deny competent allowances to all worthy *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, so no doubt they will not grudge to adde such

Honorary

Bez. de grad. m. n. c. 18. Sect. 3.

Conf. August. de eccl. potest. De ord. eccles. Apolog. Aug. Conf. ad art. 14. Melanch. epist. ad Camerariū. Calv. epist. ad Sadolex. sub finem de neces. Ref. eccles.

Honorary supports to every *Bishop* or *President*, as may decently maintain that Authority, Charity and Hospitality, which becomes his Place, Worth and Merit: for certainly no men can do more good, or deserve better of their Nation and Country, than *excellent Bishops* may do, as by their Doctrine and example, so by their wise and holy way of governing the Church with such Honor and Authority as became them; which could not but be an excellent meanes to advance the Majesty, Purity, Power and Profession of *Christian* and *Reformed Religion*, as otherwhere, so chiefly in *England*, whose happineffe and honor (in this point) might, as I humbly conceive, be easily recovered by some such expediency in *Church-Government*, whose excellent temper should answer all the honest desires and reall interests of all Godly people, of modest *Presbyters*, of wise *Bishops*, and of just *Princes*; whose wisdom and authority might easily, by the advise of all Estates, both Civill and Ecclesiastick, so restore Unity, Tranquillity and Authority to the *Church of England*, that no worthy Christians of any perswasion, *Episcopall*, *Presbyterian* or *Independent*, should have any cause to complain of either neglect or oppression, which cannot befall any party in respect of their just pretensions and equable desires, if regard be had to the Primitive pattern of *Episcopacy*, which included the priviledges and satisfactions of all degrees, both of *Ministers* and *people*. The complaints of oppression arise from the later innovations or invasions made by one party against the reall or pretended rights and immunities of the other; which my designe is on all hands to unite and mutually preserve by a regular, prudent, complete, moderate, and yet authoritative, way of *Church-Government*, which is nowhere to be found but in a well-constituted *Episcopacy*.

In a designe wholly for reconciliation and atonement between moderate and pious men of all sides, I know the way is not partially to over-value, or passionately to undervalue any thing that is alledged by sober men on any side conducing to the common good: Therefore I do not, I cannot in prudence or conscience so prefer the eminency of *Episcopacy*, as to neglect or oppress the just rights of worthy *Presbyters*, or the ingenuous satisfactions of *Christian people*; neither of which are to be despised or rejected, but cherished and preserved, no lesse than the Authority of *Bishops*, which at the highest must be as of one that serveth the Lord Christ and the Church, not insulteth against either; the Grave and Elder sort of *Ministers* ought to be treated by the *Bishop* as brethren, the younger sort as Sons. The reall interests of all are, in my judgement, best preserved, when they are least scattered or divided, but bound up in the same peaceable Polity or holy Harmony; which I call the Primitive and complete *Episcopacy*, ever esteemed by the Catholick Church for its excellent wisdom, order and usefulness, to have been (at least) of Apostolicall Edition (both preceptive and exemplary) in its Primitive impression: the errata's which, by long decurrence of time, through many mens hands have befallen it, are easily corrected and amended

ded by men of *Apostolick Spirits* and Primitive tempers.

For my part, I heartily desire, humbly endeavour and unfeignedly advise for fuch a blessed *accommodation* as may fatisfie the just designes and honest interests of all good men; I am infinitely grieved to see them threaten one another with eternall distances, and this Church with everlasting differences and distractions: of which I am the more jealous and sensible, by what I observe either of rigor or reservedneffe in some men of *Episcopall, Presbyterian* and *Independent principles*, who had rather lose the whole game of the Reformed Religion and this Churches Recovery, than abate one ace of their high fancies and demands. Where *Episcopall Divines* do remit much of modern advantages; and condescend to the most innocent models of *Primitive Episcopacy*, yet still they find many *Presbyterians* and *Independents* so died in graine as to their particular parties, principles and adherencies, that they will not yet endure any thing that hath the least colour or tincture, name or title of *Episcopacy*. Some viler sort of men study nothing more than to render the venerable Names of *Bishops* and *Episcopacy* odious, and the more there is pleaded for their *innocency* or *excellency*, (as *Pilate did* Luke 23. 22. for *Jesus*, when he found no fault in him,) the more they clamor with the *Jewes*, *Crucifie, crucifie*. And all this, lest (forsooth) some Godly Ministers of the new stamps and models should lose any thing of that popular glosse and lustre, whereby they fancy themselves to shine and glister like money new-minted among some people in their private spheares: hence some of them grow so cruelly cunning, that neither in *Charity* nor *Policy* they will endure any closure or treaty with *Episcopacy* under any notion, notwithstanding that they pretend to twist their *Associations* with the three-fold cords of all moderate men, differing still in some principles, yet concurring in one grand end for the publick peace, as they tell us; when yet nothing can intreat them to wish, to speak or think well of *Episcopacy* in any state or constitution.

Some fervent or fierce men profess such a jealousy of *Antichrist* in *Episcopacy*, that they cast away all that is of *Christ* in it: They fear an *Apostacy* if they should returne to the *Apostolick Polity*, which is *Episcopacy*. There are that urge it best for the Piety, Peace and Honor of this Nation to have no united Church, no Ecclesiasticall Unity which should be Nationall, no uniforme or settled Religion, but to let every one invent, adhere to, and advance that party and opinion which they like best; so immoveable are they by any experiences of our mischiefs, or any remonstrances of Piety, Prudence and Charity, for a publick composure in Religion.

From the restive temper of these men I can expect nothing more than that equanimity which will bear at least with *Episcopacy* in such as can bear with *Presbytery* or *Independency* in them. If they find it so blessed a Liberty to serve the Lord as they list in those new Church-waies, whereof they so much boast and glory, why should they envy, or how can they in conscience grudge to allow the Godly and honest

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Episcopall Clergy and other Christians, (who are in no virtue, grace or gift inferior to them) to partake of and use the like *freedom*, as is either granted to, or used and presumed by *Presbytery* and *Independency*: Why should they so spitefully obstruct and hinder that *concession* to *Episcopacy*, which is indulged or challenged to all sorts of *novelties* and *varieties*?

1 Kings 18.

Possibly God in time would decide which is the *best way*, if *Episcopacy*, as *Elijah*, might bring its offering to the Altar, as well as others do. It may be in a few yeares Providence would shew which way pleaseth him most, by his enclining the hearts of good Christians to embrace and follow what hath most of Gods Order and Wisdome, of Christs *Institution*, of *Apostolick* imitation, of Catholick Tradition or Custome, and of the Churches union; all which meet (onely) in *Primitive Episcopacy*.

But this way as it may be *dilatory* and *tedious*, so it may be dangerous and pernicious as to the welfare of both Church and State; for there can be no *division* in Religion without *emulation*, no *emulation* without *opposition*, no *opposition* without *ambition*, no *ambition* without *animosity*, no *animosity* without *offence*, no *offence* without *anger* and studies of *revenge*, whence arise publick *seditions*: therefore I rather chuse a speedy and safe accommodation, than any dilatory and dangerous *Toleration*, which will but increase disputes and distances, animosities and asperities among good men.

And because I find it is not any thing really burdensome, noxious or offensive in *Primitive Episcopacy*, which makes many so shy and jealous of it; but onely the *ignorance*, errors and prejudices of some men, who have sought to make It (of later yeares especially) obnoxious to all manner of popular jealousies, calumnies and reproches; which have endeavoured so to hide all the pristine beauty and true excellency of it, that many look upon *Prelacy*, that is, *Episcopacy*, as if it were in the same Form with *Popery*, and think (most fillily) that they may no more in conscience comply with any regular *Episcopacy*, than with the *Popes* irregular *Primacy*, in that arrogant and imperious sense which he now challengeth, beyond the modesty and humility of his *Primitive Predecessors*, who were then greatest *Bishops*, when least in their ambitions: It will be therefore, as I suppose, not an act of partiality as to any one side, but of justice and charity to all sorts of Christians, for me a little further to sweeten the name, and cleare the cause of *Primitive Episcopacy*, such as I have stated it, and as all Antiquity ever esteemed it to be, the chiefest support of Religious *safety*, *honor* and *order*; the Center, Crown and *Consummation* of the Churches peace, authority, unity and prosperity.

It is pitty so *Primitive*, so *Apostolick*, so *Venerable* an Order, so universally used in this as all Churches heretofore, should any further lye under the dirt and disguises of vulgar prejudices, popular reproches, or any mens personall faults and infirmities, especially when all wise men know that the usuall distasts which have vitiated most

most mens palates do arise rather from their own or other mens *choleric* and revengefull *distempers*, and the diffusions of their redundant galls, than from any reall defect or demerit of true *Episcopacy*, or from any just blame imputable to worthy men either of that place and office, or of that perswasion and Communion in the Church of *England*.

C H A P. XIX.



Here are severall *grand pleas* in behalf of Primitive and Catholick *Episcopacy*, which I here crave leave to produce and urge in a way different from other mens pens, before all Learned, Godly and Conscientious Christians, Ministers and others; not onely in order to relieve *oppressed Episcopacy*, but also to re-

Several Pleas
in behalf of
Episcopacy.

duce them to an happy *reconciliation*, and this Church to the state of a settled and uniform Reformation or Religion, which will hardly ever be obtained in *England* by the violent and partiall exclusion of the *ancient Rights*, *pristine Power* and evident priviledges of *Episcopacy*, unlesse the *Antiepiscope* parties can take care to burn or smother all *Monuments* of true *Antiquity*, or to banish all *excellent books*, ancient and modern, which have asserted it, or at least forbid their *new seminaries* and all *Scholars* the reading of them. If they cannot rid the world of these *bookes*, then they must make some sharp *Index expurgatorius*, which shall blot out the words of *ἐπισκοπὴ*, *Episcopus*, *Antistes*, *Præpositus*, *summus Sacerdos*, *Pastor*, *Pater*, with those of *τιμὴ*, *τάξις*, *ἀξίωμα*, *ἀρετὴς*, *μεγαλὴ*, *μεγαλὴ*, *Πατερνί- τις*, *Eminentia*, *Dignitas*, *Sanctitas*, *Authoritas*, and other like expressions, setting forth the eminent dignity and ancient authority of *Episcopacy* in all Churches; which expressions are so frequent and conspicuous in all *Ecclesiastick writers*, Greek and Latin, that the *stars* in the firmament are not more numerous or more illustrious in a clear night, or the Sun-beames shining at bright noon.

The Native, Primitive, Apostolick, Catholick and Divine *splendor* of *Episcopacy* cannot be eclipsed, without darkning the faces of all Churches and all Christians. Nor in effect will it ever be done, unlesse its implacable enemies can take care by their cunning activity, that none shall be *Students*, or *Preachers*, or *Professors* of Christianity, or of true Divinity in *England*, but such as will be content first to be blinded and hoodwinckt as to all knowledge of *Antiquity*; next, that their Disciples shall take the measures of their Religion, Ordination, Church-order, *Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction*, and *Christian Communion*, not from *Jerusalem*, or *Antioch*, or *Ephesus*, or old *Rome*, or any other famous, Catholick, Primitive Churches, (which were all under *Episcopall* inspection, and in its Communion) but from *Geneva*, *Francfort*, *Amsterdam*, *Arnhem*, or *Edenbrough*; and this since they have pretended (of later yeares) to be wiser

from

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than

than their *Teachers* and first *Founders* in Christianity, grown more *Eagle-ey'd* in Church-affaires than all *Antiquity*, and all Churches in the world : whose constant consent and Catholick Testimony in the point of *Episcopacy*, as an Apostolick institution, custome and succession, is (I conceive) as much to be credited for the *certainty* and *fidelity* of it, as it is for the *Scripture-Canon* received, preserved and delivered to us, or for the two *Sacraments* to be used, or for the *Lords day* to be observed, or for *Presbytery* it self, or for any ordained Ministry distinct and authoritative : for none of these, as to the *Historick* and *Catholick attestation* of them, is more ancient or more evident than *Episcopacy*. Sure, if the ancient Church were *faithfull* in all other things of *universal use* and *reception*, it is not to be suspected as to this great *depositum* of *Ecclesiastick Order* for *gubernative Power*, *Authority* and *Jurisdiction*, in what hands it was settled and deposited for the Churches future peace and constant good Government to all posterity ; it being equally impertinent to affirm, first, that Church-Government and Governours were needlesse for the Church, or that it was not ordered by the *Apostles*, (that is, by the *Spirit* and *wisdome* of Christ,) or that it is arbitrary and mutable every year, as men have a mind to novelty and sedition, or lastly, that those holy men who immediately succeeded the *Apostles* did vary from their rule and prescription, changing *Presbytery* or *Independency* into a *Presidentiall* or *Episcopall primacy* ; which is a thing incredible, considering the purity, exactness, and holy pertinacy of Primitive Churches, as to what was of Apostolick Tradition, as *Tertullian* rarely expresseth it in his book of Prescription against Heresies.

1. Plea, from the Catholick Antiquity of Episcopacy.

So that my first pregnant consideration, perswading you (*O worthy Gentlemen*, with my brethren of the *Ministry*, and all my religious *Countrymen*) to look upon right *Episcopacy* with a more propitious and favourable eye, is taken from the *great credit* and just *veneration* which is due to *Antiquity*, there where we find a *Primitive* practise and *Catholick consent* ; and this not onely no way contrary to or diverse from, but most consonant and every way agreeable to the *mind* of Christ and the *wisdome* of God, which the Church hath delivered to us in the *holy Scriptures*. It is not to be doubted but the *streame* of Christianity ran clearest, the neerer it was to the *Apostolick fountaines*, as in purity of *Doctrine*, and simplicity of *Devotion*, so in the *Discipline*, *Order* and *Government* of the Church, as to that power and authority which is meet in all offices and *Ministrations*. Who can deny that the *Primitive Churches* and *Pastors* best understood the *appointments* of Christ and his *Apostles* in this point of Government, as in all things else, when they had such an *anointing* of the *Spirit* and *Truth* to teach them how to constitute and govern all Churches, as needed not any *Presbyterian* or *Independent Tutors* to teach them new modes : who are, as *Irenaeus* speaks of some *Innovators* in his time, much younger than those *Bishops* who were the successors of the *Apostles* ; who as they could not possibly be

ignorant

Omnēs enim illi valde sunt posteriores quam Episcopos, quibus Apostoli tradiderunt ecclesias. Irenæus. l. 5. c. 10.

ignorant of the Apostolick appointment, so, nor probably could they be so *impertinent*, as presently to alter it even in the *first Century*, while some *Apostles* or *Apostolick* men were yet living, and not onely preaching as *Presbyters*, but so ruling as *Præsidents* or *Bishops* among them, and above them, that they were far enough from the *Incubus* of popularity, or the *Polypus* of parity, among *Ministers*: Both which methods must have left the enlarged and numerous Churches of Christ either *Acephalists*, confused without any head, or *Polycephalists*, burdened with many heads, and divided into infinite fragments, far enough from any such *influence* and *authority*, God knows, as was capable to preserve such large *combinations* of Churches as then and after were combined, in any regular order, subordination and communion, wherein *primitive Churches* (as in all other things) *most excelled*; being furthest from any such *distractions*, *defectiveness* or *deformities*, as are monstrous in Christianity, because most contrary to those constant *proportions* of Modesty, Humility, Order, Wisdom, Peace, Unity and Polity, which God hath set before all sober men, and specially wise Christians, both in reason and religion, in the systeme of all bodies natural or social, in all communities *civil* and *military*, *oeconomick* or *politick*, yea in all magistracies or eminencies, which are either *paternal*, *fraternal*, or *despoticall*. In the ordering of all which there ever is and must be some *Parent* or *Elder brother*, or *Master*, or *Chieftane*, or *Superiour*, or *Commander*, who in a kind of *Episcopacy* over-see and over-rule those that are under their several *charges*, and within the several *combinations*: which order strictly established by God in his ancient Church of the Jews, can never be made to appear either as *Paradox* or *Heterodox* from the wisdom and will of God in the several *families*, *fraternities* or *polities* of his Christian Church; nor may it be thought that in this Christ suffered his Church to erre a *Catholick error*, which in all things else he ever preserved (according to his promise) from all *general defection*. Can it then seem other then Juvenility, Peevishness, Partiality, Pride, Petulancy, Love of novelty, and factious inclination, or some other impotent passion, (which may, as diseases, be sometime too popular, prevalent and Epidemick among Christians) so grossly to blemish, suspect, despise and discredit (as some do) the *veracity* and *fidelity* of the Church of Christ, in the point of *Catholick Episcopacy*, as most ancient and venerable? which is indeed, and ever was, both used and esteemed as the onely crown and completion of all well-governed Churches, as in latter, so in primitive times; before whose gray head and reverent age it well becomes such Novices as we are to rise up and pay a due respect.

Since (then) *presidential* or *paternal Episcopacy* is (beyond all cavil or dispute) the *elder Brother* by far to *Presbytery* or *Independency*; since it had *possession*, as in all other, so in these *British Churches* (of which *Tertullian*, who lived in the *second Century* after Christ, makes mention) from the first Constitution of them in their just proportions^{c. 7.}

*Britannorum in
accessa Romanis
loca Christo sub-
dita.*

Tert. adv. Jud.

Hieron. in vita
Malch.

tions (which St. Hieron calls *Adultas ecclesias*, adult or full-grown Churches, which had attained their due stature and dimensions,) since the quiet possession and long prescription of fifteen or sixteen hundred yeares, is a valid title in justice, and invincible prejudice against all novell pretenders, and violent disseisors of Episcopacy; it were but modest and ingenuous, reasonable and religious, equall and charitable, for all Ministers and others of any Learning, Worth and Honesty (as many I hope are of all sides) to make some handsome, if not retractions, yet retrogradations and returns toward this Apostolick and Catholick, Ancient and Primitive Episcopacy.

O How well would it become Presbyterians and Independents, that have a due sense of things comely, honest, praise-worthy and honorable, in stead of making up their new Associations, which is but a marriage or medly of Presbytery and Independency, to offer, or receive some faire offers and fraternall proposalls, in order to an happy accommodation with those Learned and worthy men, who are still firme to the Episcopall interests and just Authority, as Ancient, Primitive and Catholick; which are not to be slighted by any men of Learning and Worth, however the Cause may be more afflicted, and the men lesse favoured at present.

It ill becomes any Grave, Godly and ingenuous men, still to take those poor advantages against Episcopacy which arise from popular ignorance, vulgar prejudices or covetous jealousies, much lesse from the plebeian petulancies used against all Bishops, and the undeserved depressions saide on many Episcopall Divines, over whom disdainfully to triumph, and with a kind of scorn to crow and insult, is both base and barbarous: nor is it much more ingenuous, to pass them by with a supercilious silence and neglect; which I see some new ministers affect to do, counting them all as unfavourable, not fit to be gathered from those Dung-hills on which they have been cast, (God knows, not for want of favour in themselves, but of favour from others.) A third sort there are of Associaters, who that they might seem more civil and candid to Episcopacy, and to Episcopal Ministers, of whose worth they are convinced as much as of their sustained injuries, have sometime (yet not without the strictures of some brow and glorying) invited them to joyne with them, that is, to subscribe and submit to their new Associations. For in these (as the designe and Opera is laid) those men whose judgement and conscience hath most confined and confirmed them to Episcopacy, must either as Cyphers signifie nothing, and when they convene, but sit still and say nothing, (being onely tame Spectators of other mens rare activities, who would faine Christen their Presbytery and Independency with some drops and sprincklings of Episcopacy, and so have some Episcopall Divines as Gossips to their new Births,) or else they must first as good as openly renounce Episcopacy, and desert their former both opinion, Ordination and station in the Church as Christians and as Ministers; next, they must admit the rare and new invention of a particular Church Covenant, as they call it, or an incorporating en-
gagement,

gement, by word or subscription, contrary to what they formerly had explicitly passed to this Church and its Government in their ordination and subscription, yea and beyond that *Baptismall Covenant*, which every Christian professer owne as the *badg* or bond of his admission into Communion with Christ and his Church, both Catholick and congregationall, generall and particular. This (it seemes) must now nor at all be owned, or slighted, nulled and forgotten by the superfetation of a new form of Christian *confederation* more solemn, sacred and obliging (as they fancy) to Christian duties, than that was, which was solemnly made in the presence of the congregation, ratified in the blood of Jesus Christ, and testified in the Name of the *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*: yea and after this the poor *Episcopall Divines*, if they will gently comply, and for feare Associate, must quietly permit either the community of the people, or the parity of the *Presbyters* (in their severall lesser bodies and congregations, or in their greater classes and conventions) to challenge to themselves the plenary, sole, absolute, perfect and unappealable power of not onely *ordination*, which of old they never had, as *St. Jerom* confesseth, but of all *Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction and Discipline*, and this under the conduct and *auspicious* management of onely some Diurnall Dictator, some *temporary prolocutor*, or *extemporary moderator*, who is (forsooth) to have the Image of a *superficiall Bishop*, and the shadow of a *short-liv'd Superintendent*; a thing meerly occasional and unauthoritative as to any office or power inherent in him, or of right to be challenged or exercised by him, enjoying onely an *horary*, arbitrary and humane *presidency*, for fashion and civility sake, without any Ecclesiasticall, eminent or constant Authority residing in him as derived from Christ, the Apostles or their successors, or any Churches *custome, designation and consent* in former times.

Such as was ever committed to, owned in, and used by the *Bishops* of the Church, as regularly succeeding to the Apostles in that ordinary eminency of power, which was necessary to keep both *Presbyters* and all Christian people and Churches in *good Order, peace and Unity*; which blessings they never more enjoyed, or more happily, than under a right *Episcopacy*.

Whose cause, however of later yeares it hath been run down and trampled in a hurry under foot by some men in *England, Scotland and Ireland*; yet hath it suffered no reall diminution as to the true Honor of its Apostolick Authority, its *Primitive Antiquity*, its *Catholick succession*, its *high descent*, and its holy *Originall*: which was never denied or much disputed by any men of any considerable *Learning and Piety*, till these later *Dog-dayes*, in which not onely some single Stars of *nebulous and dubious light*, but whole *Constellations* of them, like *Sirius* or the *Canicular Functo* (erected under the new name and figuration of *Smectymnus*, to calculate the *Nativity* of a new *Reformation*) became *Lords of the Ascendent*; being filled, contrary to their former Conformity and declared submission, with a very unbenigne,

benigne, that I say not *malignant*, influence, not only against *Episcopacy*, but in effect against the whole visible *Constitution* of this *Church*, in which (as Goods in a sunk ship) all things are much wasted and abased by the ruine of *Episcopacy*. Their destructive fires (kindled from the colder parts of this Island) first flamed into strange *Logomachies*, thredbare *carvillings*, and triviall *strifes* about Words and Names; as if after sixteen hundred years, all the Christians and Ministers of *England*, its Princes and Parliaments, its Synods and Councils, yea all the Christian world elsewhere, were to be *Catechized* by a few petty *Presbyters* (in comparison) and their Scot-English Assembly, what the names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, of *Pastor* and *Teacher*, of *Elder* and *Ruler*, of *Helps* and *Governments*, of *Apostle* and *Evangelist*, of *Ecclesiastical Stars* and *Angels* did mean: which not onely all Writers, but all times and practises of all Churches had sufficiently interpreted, and cleared from the first *promiscuous* use of some general names (which called the chief Apostles Prophets, Evangelists, Bishops, Presbyters, Elders, Ministers and Deacons too; in whose offices, authorities and duties, there were real and great differences) to more proper and peculiar *distinctions*, according to the several ranks, degrees, orders, offices and powers then established in the Church.

After the *Squibbs* and *Crackers* of paper had been lighted, and cast in the face of venerable *Episcopacy*, at last (as the manner is) things came to dreadful *Chiromachies*, such scufflings and fightings with hands and arms of flesh against that Government, (which is as the *Ancient of dayes*) that they looked more like that *Gigantomachy*, the Giants assaulting Heaven and the Gods, than that *Good fight of faith*, which ought to contend earnestly onely for that which was once uniformly delivered to all true *Saints*, and received by all true Churches of Christ, in doctrine, order and government: among whom all lesser disputations and differences *circumstantial* (rising among good Christians) were wont to be fairly debated and determined in lawful Assemblies, in *Ecclesiastical Synods*, and National or general Councils; from which Christian and Orthodox *Bishops* were never either terrified or excluded, but principally called and admitted as the chief Fathers of those holy Oeconomies or Christian Polities: Nor was *Episcopacy* ever condemned by any of those Councils, Synods or Assemblies in any Age of the Church; much less was it ejected and extirpated as *uselesse*, *unlawful* and *abominable*, no not by any Synods and confessions of any *Protestant* and reformed Churches of note; notwithstanding they could not conveniently enjoy the blessing of it, (for so they accounted it) either by reason of the petulancy of people, or the impatience of civil *Magistrates*, or the *sacrilegious humours* and designs of all against the *Clergy*.

After all these prepossessions and just presumptions thus challenged to the cause and state of *Episcopacy*, in point of its venerable and undeniable *Antiquity*, I cannot but offer to its still scrupulous or implacable *Adversaries* these following Quæres.

I. How

1. How sad (I beseech you) and wretched, how confounded and astonished must the awakened *Consciences* of those men be, who have been the chief *Authors* and *Fauctors* of our late troubles, *variati- ons* and *miseries*, chiefly upon the account of their *Antiepiscolal Antipathies*, if after all these *combustions*, *perturbations* and *plunder- ings* of Religion, which have rather pleased mens private passions and opinions, than any way profited the publick welfare of this Church or State; if (I say) these *great Sticklers* against *Episco- pacy* should be either grossly mistaken, or maliciously perverted from the right path, that *good old way*, of which former Ages can better inform us, then those that are but of yesterday, and can know no- thing but by their light?

2. What if it should be as true, as it is most *probable* (because gene- rally so believed in all Ages, parts and places of the Church) that the cause of *Primitive Episcopacy* is indeed the cause of God, of Christ, and of the whole Church; the cause of all the Apostles, of all *Primitive Bishops* their immediate successors, yea the cause of all true *Presby- ters* and all true Christians; a cause in which the glory of God, the wisdom of Christ, the honor of the Apostles, the fidelity of their successors, the credit of the *Church Catholick*, the comfort and au- thority of all true Ministers, the surest test and Character of due Ordination, the peace and unity of all good Christians, are bound up and mainly concerned?

3. What if these new masters, these sharp censors and imperi- ous dictators, (whom perhaps not Piety so much as Policy, not Re- ligion but Reason of State, not *reforming severities*, but needlesse jealousies and imaginary necessities, have put upon such *violent sick- lings* against *Episcopacy*, and reprobating all *worthy Bishops*) what if they have been deceived themselves and deceivers of others in that point? which is much more veniall to think and say of the very best of them, than to passe any such censure or suspicion of error or igno- rance upon all Churches, even in their purest and *Primitive Anti- quity*, when one spark of Martyrly zeal, which was as holy fire from Gods Altar, had more divine light and heat in it, than all the blazes and flashes of Moderne Zelotry.

4. I do in all *Christian candor* demand of the severest *Presbyte- rian* and sharpest *Independent*, whether, when they ask of the *gene- rations of old*, and enquire of all *Ages* from the beginning of *Christian Churches*, whether ever they find any Christians or congregations at any time either *Christening* or *Churching themselves*, either by their own vote, choise and authority, or by separating from their ordained *Presbyters* and *Bishops*, which were sound in the faith, and regular in their administrations, who had duly taught, baptized, confirmed and ruled them in the Lord. When did any *Presbyters* or Ministers ever pretend to ordaine themselves or one another without some *Apostle* or *Bishop*? When, where, and by whom was the first Schisme, Rupture or Chafme of *Ecclesiasticall* parity, as to *Mission* and *Com- mission*, begun? When and where was the first intrusion or encroach-

ment upon the pretended authority of *Presbytery* made by *Episcopacy*: Did not all *Presbyters* owe & ever own their *legitimate birth & breeding* to their respective *Bishops*? whose Authority was ever as much above meer *Presbyters* in degree and office, as it was before them in the order of nature and causality, no lesse than in time and antiquity.

5. If (then) all the novel *presumptions, pretensions and objections* of either *Presbytery* or *Independency* against *Primitive, Catholick, and Apostolick Episcopacy*, should in earnest be nothing but passionate, false and frivolous mistakes, arising from ignorance and error, carried on by envy and arrogance in many men: O what needlesse troubles, what heedlesse angers, what inordinate furies, what dreadfull disorders must they all this while have been guilty of? what causelesse contentions, innovations, confusions, variations, have they brought into the Churches of Christ? what cruell and uncharitable contentions have they raised, as elsewhere, so in this famous and flourishing Church of England? without any just cause, God knowes, and beyond the merits of *Episcopacy*, even in its greatest defects, declinations and deformities; to which as all holy *Institutions* may in time be subject, so they ought to be humbly, wisely and moderately reformed by the prayers, teares, counsels, honest and orderly endeavours of all sober Christians, of all sorts and sizes, in their places and stations, with due regard to the first pattern and originall.

But certainly, as the whole order and office of *Presbytery*, (which may have had its personall depravations also) so the ancient and venerable Authority of *Episcopacy*, as to its *Primitive Institution* and *Catholick succession*, ought not on any hand to be utterly ruined, raised and extirpated root and branch, by any tumultuary rashnesse or popular precipitancy; which can never become any Church of Christ, or any wise and godly Christians: nor can such methods of sharp and soure *Reformations* ever end in the peace or comfort of good men, who, (if they find themselves guilty of excesses, so dangerous and destructive to the true Church, true Religion and true Reformation) have nothing lesse to do than to persevere in their *extravagancies*, or pertinaciously to assert their former transports: yea they have nothing more to do speedily and conscienciously, than humbly to recant, seriously to repent, and effectually to amend, as much as lies in their power, the affronts and assaults, the breaches and waists they have made of the Churches Peace and Unity, Power and Authority, by returning to that duty which they owe to God, and that obedience they owe to their spirituall Governours, and that reverence which they owe to uniform antiquity; which so fully commends the presidentiall authority of *Apostolicall* and *Primitive Episcopacy*. Their first errors may be weaknesse, but their obstinacy must needs be wickednesse, who still sin when they are convinced, silenced and afflicted.

6. What if after all this *dust* and *noyse*, which hath so blinded and deafned the eyes and eares of many *Presbyters* and people, that they cannot and will not see the Truth and Testimony of Antiquity, (which

(which is no lesse cleare for the *presidentiall authority* and eminency of *Episcopacy*, than for the *subordination, counsel* and *assistance* of *Presbytery*) what if it should be the mind of God, the *order* and *Institution* of Jesus Christ, the designation and direction of his blessed Spirit, evidently signified and settled in and by the *blessed Apostles*, in all *Primitive Churches*, and so continued to this day, according to the measures of Divine Wisdome and Order, (though not without mixtures of humane infirmities and disorders, incident to all holy Institutions ?)

7. What if after all these *seditions* and *schismaticall distempers* in *Ministers* and *people*, the Lord should say to these *refractory* and *irreconcilable* spirits against *Episcopacy*, as he did to the *Jewes* when they revolted from *Samuels* Government, They have not rejected you (O my faithfull servants the *Bishops*, whom I have constituted and used in all ages as *vigilant Over-seers*, and wise *Rulers of my flock*;) but they have rejected me ? who in this point of *Episcopacy*, have so sufficiently declared my will and pleasure to all the world, that no Church was ever ignorant of it, or varied from it, being manifested from heaven, First, in the evident instances of *divine wisdom*, among the *Jewish Church* and *Priests*; yea as it is an orderly and gubernative method in all societies, where right reason, and so true Religion, necessarily command and commend *superiority* and *subjection*: Secondly, in the paterne and Rules of *Ecclesiasticall Polity*, set down by my Son Jesus Christ, and followed by his *Apostles*, who settled all Churches in such an orderly subordination: Thirdly, in the constant custome and *Catholick testimony* of all *succeeding Churches*, whose joynnt suffrages and uniform practises in cases of any darkness, dispute or difficulty (where Scripture-precepts may seem lesse clear and explicite) ought by all sober Christians to be esteemed as the safest measures of *conscience*, and surest rule of *religious observance*, especially as to things of outward Polity, Order and Government; nor may any *novel* inventions or pretensions never so specious be put into the balance against the Authority of the *Catholick Church*, which is the pillar and ground of Truth, the great *Directory* of *Ecclesiasticall prudence* and *practise*.

1 Sam. 8. 17.

1 Tim. 3. 15.

8. What if the Great God of order, peace and truth, (as well as so many learned and godly men, so many famous and flourishing Churches in all Ages) should by *beating* or *scaring* men from their popular *prejudices*, pitiful *subterfuges*, and sinister *designes*, thus mightily plead the cause of true *Episcopacy*, against all thole who have spoken and done so many *perverse things* against that excellent government ? What if he should by some powerful means *rebuke* their confidences, as he did *Job's*: justly demanding of these Destroyers, Where is that Wisdom, that Modesty, that Gentleness, that Charity, that Moderation, that Humility, that Gravity and Christian Caution which became godly men to their betters, to such a Church and to such worthy Bishops as were the Governours of it under God and the King ? Could you be ignorant of the learning, graces, virtues,

merits and worth which were in Bishops, suitable to their lawful Authority? Did you not know, and with some repining see, how justly they were preferred before Presbyters and People, as every way fittest to be over and above them? Are these immoderations and injuries the wayes of true Religion and Reformation? Can there be true piety without charity, yea without equity or pitty? If evil men are not to be injured, much less good men, good Ministers, and least of all good Bishops, which were not wanting among you.

May not thus the *lightnings* of Gods *rebukes* be clearly seen, and the terrors of his *thunders* be justly heard, and the *blastings* of his displeasure be felt, by all the unjust, tumultuary, malicious and implacable enemies of venerable Episcopacy? Methinks I hear the Divine Majesty thus uttering his glorious voice against them:

Deut 32.6.

‘O foolish People! O unthankful Nation! O degenerate Christians
‘or deformed Church, not worthy to be beloved of God, or happily
‘governed by wise men! Do you thus requite the Lord, and thus
‘despise all the ancient Churches of Christ, by forsaking, yea reject-
‘ing your own mercies and happiness? Is it a small thing that you
‘have broken through all Laws, and the arm of mans civil authority,
‘but will you also contend against the power of God, and the wis-
‘dom of Christ? whose out-stretched arm in the way of Episcopacy
‘hath been in all Ages a defence and refuge to his Church. Should you,
‘beyond the boldnesse of Balaam, dare to curse what God hath not
‘curled, or to defie what God hath not defied, but signally owned
‘with his blessing in all Ages and Churches?’

Acts 1.

‘In seeing do you not see, and in reading do you not understand,
‘the constant methods of Gods guiding and governing both this and
‘all other Christian Churches? How hath a novel zeal, but not ac-
‘cording to knowledge, blinded your minds? Who called the first
‘Apostles to be chief Bishops over all Churches? Who supplied the
‘Apostasie of Judas by the Election of Matthias to his Episcopacy?
‘Upon whom did the power of the Holy Ghost first come? Who pla-
‘ced Bishops immediately after them in all completed Churches
‘through the world? What planted, preserved, united and refor-
‘med them, but that Apostolical, that is, the Episcopal authority,
‘assisted by such Presbyters, whom they ordained to part of the
‘Office, Labour, Honour and Ministry? Who were the chief Cham-
‘pions of the Gospel, but the venerable Bishops in all Ages? Who
‘were the most resolute Confessors? holy Bishops: Who the
‘most glorious Martyrs? excellent Bishops: Who were the most
‘Learned and Valiant Asserters of the Orthodox faith, Primitive pu-
‘rity, sanctity, order and harmony, becoming Christian Churches,
‘but admirable Bishops? Who were counted the prime Starres in
‘the hand of Christ? Who were called by way of eminency Angels
‘by him, but the chief Presidents and Bishops of the seven
‘Churches?’

Rev. 1. ult.

‘To whom was Divine Power first given and after derived,
‘not

'not onely to teach and feed, but to ordain Presbyters and Deacons,
 'also to rebuke, rule and govern both Presbyters, Deacons and People,
 '(as St. Paul enjoynes) but to holy Bishops, in the persons and patterns
 'of Timothy and Titus, Archippus and others, whose Authority as
 'such, no man ought to despise? Who were they that wounded and
 'destroyed the Great Behemoth and Leviathans of prodigious errors
 'and spreading heresies in the four first Centuries, but incompara-
 'ble Bishops, such as were Irenaus, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Au-
 'gustine, Ambrose, Hilary, Prosper, both the Cyrils, the Basils, the
 'Gregories and others? Who quenched the wild-fires of Schisme
 'and faction among Christian people and Ministers, but excellent
 'Bishops, such as Clement, Ignatius, Cyprian, both the Dionysins,
 'Austin, Optatus, Fulgentius and others? By whose sweat and blood,
 'next after the Apostles, were the plantations and necessary
 'Reformations of Churches watered and weeded, but by the vigi-
 'lancy and industry of worthy Bishops, both in their single capa-
 'city and in their joynt Synods or Councils? wherein Bishops, as
 'the Representatives or chief Fathers of all Churches as the families
 'of Christ, might orderly meet, duly deliberate, and autoritatively
 'determine, what seemed good to the Spirit of God and to them, for
 'the Churches Purity and Peace, according to the Scriptures pre-
 'cept and Catholick practise. Who were those renowned Pastors
 'and Preachers of old that mitigated the Spirits of great Princes,
 'that converted many Nations, that baptized mighty Kings and
 'Emperours, that advanced the Gospel beyond their Empires, and
 'set up the Crosse of Christ above their Crownes, not in soveraign-
 'ty or civill power, but in the Divine Empire of Verity, Sanctity
 'and Charity? Who moderated the Spirits and passions of persecu-
 'tors? Who convinced them of their errors, resolved their scruples?
 'who condemned their sins? who terrified their consciences?
 'and who either raised or restored them (through repentance) to
 'the peace of Christ and his Church, but heroick, wise and invincible
 'Bishops? Who have been the chief Luminaries in all Churches, in
 'all Ages the Chariots and Horsemen of Israel, the prime Pillars of Pi-
 'ety and Peace, of Hospitality and Honour, of Order and good
 'Government, but wise and renowned Bishops? Who furnished all
 'Churches with fervent Prayers, devout Liturgies, convenient Ca-
 'techises, learned Homilies, practical Sermons, accurate Commen-
 'taries and excellent Epistles; with sound Decisions of Controver-
 'sies and Cases arising in the Church or any private Conscience?
 'Who made up with charitable Composures all uncomfortable breach-
 'es and unkind differences among Christians, but pious and prudent
 'Bishops? whose authority was ever esteemed as sacred, being ex-
 'perienced in all Ages to be sanative and soveraign to Religion and the
 'Church, where they had freedom and encouragements to act as
 'became the chief Pastors, Counsellors and Governours of the Church in
 'all Ecclesiastick concernments.

1 Tim 4.13.
Tit. 2.15.

Sure if God would have them utterly destroyed, he would not so long

long have accepted such *sacrifices* from the hands of *Bishops*, both ancient and modern; nor thus mightily have pleaded the cause of Episcopacy in all Ages, and in this, both as to Gods wisdom in, and his blessing upon, that way of Church-government and Governours.

Obj.

But possibly our later Bishops (especially in *England*, whose cause is here chiefly pleaded) were such degenerate persons, as deserved not to bear the name, or knew not how to use the Office of a Bishop.

Answ.

Doubtless (*their Enemies being Judges*) no place, no Age, no one Nation or Church in the world since the Apostles, ever exceeded the *Bishops of England* for piety and learning, for useful and exemplary virtues, of which I shall afterward give more exact account; no Church ever more happy, flourishing or prosperous, then the reformed Church of *England* was under such worthy Bishops, as some men so despitefully used. Could Bishops in this and all Churches be so blessed of God, and yet Episcopacy deserve to be so abhorred of men? Were the Evangelical labours of godly *Bishops* so plentifully watered with the *Dew of Heaven*, and yet doth their function deserve to be rooted out of the Earth? If Episcopacy in its secular riches and honours must needs be destroyed, in order to confiscate the Churches Lands; yet at least primitive, though poor, Episcopacy might have been preserved: whose ancient eminency would have been both *authoritative* and *conspicuous* among good Christians, through the Clouds of such undeserved poverty. Though some men might presume to deprive *Bishops* of their deserved and lawful Estates, yet sure they were too bold to rob the Church of all excellent and deserving Bishops, such as *England* ever afforded, both before and since the Reformation; which the Romish and Jesuitick policies never hoped more effectually to deform and destroy, than by helping to carry on the routing of Episcopacy. Certainly the excellent *Bishops of England* were the greatest Eye-sore of the Pope and his Conclave; nor did they care to fight by their secret and open Engines against small or great Presbyters, so much as against these Prelates, who had so long stood in their way. They knew, when these chief Shepherds were smitten, the Sheep would soon be scattered: nor were Papists ever more gratified than when Episcopacy was extirpated out of *England*. What if the God, the Lord of his Church, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath laid the Government of it on the Shoulders of Christ Jesus, and he derived the external administration or dispensation of it to the Apostles, and they to succeeding Bishops, as spiritual Pastors and venerable Fathers of his Church; what if he should thus plead the cause of Episcopacy, in the eminency of its Apostolical order and primitive authority, against all those that have spoken, acted and written so many peevish, spiteful, popular, partial and perverse things against it? What if he should lay to their Consciences what is visible to their and all mens eyes, the sad divisions, miserable confusions, and horrid vastations of this Church and the

the Reformed Religion, which have followed the destroying of harmlesse, honourable, ancient, venerable, usefull and necessary Episcopacy? Would they not be infinitely ashamed, and mightily confounded for the new Modes which they have taken up, for the Oaks which they have chosen to over-shadow themselves, yea for the Briars and Brambles which they fancy as fittest to rule themselves and the Church of Christ in this Land, either by way of parity or popularity, which are not fit methods to rule their own families withall?

Ifa. 1:29.

Will a few arbitrary precarious Presbyters, and unauthoritative Preachers, or their new Associations serve their turn? Or will a few petty Congregations or Schismaticizing Conventicles, here and there, scattered and scrambled together in Cities and Countries, be able to countervail the damage, or to recompence the unspeakable defects and detriments, which this Church and Nation, which all estates and degrees of Christian people have sustained, by the totall loss and overthrow of primitive Episcopacy, which was as it were smothered to death in a crowd and huddle, never legally examined or fairly condemned by the free and full suffrages of all estates, so as its Antiquity, worth and honour did deserve. What learned, prudent and conscientious Ministers, or other Christians, can be fully satisfied with those new-fashioned ordinations and ministrations of holy things, which neither they nor their Fore-fathers, nor any ancient Churches ever knew, and wherein that Divine Authority which they challenge, is so justly doubted or disputed, as by no Catholick hand or regular course committed to them?

If that Ministeriall power, which is challenged and exercised upon such new accounts of humane policies and later inventions, if it should really be none at all, or as weak and defective as it is dubious, for Ordination as it is for Jurisdiction; (which is very much feared and suspected by very wise and good men; especially where not want and necessity deny, but wantonnesse and misfulness seek to deprive Christians of their true Bishop:) O how vain, how invalid, how arrogant, how insignificant must those Ministers and all their holy Ministrations appear to many Christians, who have of later years set themselves up, by a Presbyterian Commission or Popular Election, not onely without, but against their lawfull Superiours; who were every way so able, so worthy, and so lawfully authorized for that office and eminency, not onely as they were ordained Presbyters, but as they were further consecrated Bishops, that is, placed by Christ, and appointed by the Church in an higher degree, capacity, use and exercise of Ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction, then ever was in any Presbyters? Of which eminency Episcopal as that famous Council of Nice took such care to have it continued, after the ancient mode and patern of publick Election and solemn Consecration, or the Churches Benediction; so all this formality must have been very superstitious and ridiculous, if it added nothing of authority and power peculiar to them as Bishops, but onely what they formerly had received in common as Presbyters.

Doubtless

Doubtless *reordination*, as *rebaptization*, to the same office and degree in the Church, was ever condemned in the Church of Christ as impious, because superfluous; a meer *mockery of Religion*, a taking the name of God in vaine; forbidden by the *African Canons* and many Councils, never practised by any but such as St. *Basil* the Great reports one *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* to have been, whom he calls an *infamous Heretick*, a notorious deserter of the Churches *Catholick Communion*.

In vita B.
Chrysost.

If St. *Chrysostome* in the fourth Century had judged it enough to complete him in his *Episcopall power* and Authority, to have been once ordained a *Presbyter*, as he was in *Antioch*, where he so lived twelve yeares, sure he would not have troubled himself to have been after ordained or consecrated a *Bishop* by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* and others of that order, when he was chosen to be Bishop of *Constantinople*.

In vita Aug.

Synf. ep. 66.

Nor would St. *Austin*, (a person no lesse pious and learned, who had been ordained *Presbyter* by *Valerius* Bishop of *Hippo*) been ordained anew by *Megalus* Patriarch of *Numidia*, when he was chosen to be Bishop of *Hippo*. In like sort was one *Alexander* a *Presbyter* ordained by St. *Chrysostome* to be Bishop of *Bassinopolis*, according to the uniforme method of *Antiquity*, which judged that the *Presbyters* chusing, the peoples approving, and the next *Bishops* consecrating or blessing of the Elect *Bishop*, made up that complete power and eminent Authority, in which he that was formerly but a *Presbyter*, was now invested as a *Bishop* or President of any Church: which made *Epiphanius* brand *Aerius* for a mad man, and subverted by the Devill (upon his discontent for being repulsed from a *Bishoprick*, of which he was ambitious) because he made *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery* (*ισιριμα*) of equall dignity, efficacy and authority; yet is *Epiphanius* often and highly commended by St. *Jerom* (who was but a *Presbyter* and lived in his Diocese sometime) as a person (*sancta & venerabilis memoria*) of holy and happy memory.

Hieronym. ad
Pammach. in
Epitaph. Paule.
In epist. ad
Johan. Hierof.
ep.

This then appearing so pregnantly to have been the judgement and practise of all *Antiquity*, which preferred *Episcopall dignity* and Authority above simple *Presbytery*, I do not see how learned, modest and ingenuous men can lightly esteem or actually oppose so Ancient and *Catholick* an order in the Church; so usefull, so necessary for any Churches well-being, which is unseparable from its good Government.

Lay aside (then) passions, prejudices, partiality, love of novelty, and childish pertinacy; I cannot but hope sober men will cheerfully returne in their judgements, desires and endeavours, to correspond with Primitive and paternall *Episcopacy*, acknowledging the ancient Rights of it as well as the use of it to be *Catholick* and *Apostolick*, so delivered to us in all Ages and successions, not onely by *Bishops*, but by *Presbyters* and *Deacons* too; such as *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen* and others were: from all which wholly to vary
and

and recede, cannot be other than *shaking*, and in great part *subverting*, the very foundations of Unity, Charity and Stability in the *Catholick Church*, as to its visible Order, Communion and Government; wherein all good Christians should not so much study the temporary satisfaction of particular parties and interests, as the constant and common good of the whole Polity and Society, wherein all honest mens private concerns are best preserved by such a *publick Authority* as is most venerable and least disputable.

What some have alledged to weaken and baffle the Catholick *Antiquity of Episcopacy*, as to its Primitive and Apostolick plantation, by *bastardizing* all the Epistles of *Ignatius*, as wholly supposititious, and so interpolated at best with the oft-repeated *Crambes* of *Bishops, Presbyters* and *Deacons*, to a kind of nauseous affectation, favouring (they say) more of later subtilty than *Primitive simplicity*: All this hath no weight in it, considering the high esteem was had of *Ignatius* in the Churches of the second and third Centuries, besides what the learned *Usserius* and *Vossius* do down in their late *Examinations*, not onely for his *Martyrly* constancy, but for his so holy and *generous Epistles*, so full of devout flames and sacred fervors of love to Christ, of Charity to his Church, and zeal for Martyrdome, that it were a thousand pitties this lukewarm Age should want the warmth of *Ignatius* his spirit glowing in his Epistles, such as were often owned and cited by the first *Ecclesiastick Writers*, *St. Jerom*, *Eusebius* and others, as genuine. Nor doth it seem so probable that any in those or after-times, which had no dispute either for or against *Episcopacy*, should studiously adde those frequent testimonies for it which are seen in the most *unsuspected* parts of *Ignatius*; but rather, that Holy man was directed by *Gods good Spirit* in his Martyrly zeal and extasies of love to Christ and the Church, to reinforce and reiterate, as he doth, the validity of his *testimony* for Order and Unity in the Church, as foreseeing the quarrels which might be about *Episcopacy*, and that the Communion of the Church would be much dissolved, when the reverence and submission to *Episcopall order* and *eminency* should be so remitted, disputed or denied, that either *Presbyters* or people should run to *parity* and *popularity*, the certaine high-waies to Anarchy.

Truly *Ignatius* is not more frequent for the honor and eminency of *Episcopacy*, than for a *venerable Presbytery* in its due place and rank; which might make him seem lesse fulsome to some *Presbyters*, if they were not their own enemies, out of excessive transports against all *Bishops*. *Vedelius* of *Geneva*, who had as good a nose and quick a sent as most men, would not have so studied *Ignatius* his Epistles, and sifted them as he doth, if he thought them all drosse or refuse: yea he is so evicted by them, that he cannot forbear to subscribe to many of them in many places, yea and to such an *Episcopacy* as that holy *Martyr* joynes with the *ισχὺς συμβουλίου* of a *venerable Presbytery*; which he hardly doubts, much lesse denies, to

Of *Ignatius*
his Epistles.

*Libenter talis
amplectimur
Episcopos.
Vedel.*

B b b b

have

Phil. 4. 3.

have been in that first Century after Christ when Ignatius wrote those Epistles, being Bishop of Antioch after Euodius, constituted there by Saint Peter, when he left that Church to go to others.

Obj.

Of St. Clemens
his Epistle.

Nor is there any more force in the fancies that some men draw from St. Clemens contemporary with St. Paul, who in his Epistles ownes no Bishops as distinct among or above Presbyters in the Church of Corinth, to whom he wrote that divine letter, upon occasion of Schisme or Sedition risen among the Presbyters of that Church.

Answ.

Sure the enemies of Episcopacy are hardly driven to find testimonies in Antiquity against it, when they are forced to wrest them out of such Writers, who were undoubtedly themselves Bishops, as Clemens was in the Church of Rome, in whose person he writes that Epistle to the Corinthians, as Eusebius, St. Jerom, and all Antiquity before them do witness.

Euseb. hist. l. 1. 3.
c. 12.
Hieron. Catal.
Scrip. Eccl.

It is true, St. Clemens then wrote, when the Name of Bishop and Presbyter were not so distinct as afterward; Episcopal eminency being either in the Apostolicall persons and power yet surviving, or conveyed under the Names of Bishops and Presbyters to lesser Apostles and Apostolick successors, whom St. Clemens calls the first fruits of the Apostles, placed by them (as he saith) to be Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons in all Churches, to serve and oversee or Rule the Church according to Christian order and Ecclesiasticall comelineffe, as the State of the Churches required. Which* he represents by those three orders among the Jewes, which God had appointed, namely the (ἐπισκοπῆς, ιερῆς, καὶ λευϊτικῆς) the chief Priests, the Priests and Levites: which Orders, as he sayes God confirmed by the miracle of Aarons Rod, against the factious and seditious spirits among the Jewes, so the Apostles, foreseeing the contention that would arise about the name of Episcopacy, did place those worthy persons to be their successors, whom others in like order might follow, to execute (as he expresseth) the proper ministrations and offices which are to be performed in the Church, not confusedly, but by such persons and in such times and places as the Lord had appointed.

Clem. ep. 7. 54.
καθίστανον
τὰς ἀπαρχὰς
αὐτῶν (ἀπο-
στόλων) εἰς
ἐπισκόπους
καὶ διακόνους
τῶν μελλόν-
των κτίσιν.
* Clem. epist.
p. 53.
† p. 57.

So that either the Corinthian Presbyters were then as so many particular Bishops attended onely with their Deacons in their severall Charges (which might be many and large enough in that ample City and Territory, after the Apostle St. Pauls death;) or they were still under some surviving Apostles generall care and inspection, as St. John, who yet lived in Domitians time, when Clemens wrote this Epistle to those Corinthian Presbyters, who possibly for want of some chief Bishop or President chosen and placed among them, thus fell into emulations and factions: which afterward were remedied by Episcopall eminency in that Church, as St. Jerom tels us. This is certaine, as no Primitive Church had more early factions and more carnall divisions, or more needed Episcopall Presidency, that is, Apostolicall Authority, to repress the turbulent and contentious humors among

among both people and Presbyters; so none had more eminent Bishops, among whom one was that famous *Dionysius*, whom *Eusebius* and all Antiquity so commend for a Bishop of most Primitive and Apostolick temper, full of Majesty and Humility, of Authority and Charity.

Euseb. hist. l. 4. c. 12.

To conclude, I find no disadvantage brought against Primitive Episcopacy (but much for it) by either of these most Ancient Writers, to which all others after them do so unanimously and clearly agree for asserting the Venerable Authority and Catholick Antiquity of Bishops above Presbyters, that for any man of parts to listen to the partiall, novel and pittifull allegations, which some Presbyters have made against Episcopacy and all Presidentiall Bishops, contrary to those ancient Authors, (who were most of them, yea almost all of them, of that Episcopall order in the Church) is certainly as senselesse a superstition, and as vaine a divination, as that was for which Hannibal reproched *Prusias King of Bithynia*, when being advised by Hannibal to fight with the *Pergamenians*, he refused, because the entrails of the calfe then sacrificed seemed not propitious: Sure (Sir) sayes he to the King, you cannot be well advised in your warres, who rather regard the entrails of a young calfe, than the Counsels of an old souldier and veterane Commander. Nor is it lesse impertinent for any sober Christian to credit the pittifull Rhapsodies or scraps forced out of the Scriptures or Fathers, and corraded by a few Neotericks; to wrest them against Episcopacy, and themselves too who were actually Bishops, rather than to believe that uniform concurrence, which makes wholly for it out of all Antiquity, as in perswasion, so in practise, so far, that not one person or Author, Father or Historian, Synod or Councill of any Name or Note, Worth or Eminency, can be excepted: No not St. *Ferom* himself, whose judgement and practise is cleare in many places for Episcopall Eminency and Authority; however as a Presbyter he challenged an interest, as in the Election, so in the Counsell and assistance of Presbyters to be joyned with Bishops, which is as prudent as ancient, and not denyed by any sober man who adheres to Primitive Episcopacy. For which St. *Ferom* himself gives so pregnant and ancient a Testimony, as none clearer can be desired, in the person of St. *Mark* the Evangelist, who first planted and settled a Christian Church at *Alexandria*, where he died and was buried. After whom (by his advise and direction no doubt) the presbyters of *Alexandria* chose *Anianus* as their Bishop (a man endeared to God and man, of admirable Piety and Charity) who (in celsiori gradu collocatus) placed and owned in a higher degree than any Presbyters, did govern that Church twenty two yeares as Bishop, whose succession continued, as St. *Ferom* saith, to his daies, in *Dionysius* and *Heracles* Bishops of *Alexandria*. One such testimony for a ruling and unepiscopall, that is, an unruly Presbytery or Independency, (without any Bishop) would be worth considering, but is not to be found in all Antiquity.

Astu carnalium vitulinae magis credere quam Imperatori veteris
Cic. de Div.
l. 2. Valer.
Max. l. 3. c. 7.

Hier. epist. ad Euaq. & in Catal. Scrip. Eccl.

Vivum tum Deo propter pietatem charum in omnibus rebus admirabilem.
Hieron.

CHAP. XX.

A second plea for Episcopacy, from its Evangelicall temper as to civil subjection.



MY second argument or plea, by which to reconcile sober men to Apostolick, Primitive and *Catholick Episcopacy*, is from that *Evangelicall temper and true Christian spirit which is in it*, and was ever both owned and used by it, as to the peaceable principles and obedientiall practises of all worthy Bishops and all Ministers of that subordination, in all Ages and places, toward Civill Powers and Magistrates; who both in first planting and after in reforming of any Church (wherein they had a chief influence,) never applied any popular, rude and violent meanes, to set up their opinions or parties any Church-way or power, any Order, Discipline or Authority: nothing pragmatick, mutinous or seditious was prayed, preached or practised by them; contenting themselves with sober sermons and devout prayers, with doing well cheerfully, and suffering evill patiently. They never used any sinister policy or power, no fraud or force, nor any methods or engines to introduce Episcopacy, other than such as were necessary to bring in Christianity in the true faith and holy mysteries of it, which have ever been embarked with, steered by, and either persecuted, or prospered, together with Episcopacy; whose diligence and devotion, peaceableness and patience, both in their Dioceses and in their Synods or Councils, assisted by Presbyters of the same adherence and Communion, hath planted, preserved, propagated and best restored true Religion to all Nations, by such demonstrations of meekness and wisdom, as were loyal, just, pure, peaceable, gentle and easie to be intreated. They never did any thing menacingly and boysterously against their Superiours, with threatnings or tumults, with sedition or hostility, with faction or partiality: They did not presently let fly bitter arrowes at the faces, hands, heads and hearts of all that refused their offers and motions; but onely shook off the dust of their feet, and quietly departed, if need were, as Christ commanded his Apostles and Disciples. This was and is the temper of Primitive and true Episcopacy, as to civill peace and subjection.

It is an observation not so strange as too true, that all Spirits which are Antiepiscope are in some respects antimagistraticall, and most what antimonarchicall: enemies to Bishops are easily enemies to all Magistrates that are not of their own straine and way. The first and great instance of which truth was and is in the Papacy, since the Bishops of Rome forsook the first humble, holy and martyrly principles of their predecessors, and challenged in Christs Name a Sovereignty, Monarchy and Tyranny above all Bishops; not content with a primacy of order, civility and precedency, which was anciently allowed as to other Metropolitans, Primates and Patriarks, so principally to the Bishops of Rome: not for the honor of their first founders, St. Peter and St. Paul, nor for the renowne and orthodoxy of

of the Romane Churches faith, (for these might be and were as remarkable in other Cities, as *Jerusalem*, where Christ in person had been, so in *Antioch*, &c.) but it was consented and yielded to for the secular honor and glory of that mighty City; which was as it were the confluence, summary and center of all worldly greatnesse, as the Queen of all Nations, whence all Lawes and soveraignty flowed to the civilized world, and terror to the other parts that were barbarous or enemies. The *Imperiall power* and *Majesty* of that City induced all others to prefer it; and so the *Bishops* of all other Cities made no scruple to yield the *precedency* of honor and order to the *Bishops* of *Rome*, which was as lawfull as it was orderly. But when the Papall *arrogancy* lifted up it self above its brethren, by a *Luciferian* height, through the subtilty and importunity of *Pope Boniface*, as *Platina* in his life tels us, he afterward sought to exalt himself above all that is called God; the Papall ambition very cunningly invading not onely the Rights of Kings and civill powers, but of the *Ecclesiastick* Rulers also: for the Roman policy saw that unlesse it got above all Bishops, it could not easily get above all Christian Princes and Magistrates, which supported the honor and freedome of each other. Then *Monastick* and *Jesuitick flattery* following pride, the *Bishops* of *Rome* must be not onely the chief *Bishop*, but the Father, the Fountaine, the Lord, the Prince of all Bishops and all Episcopacy, indeed the onely Bishop of Divine and Apostolick Authority: all other Bishops must be as his *off-sets*, his *Suffragans*, or his *Chaplaines*; nothing without him, and able to do nothing as Bishops, but by a power derived from the *Pope*; forgetting the Primitive equality of all *Bishops*, as to their Episcopall Rights, Power and Office, which followed the *parity* of the *Apostles* as to their Apostleship, which all Antiquity with *St. Cyprian*, *St. Jerom*, *Gregory* the Great and others owned as (*Unicus in solidum Episcopatus*) but one Tree or source of *Ecclesiasticall Authority*, first rooted in Christ, afterward derived to the chief *Apostles*, and from each of them to their successors in all the Christian world. This once laid aside, and buried in the *darknesse* and insolency of warlike and *superstitious times*, the degenerated *Bishops* of *Rome* by degrees gained their *processe* and *designe*, which was to have no *civill* or *Ecclesiastick* power in the world, but such as might derive from and depend upon them; all *Princes* and *Prelates* must be his *vassalls*, or they must have no *Principality*, no *Episcopacy*. This axe was the first, and a very heavy sharp one, that was laid to the root of *Episcopacy* by the Papall *arrogancy*; after whose copy all those may be suspected to write, who first blot out *Episcopacy*, that they may blot and out-bolt, set up and pull down *Magistracy*, upon such principles and pretentions of Religion as they list to set up and fancy, for the advancing of Christs cause, the Gospel, Religion and Reformation: words never more used by any than the *Popes* of *Rome*, since they used the style of *Holinesse* and *Servant of Servants*, but intended *Hignesse*, and exercised *Soveraignty* over all, according to that *Myste-*

Hieron. ep. ad
Euag.
ubique
fuerit Episco-
pus, ejusdem est
meriti & sacer-
dotii, sive Roma,
sive Eugubii,
sive Constanti-
nopolis, sive Rh-
gii, &c.
Omnes Episco-
pi sunt Aposto-
lorum succes-
sores, &c.

ry of *Iniquity*, which was by some of them carried on, and is not to this day laid aside, though more *tenderly* and *warily* managed, being on all hands either *despised* or *disliked* by all Christian Princes, that are not forced by dependance or fear to be parasites to the *rope*.

I know in this point other novel *Antiepiscopal* parties on all hands, have sought with all *artifices* to captivate *Magistratick* favour, as well as plebeian applauses, representing themselves so submissive and compliant to Princes and Parlements, to all States and civill Politicks, that they fancy to favour their side, as if they onely studied to bear the *croffe of Christ*, and not to weare any *Crown* of sovereignty. But how modest some of them have been in seeking to set up *Jesus Christ* and *themselves*, not onely without, but against the *expresse will and consent* of the lawfull Princes and chief Magistrates, no lesse than against the Lawes in force, yea and against the far major part of the community of all sorts, I leave it to others, yea to themselves, to judge, who have any just, ingenuous or *blushing* principle in them. I am sure the Anabaptists at *Munster* first pretended to abhor all wars and weapons of blood, while their party was small, weake and frozen; but afterward they could find hands as well as feet. As for *Presbytery* and *Independency*, truly they have given not onely terrible *alarmes* and assaults to both *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*, which were both of them their lawfull superiours; but they have (even now) sharpe rigours and *ambitious rivalries* against each other, which of them shall have *most power* and *most hands*, as well as *most favour* or indulgence. Neither of them are looked upon as making any great *scruple* to bring in the *prevalency* of their parties by force of armes, when once they presume of *numbers sufficient*: neither of them seem to make any great conscience to set up their *new Scepters* by absolute power, where petition and agitation will not serve their turne; because both of them pretend to have *Jesus Christ* sure on their side, who is indeed *King of Kings* and *Lord of Lords*; yet I do not find that he hath any where made them his *Lieutenants* to Rule for him, upon the score and Title of any Church-power; notwithstanding that they intitle their *designes* with his *cause*, and inscribe their *banners* with his name, as *Pontius Pilate* did that *Crosse* whereon he Crucified *Jesus Christ*. Many of them (I find) do hold all Men, all Christians, all Ministers, all Magistrates, all Princes, Kings and Emperours, enemies to *Jesus Christ*, that are not declaredly for them, and will not be subject to their *Discipline* or *Government*. Many Grave and Learned men heretofore and of later times have set them forth, not onely in their *occasional zelotries* and *transports*, but in their meditated *principles* and declared *designes*, to be such strikers and sticklers, that they seem to be born with *horns* and *hooves*, at least with *teeth* and *swords* in their mouths; preaching, as in *Gods* and *Christ's Name*, that if Christian Princes will not, *Peters* and *inferiour Magistrates* may, if these will not, the common people may and ought to *Reforme* any Church or *Religion*, after such a Form as their leaders list to fancy and pre-
scribe;

See Knox hist.
of the Church
of Scotl. &c.
And Buchan.
de jure Reg. ap.
Scotos.

scribe. Nor is this to be done with *gloves and mittens*, with *petitions and prayers*, but with *gambles and speares*, with *clubs and swords*, if need be, and if they can get power into their hands, which (they say) is to be counted Gods power, or a providentiall dispensation to his people, thus to carry on his glory, his word and his cause, as to Religion, though against his expresse Word, against all *Rules of justice*, against all Lawes and bounds of civill order and obedience, yea against *common honesty*, even to the violating of just oathes, and super-inducing of perjurious superferations, yea even to excommunication and deprivation of the chief Magistrate or Prince of their place and power, in case they be refractory.

Thus do many men tell us they have found the *Disciplinarian pulse of Presbytery* at least, if not of *Independency*, to beat almost ever since they were born: so that they have, and ever will give no small *terror, jealousy and trouble* to all soveraigne and Magistratick powers, where ever they can by popular arts get *footing*; both of them bearing themselves high upon the confidence of Christs *Scepter, Call and Kingdome*, which (they say) admits no stop, delay or obstruction, whenever Providence opens a door, not to the Gospel which is already professed, but to such a Form and way as they like to have it in as to Discipline, Government and Church-Order: and this if not to be had by *Princes favour and consent*, yet by the *suffrages and assistance* of common people, where they may be had; who in such cases are not to regard their obedience to any *worldly Princes or powers*, who stand in opposition to, or *competition with Jesus Christ*, or any thing that some *godly men* shall fancy to be an ordinance of his, though never heretofore owned or used as such in his Church. What is there so fond, so fanatick, so foolish, so mad, which such presumptuous fury will not bring into Church or State that is not of their mind?

That these have been the principles, and in many places the endeavours or practises of many (for I date not impute them to all) is not to be doubted, being evident by their *writings*, and the Histories of those who have truly told the world what their sense, agencies and aimes are. Nor is there any great cause to expect that other petty *parties or novel sects*, (which are generally the spawn of *Presbytery*) should deny themselves that *Gospel-Power and Liberty*, (as they call it) since every one sees it hath been affected and acted, though with no very great or glorious success, by their grand-fire *Presbytery*, which, both in *Scotl.* and in *England*, besides other places, hath not been sparing to proclaime to all the world what *zeal* they have for their and Christs cause, for his (that is, their) *Discipline*, even to the *consuming* of their foes, their friends and themselves (as *Penry, Udal, Hacket* and others did in *Queen Elizabeths daies*) of which *Mr. Cambden* and others give us sufficient account; as *Sleidan* and others do of the like agitations in *Germany*, by such as were first Schismatics from the Church, and then *Rebels* to their *lawfull Magistrates*.

But

Rom 13.
1 Pet. 2.13.

But the true *Episcopall* principles are wholly *Evangelical*: they neither preach nor practise other than what they have learned from *Christ* and his *Apostles* in the *Scripture*: they know no *voyce* of *Providence* ever calling them to act contrary to those *Rules* of *civil obedience* and good conscience, which are *signall, expresse* and *emphatick* in *Gods word*, to be subject to every *Ordinance* or *Law* of *man* for the *Lords sake*; to obey *Kings* as *supreme*, and *all under them* for *conscience sake*: if in any thing they cannot freely and cheerfully act, there they must and will *patiently* suffer what penalties or pressures are laid upon them. Thus did all *Bishops* and all *Presbyters* of old both *pray* and *preach*, *obey* and *suffer* (as *Tertullian* tells us at large in his *Apology*;) whose example and *Doctrine* all good Christians followed in their constant *subjection* and *submission* to *civill*, though persecuting, *powers*, even then when Christians wanted not *power* and *numbers* to have invited them to have asserted themselves against both persecuting *people* and *Princes*.

Mat. 26. 53.

Yet still godly *Bishops*, with all *Presbyters* and *people* subordinate to them in Religious respects, followed exactly the *precepts* of the two great *Apostles* *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, yea and of their great Master and *Saviour Jesus Christ*; rather suffering by many *persecutions*, than breaking out to any one act or thought of *sedition* or *rebellion*. No injuries ever made good *Bishops* forget their *Duty* and *Loyalty* to *Sovereigne powers*: though they might have had *Legions* to have sided with them, yet, as *Christ*, they chose the *Crosse* as the best refuge of *Christian subjects*. Thus all holy *Bishops* both held and did in *Primitive times*.

Yea, and since the *later spring* of *Reformation* in *England*, I am confident there is not one instance of any one *Bishop* or *Episcopall Divine* that either wrote or instigated any *Christian Subjects* to act, upon any religious *pretentions*, contrary to the *Rules* of *civil subjection* to that *Prince* or *State* under which they lived; no not to bring in or restore *Episcopacy* it self, which hath far more pleas for it from *Catholick Antiquity* and *Universall prescription*, from actual possession in all times and places, from the *pattern* of *Christ* and the practise of the *Apostles*, from the imitation and uninterrupted succession of after-Ages, besides the *proportions* of *Gods wisdom* and mans *prudence* in all settled *polities* and good *Government*, together with its own *Ancient*, *Catholick* and *Nationall Rights*, which aggravate its injuries, and exasperate mens spirits: yet these are not enough to animate or heighten *Episcopacy* so far as to make or restore its way into any *Nation*, *Church*, *State* or *Kingdom*, by armed power or *tumultuary violence*, against the will of the chief *Magistrate*, or the *Lawes* in force: it humbly attends *Gods time* and the *Soveraignes pleasure*, for its reception or restitution.

So false and foul are the odious aspersions of *Felonies*, *Treasons*, *Seditions* and *Rebellions*, which the loosenesse and choler of a *Presbyterian Gentlemans Pen* (then more passionate and popular then now it seems) hath cast upon all the *Bishops* of *England* as such, in
that

that rude, *immodest* and *uncharitable* pamphlet, which he then set forth by a *preposterous* zeal, when having forfeited of an immoderate revenge against one *Bishop*, he ayimed so to disguise *venerable Episcopacy*, and to degrade all the most *excellent Bishops* of *Engl.* with their *Clergy*, as to expose them all to be the more *cruelly* baited and *worried* (even to death) by the enraged *beasts of the people*; even then when they were to be diverted from considering the actuall combustions which then were raised by and for his *Presbytery*. Such *Declamatory* and partiall papers were certainly very unbecoming a man of *Learning, Religion* or *Ingenuity*, especially toward such *Bishops* in his own Country, which were men most-what his equals in all things, and in many things much his betters and superiours, being Peeres of the *Kingdome*, and chief *Fathers* of that Church with which he held Communion, vested in their Authority by our *Laws*, as well as conforme to all *Ecclesiastick* ancient *Constitutions*; being persons famous (most of them) for their worth, every way answerable to the *Piety* and *Learning* of their best *Predecessors*, who were great *Preachers*, wise *Governours*, learned *Writers*, and valiant *Martyrs*, as well as *venerable Bishops*. I confesse this one instance makes me see with horror, what a dreadfull tyrant and temptation passion and faction, revenge & ambition, popularity and discontent are, when once they *transport men of parts* beyond the true bounds of *Reason* and *Religion*, of *Charity*, *Patience* and *Civility*; which is as apparent in that virulent charging of all *Bishops* for *seditions* & *Traytors*, as if one should condemn all *Lawyers* for *corrupt* and *covetous*, for *bribery* and *oppression*, as if all were *Trissilians*, *Empsons* and *Dudleys*; which were a reproch most unjust and false, there having been (and still are) many of them men of great justice and integrity.

I well know, it is not to be *denyed* and *dissembled* what he liberally reports to have been done by some *Bishops*, even in *England*, in the more *pompous* and *superstitious* times, that were, like *stormy nights*, *blind* and *boysterous*; when many of them, no lesse than other men of all sorts, *Yeomen*, *Lawyers*, *Gentlemen*, *Judges* and *Noblemen*, were violently engaged in those different *interests*, either *Secular* or *Ecclesiasticall*, which set up two *Supremes*, (as two *Suns* in one firmament) either in the Church against the State (whereto the *Papall* *pride* and *ambition* then laid claime, seven hundred yeares after *Christ*, by an *usurpation* and pretention upon *Christs* score too, at least *St. Peters*, not known to the *Primitive Popes*, or other pious *Bishops*, either of *Rome* or any other *City*) or else the distractions arose in the same civil State, by the severall claimes and *Titles* which *Princes* made to the *Crown* and *Soveraignty*, occasioning civill warres either in *England* or elsewhere.

But here the *sidings* and *actings* of some *Bishops*, which we read of in our own and *forreigne Chronicles*, were not as they were *Bishops*, upon any *Apostolicall* rule or example, nor by any *Ecclesiasticall* *Canons*, much lesse upon any reall or pretended *interests* of *Jesus Christ*; but they acted either meerly as persons of civill place and politick

power, or as men of common prudence and justice, or of common passions and infirmities: sometime as they stood affected in the justice of the cause which they were commanded to assist; sometime for their own necessary preservation as well as their Sovereignes; sometime as they stood related by blood and adherencies to great and potent families, which were commonly the first movers in those civill broyles and dissensions, which many times were begun and carried on contrary to the desires of sober Bishops, no lesse than the will of the lawfull Prince, in order to gratifie private mens ambitions, yet under specious pretentions, of either asserting the Lawes or liberties of the people, more than the advancing the Papall power, and some Church-immunities; that it was no wonder, especially in the twilight and dimnesse of those times, to see some Bishops out of their way as well as other gowned men, who had naturally those civill and carnall principles of self-preservation, (common to even Judges and Lawyers, Nobility and Gentry,) as to go along sometime with a potent streame, and to symbolize with the strongest sword, not the justest side. But in dubious cases, as to the right of Rule, Bishops, as all good Christians, medled not with factions; being neither *Nigriani* nor *Albiniani*, as *Tertullian* speaks.

More veniall and excusable may those verball reluctancies, reserves and refractures (rather than any thing of open force and hostile rebellions) seem, which some Bishops are reported sometime to have been guilty of here in *Engl.* when they superstitiously asserted their disobedience and inconformities to their Princes, upon the point of conscience, and those religious perswasions which were then very plausible, and generally admitted both in *England* and all Christendome, as to the priviledges of the Popes of *Rome*, or of the Churches interests and immunities distinct or exempt from the Authority of the Civil State: which very challenges arose not from the seditions, treasons and rebellions of Bishops and Church-men, as such, but partly from the cunning encroachments of the Popes of *Rome*, and partly from the former indulgences of Princes, more superstitious and easie, also from the favourable Lawes or Customes of the Nation to the Clergy, as men most usefull and venerable in their Ecclesiastick Authority; which was esteemed sacred and Divine, as indeed it is in the right constitution and execution of it.

But no Christian or Reformed Bishop (as such) did ever approve the stubborn and indeed insolent spirit of *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was slaine as he was officiating in the Church, by a paroxysme more blameable in the King, than that was in the Archbishop, which made him so stiffe and refractory as to his and the Churches supposed priviledges and immunities. What true Christian and Reformed Bishop doth not pittie the distempers of *Lanfranc* and *Anselm* (both Predecessors to *Becket* in the same See of *Canterbury*) who so highly contended with their Sovereignes in behalf of the Popes power as to investitures (contrary indeed to the just prerogatives and ancient customes of this Kingdome and
Crown

Crown in those cases (as hath been sufficiently proved by Sir Roger Twisden and others) that they lost much of the lustre of their otherwise reall worth and usefull virtues, in the point of Learning, Piety, Charity, Devotion and Integrity; which were eminent, as then times went, in those two *Archbishops*, of which *Eadmerus* gives a very honest and full account: Yet did not these *Bishops* or their brethren proceed further than spirituall armes and Ecclesiasticall censures, rather receding than revolting, much lesse actually rebelling: They never, that I find, did raise any armies against their Soveraignes upon those Church-quarrels, nor did they ever engage Ministers and People by Oathes, Leagues or Covenants, to a forcible asserting of any Episcopall power or Ecclesiasticall privileges or pretentions, contrary to the declared will of their Soveraignes.

No; look upon *Episcopacy* in the whole series of *Bishops* that were of the true Primitive temper, stamp and succession: as they followed the chief Apostles in their ordinary Ecclesiasticall Power and Jurisdiction, so they walked in the same steps and spirit of Humility, Meeknesse, Wisdome, Patience, Obedience and Loyalty, as the Reforming and Reformed *Bishops* of elder and later Ages have alwaies done; coming into all Nations, Cities, Countries, Kingdomes, Empires and Common-wealths, at their first accesse and entrance, as *Christ* did unto *Jerusalem*, meekly riding upon an Ass, with resolutions rather to be crucified there, than to give any crosse or offence to civil powers further than they humbly testified soberly & preached the Truth of God to them and their subjects; not with any Factionous, Seditious or Rebellious spirits, they never preached any such principles, nor encouraged any such practises: They neither at first, nor afterward (when the word of God mightily grew and multiplied) did make their way by any hostile invasions; they never called Horsemen and Footmen, Troopes and Regiments of Armed Souldiers to assist them in the work of the Lord, or to set up *Jesus Christ* against Princes or people who did not believe them, or not willingly receive them.

Yea, so Meek, Moderate, Just, Wise and Charitable was the zeal of Primitive *Bishops* and Church-men, that they did not by force turne the Idols of the Heathens out of their Temples, till Soveraigne and Imperiall Authority either commanded or permitted them so to do: Nor did they drive out the *Flamens* and *Arch-flamens* here in England, (which were Idolatrous Priests) till Princes, converted by *Bishops* and other Preachers of the Gospel, did forsake and abolish those lying vanities. So far were *Bishops* from obtruding their opinion or party, meerly as to gubernative order and power, upon any City, Nation or Kingdom, contrary to the will of the chief Magistrate: nor did they ever turne any lawfull Prince out of doores, to make way for themselves and their Episcopall Authority or party.

Which method (as I touched) appeares to have been used even by the first *Presbyterians* in the world, even at *Geneva*, as some re-

Bodin. de rep.
P. 353.
Gal. ep. ad
Cavd. Sadolet.

port, where popular fury violently expelled not onely the Bishop, but the lawfull Prince of that City, who had of right not onely the spirituall jurisdiction, but also the civil dominion of that Place and Territory, as Bodin and Mr. Calvin confesse. After this copy, in many places, turbulent spirits did endeavour (*arte vel Marte*) by power or policy, by hook or by crook, to bring in that new way into Cities and Countries; and no where I find more remarkably than in Scotland, during the minority of King James, and the raigne of his mother. How little regard was had to the Lawes or Religion then established, to the Will or Authority of the supreme Magistrate: how insolent, petulant, imperious, audacious were some Presbyterian spirits there against Princes as well as Bishops, is no newes to those that have read the histories of that Church; among which none exceeds that of Dr. Spotswood Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, set forth by the care of Dr. Duppa, the Learned and Reverend Bishop of Salisbury, a person of such Piety, Patience and Prudence under his undeserved sufferings, that not onely his friends, but his and all Bishops enemies admire the Christian gravity and heroick greatness of his mind, as well as others of his Order.

How far the like spirit plotted, threatned, acted and attempted in England in Queen Eliz. time, so afterward in K. James his raigne, and now at last in K. Charles his compleat Tragedies, (tul fore against his will and conscience, no lesse than against the Lawes not then by any power repealed) both Mr. Hooker, Bishop Bilson, Bishop Bancroft, Archbishop Whitgift, Mr. Cambden, and many more of old, together with our own late sad experience, sufficiently informe us. They of old began with scandalous petitions, scurrilous libels, bold admonitions, rude menacings, cunning contrivances; which were followed at last with fire and sword, with blood and ruine, with sad division and great devastation to Church and State, to Prince and People.

Which events are no wonder, when any new thing pretending to Religion and Reformation may be carryed on by principles and practices of violence and force; and these, not because lawfull, but because they are said to be necessary for Gods interest, yea as instances of the highest zeal and most conscientious courage: as if there never were, nor could ever be, any truth or faith, any piety or sanctity, any Christ or Christianity, any Grace or Gospel, in the Church or any Christians hearts, unlesse Anabaptisme, or Presbyterisme, or Independensisme, had, not gently contested, but rudely justled Episcopacy out of the Church of England as well as Scotland, though full fore against the will of the Chief Magistrate.

Certainly military or mutinous methods of Religion and Reformation were never preached or practised, meditated or endeavoured by any worthy Prelates, Presbyters, or people of that persuasion. For they doe not think that Secular Arms are fit Engines to set up Jesus Christ or his Kingdome in this world, which is not of this world, nor after the methods of worldly power and force: yea they hold that Sovereigne Princes, as Christians, ought not by brutish force to compel,

pel, but by *reason* and due instruction to *perswade* their *Subjects* at first to the true Religion; much lesse are *weapons* in the hands of Subjects meet *instruments* to convince or *convert Princes* forcibly to yield to any popular presumptions and meer *innovations* in Religion, especially when contrary not onely to the Catholick Customes of all Churches, but to the present *constitution of that Church* of which the Prince is a chief part; yea against that *personall oath* by which a Prince hath sworn to *preserve* the settled and just rights and privileges both of that Church and those Church-men which are in his Dominion.

What is more horrid than to have *Reformation* or *Religion* (never so good and true) thus *crammed down* the consciences of Kings or States whether they will or no? which is the way to make all secular powers jealous of all Christianity and Reformation; to set their faces and their forces against them, as seditious, injurious, mutinous and rebellious against the publick peace, the civil Rights, Honors and Authorities of all Governours in Kingdoms and States. The Episcopall and Evangelicall methods have been quite other, (as I have said) by *preaching* and *praying*, by patient sufferings and frequent *Martyrdomes*, by attending Gods leisure and their Princes pleasures. Thus they obtained the protection and favour of the Lawes: other *projects* or *policies*, other *arts* or *armes*, were never known to the true Gospel of *Iesus Christ*, or its unseparable *attendant Episcopacy*. Thus did Evangelicall Bishops and their Clergy conquer, by a meek, gentle and unbloody *Conquest*, the vast *Roman* world, and that part of it which was here in *Britany*: no people were so barbarous, no *Princes* so tyrannous, whom they did not soften and sweeten by that *Evangelicall way and spirit*, which is called an *anointing*, because it is a sacred balme or oyle, which *breaks not heads*, but hearts, wounds not the bodies, but the spirits of Princes and others with an *healing stroke*, with a soft and *mercifull wound*. 1 Joh. 2. 27.

Thus did the *Crosse* of Christ and the *Crosses* of Bishops ever go together into all places; not pulling down, but exalting, not shaking, but settling the *Crownes* of Kings and Princes. Though they were Heathens, Unbelievers and Persecutors, as all at first were, yet did holy Bishops and their Clergy so far submit to their civil power, as to pray and preach not onely *faith* in Christ, but *fidelity* to Kings, teaching not onely Religion, but *Allegiance*; yea they made the *Allegiance* of Christian subjects and souldiers even to heathen Emperours (as *Tertullian* saith) a great part and note of true Religion, which perfectly *abhors* all rebellion against God or man, as the *sin of witchcraft*; 1 Sam. 15. 23. it being as an *apostasie* from, and an *abnegation* of, the true God and true Religion, when upon any godly and specious *pretentions* of Piety or Reformation, as by so many charmes and *enchantments of the Devil*, turning himself into an Angel of light, *Christian Preachers* or *Professors* do begin and carry on factious, tumultuous and rebellious motions against the civil Powers, Lawes and Politicks of any Prince or State.

It

2 Cor. 10. 4.

It is upon the point a *denying of the faith*, and setting up a *new Gospel*, a *Judaick* or *Mahometan*, not a *Christian Messiah*, whose true servants and souldiers were alwaies armed with *weapons* that were *spirituall*, not carnal, ministerial, not military or martial, which in Church-men rather *stab* and *wound* all true Religion and Reformation to the heart, by infinite scandals, injuries and deformities, than any way *advance* it, either to a *greater power*, or approbation and acceptance among men of any sober reason or morall sense of things. No violence and injustice can be proper to *usher* in true Christian Religion and Reformation: these methods have made them so stunted and ricketly, that they are come to a stop-game; so that in these *last* and *worst* Ages of the world, there hath been little or no progresse made to the true propagating of the Gospel among any heathen Nations, or of any Reformation among the decayed Christians, because Religion is every where, even among many Christians and Reformers, too much managed (as the *Spaniards* did among the *West-Indies*) with force and fraud, with covetousnesse and cruelty, with faction and ambition, with regard to worldly interests of men more than to the true precepts and holy concernments of Christ and his Church. Who is there that will entertaine Christianity, or any Reformation, when it comes in, like *Turcisme* and *Barbarisme*, with fire and brimstone, with swords and canons? pretending to convert and save soules, but to be sure it will first pervert the Lawes, ravine mens Estates, and destroy at last mens lives, if they do not submit, even against their consciences as well as the Lawes, to strange Innovations.

Luke 9. 55.

Truly these are engines onely fit to be used by such spirits as are *Antichristian*, who know not of what *Spirit* Christ and his *Apostles*, with their *successors* the Primitive Bishops and Presbyters, were. Nor did the *Popes* of *Rome* ever more staine the honor of that *Apostolick* See, and the glorious name of Catholick Episcopacy, than when they forgot to follow their *pious predecessors*, (holy and humble *Bishops* of that famous Church for 600. yeares, who were *Martyrs*, or *Confessors*, or true Professors of the Gospel) and betook themselves to such *arts* of *secular policy* and *power*, of *sedition* and *ambition*, as made some after-Bishops of *Rome* seem rather *Monsters* of men, as their own writers confesse, than Ministers of *Jesus Christ*; imitators of *Sylla*, *Marinus* and *Cesar*, more than of *St. Peter*, or *St. Paul*, or *St. Clemens*, when they sought by *Hildebrandine* arts to exalt themselves above all that is *called God* in civil Magistracy, which justly claimes under God, and from him, (as did the *Kings* of *Judah*) that *supreme visible* power, which within their respective dominions doth orderly and duly manage all ministrations Ecclesiasticall as well as Civil, for the publick peace and welfare. Certainly, since Christianity it self, in its grand Articles Ministry and Mysteries, must not thus be brought in by *head* and *shoulders*, by *force* and *affronts* upon any Prince or State whatsoever; much lesse may any Reformation ne ver so desirable and just. As for some little defects or venial deformities,

2 Thef. 3. 4.

miries, they ought not in any sort to be so urged as should carrie Religion beyond good manners, or Reformation to rudeness. Not persecuting, but persecuted Bishops and Presbyters, are the ablest preachers and aptest propagators of the Gospel, such as while they lift up their voyce like a trumpet, (not to give the alarmes of war, but to tell Judah of their sins, and Israel of their transgressions) do also lift up holy hands and pure hearts to God in prayer for all men, but chiefly for Kings and all in Authority. Isa. 58. 1.

In the greatest depressions of Christianity and Episcopacy, (for they ever went together, as Truth and Order, Ministry and Authority, both of them being necessary for the being or well-being of any Church) never any godly Bishop or orderly Presbyter, (who were still the foremost and stoutest Champions for Religion,) did make any seditious appeales, scurrilous libels, or declamatory invectives against the powers that were, by whatever means they either obtained, or held, or exercised their sovereignty: They never thought it their duty, as Christians or Ministers, to stir up the spirits of any men, great or small, many or few, to any unlawfull commotions: (and so they esteemed all to be, which had not the consent and Commission of those in civil dominion, who were supreme, and the present Powers ordained of God.)

When any of those holy Bishops and Presbyters were necessitated, not out of revenge or anger, but out of charity and pity to their persecutors, to bring forth their strong reasons, by way of Learned, Grave and unanswerable Apologies for their Religion, (as many of them did, hoping thereby to buoy up the cause of Christianity, not onely from unjust persecutions, but from false prejudices,) they did write them (indeed) with an heroick kind of freedom, yet with all due respect, dedicating their writings by way of humble supplications, or cleare yet comely Remonstrances, to the Emperours or Senates, to the Princes and supreme Magistrates themselves: so did Justine Martyr his first Apology to the Senate of Rome, his second to the Emperour Antoninus Pius; so Tertullian his to the Emperour Severus and his Son; so Quadratus Bishop of Athens to Adrian the Emperour; and in like manner did others.

But never any Primitive Bishop or Presbyter did use any Satanick Stratagems, or such seditious practises as were to advance Religion by any thing that tended to, or intended popular tumults and rebellion; no impudent libellings and scurrilous pamphletings, to make either the persons of Princes odious, or their Government infamous. Episcopacy never used any such conjurations as would either bring down fire from heaven, or stir up Earth-quakes; neither exciting the Optimacy and Nobility, nor the Populacy and Communalty against any, either supreme or subordinate powers: they never made the waters above the firmament and those under it so to meet, by breaking up the great deeps of subjection, or by opening the fountains of plebeian Liberties, as to bring in terrible inundations upon Kingdomes or Common-wealths. No, they alwaies by the word and Spirit of Christ (which Luke 9. 54:

Rev. 12.

Rom. 13. 2.

(which were their onely swords, and these two, as Christ said to St. Peter, were enough for that work) set bounds to the proud waves of that raging Sea, the *tumultuating people*, and rather repaired the *banks and breaches* that others rashnesse (as the *Circumcellions* and *Euchites*) somtime made, than either assisted or countenanced those horrid deluges of *sedition*. They never wrested the *Revelation*, or any other *places of Scripture* so, as to *animate the earth*, that is, the *common and meanest people*, to help the *Woman*, that is, whatever some list to call their Church and Religion, in its agonies; that by their unlawfull *motions* they might bring forth something that faction lists to call *Reformation*; a word that is never out of the mouths of *John of Leiden* and his complices, though far from their hearts. Godly Bishops and Presbyters never either taught or thought those practises to be any *helping of the Lord against the mighty*. No, they ever judged and preached after St. Pauls, St. Peters, and our Blessed *saviours* Doctrine and example, that such *inordinate motions* upon pretexts of Religion, are cursed and *damnable resistings* of those *powers* which God hath ordained by the civil *Laws* and customes of any *Church or State*. The Lord and true Religion are onely to be helped by laudable and *lawfull actions*, the measures of which are not to be *sought* in every mans private breast and fancy, but in the publick counsels and constitutions of every Kingdome, State and Polity.

Nor was this more true piety and charity, than prudence and policy, in the Bishops and other *Ministers* of the Church, to whom, as to gowned and bookish men, and not as to armed *souldiers*, doth all the *Christian world* owe (under God) the planting, propagating and preserving, yea and the due reforming of true Christian Religion. For the *armes of flesh*, or any carnal weapons, going along with the Gospel, which is a spirituall warfare, as so many *Pioneers* with pick-axes and spades, to demolish and overthrow civil powers, must needs have *alarmed* and *armed* all *States and Princes*, all honest and just, all wise and morall men against it, when they looked upon Christianity as coming not to *preach* and *save*, but to *plunder* and *spoil*: for all wise Magistrates know that there was no trusting to the *moderation* and *justice*, no nor to the mercy of any men who came with force against them. Though they professe (as *Andronicus* did, and *Abalom* before him) never so much to mend and reform things; yet they will at last rob, kill and destroy: and as the Sons of *Jacob* dealt with the *Sichemites*, they at first onely pretend to *circumcise men*, yet at last they will not onely *geld*, but *kill* them.

Armed Religion, like Eagles and Hawkes, is alwaies terrible. Which *considerations* do justly *harden* all mens hearts (that have any thing to *lose* or to *keep* in this world) against all *forcible* and *riotous entries* of any Religion or Reformation whatsoever, which seldome failes to be *sacrilegious* as well as *rebellious*.

Hence the present feares, jealousies and abhorrencies, which many *Princes and States*, as well as Bishops and Church-men, that are
of

of the *Romish Communion*, have taken up against any Reformation of Religion by such popular methods and principles, which they see are seldome begun, and never ended, without infinite trouble, confusion and ruine of all things, both sacred and civil; every wise man rightly judging, that when God is pleased to bring in the beauty and blessing of true Religion or due Reformation to any Church or Nation, he will (as he did in *England* most eminently) so stir up the spirits of Sovereigne powers, (the method he anciently used in purging and reforming the Temple and Church of the Jewes, by *Hezekiah*, *Josiah*, and others,) that the work shall go on, as without noyse, like the building of the Temple, so with Order and Honor, to the glory of God, the safety of Princes, the honor of the Clergy, and the peace of the people, as well as the purity of the Church and true Religion.

Till this may be done, a thousand civil burthens and oppressions, yea persecutions, are easier than any sinful presumptions; yea, true Religion will be beautifull when it is black with persecution, if then it be comely with patience. Scorching Reformations so burn the face of Religion, that they leave not onely sad scarres, but shamefull Stigmas or brands upon it, which look very like rebellion and barbarity, engaging men and Christians into mutuall hatred, blood-shedding, deaths and destruction. Let men pretend never so much to be Saints, godly, yea and inspired too, yet, as the purest water and the wholesomest flesh, when once they come to feel the heat of factions, and begin to boyle up to civil perturbations, they will soon discover a very black some and foule scum to rise in their hearts and actions, which (as *Hazael*) they hardly thought could have been in them, carrying them to injustice, immoderation, uncharitablenesse, presumption, rebellion, sacriledge and cruelty, and all unwarrantable actions, before they are aware of the folly, falsity or foulness of their own, as indeed all mens hearts; at whose bottom lies all manner of filth and villany, which is then easily and constantly discovered, when they are passionately and inordinately stirred. Nor is it at all to be considered how pure men appeare, as to that which is upward or outward in their Religious protestations and professions, when once they come to that Romantick and Errant spirit, which thinks it as much gallantry to fight for their Religion, as some do for their Mistresses beauties, which exceeds quarrelling and killing each other by civil and *beraick murthers*, for no other offence but the glory of their opinion, and the preferring of their fancy.

What did ever seem more holy than the *Euchites* and *Circumcellions* of old? what more precise and godly than *John of Leiden* and his crew? what more inspired than our *Hacker* and *Coppinger*? what less covetous and impartiall than *Massaniello*? All of them were not very warme, but very scalding Reformers, yet came to nought. Adde to all these, what was or is more titularly holy than some later Popes of *Rome*? who ever seemed more solicitous to advance Religion? Yet by their usurping both *St. Peters* swords, by interpreting *Arise Peter*,

Peter, kill and eate, in a sanguinary sense, by making the Bishop of Rome the greater light to rule the day, and Emperours or Kings in their dominions to be as the Moon and lesser lights; by challenging a power unchristian and inordinate, to depose lawfull Princes, to absolve Subjects from their oathes, to expose their lives to their Subjects or any other mens swords, to dispose of their Thrones and Kingdomes as they please, in order to the Romish Churches or Courts interests; they have made all the world now very wary of them. Even those Princes that are of the Papall Communion are grown very reserved and vigilant as to their civil power, now their eyes are so opened, that many moderate men have highly suspected (as Padre Paulo, the Author of the History of the Councel of Trent, and others;) this Papall arrogancy to be one of the shrewdest markes of the Papall Antichristianism; a Bishop thus enormously exalting himself by fraud and force, by blood and violence, in the Church or Temple of God, above all that is called God in civil Magistracy, directly contrary both to Christs pattern, and the two great Apostles precepts, as well as practises: who though they laid (with the other eleven Apostles) the foundations of an Episcopal Hierarchy, by the parity or Aristocracy, as of the chief Apostles, so of Bishops, yet they never either exercised, or enjoyed, or dreamed of a Monarchy, in which one Apostle or Bishop should have dominion over all others, and over the whole Church.

Episcopacy, as it is *Primitive and Apostolicall*, exactly and conscientiously preserves to all *Princes and Sovereigne Magistrates* whatsoever, their civil peace and safety of their persons, their lawes and powers, with their just *prerogatives*, as well as it doth the *Evangelicall and ingenuous Liberties* of all Christian Subjects, which are alwaies and onely to do well, either in active or passive obedience. But, as the *Papll* claimes and flatteries of former Ages did with full mouth and open forehead invade, yea and by force insult over, the just powers of *Sovereigne Princes*, (however of late they have been more cunning, modest and tender;) so other spirits (which from Pygmies have fancied themselves to be swoln to Giants) are charged of old by many grave, learned and honest men, as very much treading in the *Popes steps*, that is, either upon the toes, or heeles, or hands, or necks, or heads of Kings and Sovereigne Magistrates. The experience of which gave (it seemes) to *King James* such dreadfull apprehensions of that way, that he equally feared Presbytery and Popery, when they thundered with Excommunication and great guns too; which had so filled *Scotland many yeares* with great inquietudes, in his Mothers reigne, and in his Minority, that he thought them no better than godly rebellions in order to promote private and partiall, factious and deformed Reformati^ons. Nor was *Queen Elizabeth* without her feares on this side, when she not onely heard the Tragedies of *Scotland*, but saw and felt the menacing and agitations in *England*, even upon this account: which the event hath taught us and all the world were no childish terriculaments, nor brutish thunderbolts.

bolts. So that both high Presbytery and low Independency are by many wise men judged inconsistent with a just and complete *Monarchy*, no lesse than with a right *Episcopacy*, standing in the same posture of enmity against these, as they pretend to do against the *Papacy* or *Popery*. It will be very well if Reformed *Presbytery* can wipe off those stains and *suspicious* as easily and truly as *Primitive Episcopacy* did avoid them, and our late Reformed and Reforming *Bishops* in *England*, who alwaies joyned together, *fear God* and *honor the King*, without any *Ifs* or *Ands*, without any *reserves* or *salvo's*; save onely those which betray men to *serve sin* and *Satan*, rather than to suffer with and for a *good conscience* in the service of *God*.

See Sir ---
Altho'ns dis-
course to this
purpose.

And however some Christian *Bishops*, as *St. Ambrose*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Athanasius*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Basil* and others, did sometime in weighty and exemplary cases vindicate the honor of *Christian Religion*, and the Authority of Ecclesiasticall Discipline, before and against some Christian *Princes*, whose errors or passions had either swerved them from, or transported them beyond that Orthodoxy, Charity, Justice and Moderation, which became Christians; as in the revenge taken by *Theodosius* upon the Citizens of *Theſſalonica*, and in other passages of State which tended to the publick scandall of Religion, then countenanced by the Lawes and professed by the Princes: yet still those great and good *Bishops* both preached and practised all civill respect and loyall subjection to them as their *soveraignes*; they never divided what God had joyned together; they followed Christs Oracle, to give to *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*, and to *God* the things that are *Gods*; the first were set out by the *Imperiall Constitutions*, the second by the cleare Canons of Gods word, interpreted not by every private mans new imagination, but by the *Catholick judgement* and practise of the chief Fathers of the Church.

Vid. Theod. bish.
l. 5. c. 34.

Mat. 22. 21.

All *Orthodox Bishops*, *Presbyters* and people ever held it to be a *Vile*, *Unchristian*, *Antichristian*, *Diabolick petulancy*, to speak evil of dignities, either Civil or Ecclesiastick, to curse the Gods or Rulers of Church and Common-weale, to use railing accusations against their *Superiours*. The rough garb of *Satyrs* was never thought comely for the *Pens*, *Pulpits* or hands of *Church-men*: it was a *solecisme* in Christian Religion, to have Ministers tongues sharp swords, their mouths open sepulchers, their sermons *sarcasmes*, their prayers *pasquils*, their invocations of God *invectives* against their Governours; whose Authority was still sacred, though their *exorbitancies* might be blameable. What good Bishops and Presbyters cares would not have singled then to have heard those filthy and dirty ditties which were tuned in *England* to the pipe of *Martin Mar-prelate*, and *Penry's Supplication to the Devil*, to which some men danced, who were then thought zealous for *Presbytery*, making sport at such lewd and infamous *scurrilities* against their Governours in Church and State, as were fitter to have fetched teares from their eyes, when they saw not onely worthy

Jude 8.

and Reformed Bishops, but the whole Reformed Church of England and the Majesty of the Prince so torne and bespattered by those Borborites, those uncleane Spirits?

The grave and modest sort of Bishops, Presbyters and People, who otherwaies much desired a just and orderly Reformation of Religion, yea and valued the notable parts and zealous industry of Luther, yet they extremely blushed at and disliked that outrageous reply which his over-boiling heat made against our King Henry the Eighth, when he wrote for the defence of that which he thought true Religion; whose error (in Luthers judgment) did in no sort deserve so rude, so scornfull, so scurrilous and uncomely a reply: in which sober men pittied Luthers native passion and rusticity, which were more like an unbred and unbridled Monk, than a meek Disciple of Christ, or a zealous Preacher of his Gospel, or an exact follower of St. Paul, who publickly checked himself for the reproch and disdainfull speech he used ignorantly against the High Priest Ananias, who probably had attained that dignity (as then the fashion was among the Jewes) by very sinister meanes; yea and had upon the place done St. Paul a palpable injury, commanding him to be smitten on the mouth, when he should have heard his defence. 'Tis true, Luther afterward used some soft recantations to the Kings but in vain; it being looked upon as his Policy, more than his Piety or Humility; hoping thereby to advance his party, to which he saw the King in some points was now driven, more than enclined, by the breach he had made with the Pope. But it is hard to wash the hands of any person or party cleane, whose insolency hath once cast dirt in the face of Sovereigne Princes or chief Magistrates, who are the brightest visible image and glory of God among mankind, being the Lords annointed, as David called Saul, now forsaken of God for his forsaking God first. Although the actions or opinions of our Superiours in some things be lesse commendable (as were those of Constantins and other Arrian Emperours) yet are they not to be reviled in any case by those that will not deserve the name and fate of Shimei, whom Abissha's loyall zeal calls a dead dog, for his barking against his Lord the King now in his Eclipse and distresse; whose cursing insolency that valiant Commander would presently have revenged with the lesse of his head: and however Davids humility and clemency did pardon him at present, yet afterward vengeance pursued him, while he foolishly following his fugitive servants beyond his bounds and teddar, forfeited his word and life to King Solomons just and wise severity; the royall pardon not availing to protect so petulant and insolent a disloyalty, which God would have punished, though it were by man pardoned.

Yea some grave men have thought that those two learned and eloquent Bishops, St. Chrysostom and St. Gregory of Nazianzum, the one in his resolute, but rough, carriage to the Empreffe Eudoxia, the other in his sharp Steeleticks against Julian the Emperour, did (ἀνδραπομαδὲν) as men suffer their native passions to carry them somewhat beyond the discretion and temper which became grave and godly Bishops, while

Acts 23. 5.

2 Sam. 16. 9.

while they did too much *proscind* and *prostitute* (as it were) the *Imperial purple*, vilifying that *Majesty* which ought to be *saved to Christian Subjects*; although the persons wearing them may be *Tyrants*, *Persecutors* and *Apostates*; as the *Censers* were to be holy in which *Incense* had been once offered, though with *strange fire*.

Bishops Miters and *Crosiers* ought in no case to clash with the *Crowns* and *Scepters* of *Sovereign Princes*; however their discreet zeal may seasonably represent to them, and in *Gods name* reprove their *misdemeanors* as *Christians*: much less may any *Presbyters* pert upon them, who are of a far lesser size, and never had any ensignes of honor and authority as chief governors of any Church. Be *Bishops* or *Presbyters* never so *zealous* and *gracious*, yet they are not beyond the ancient and best *Bishops* of *Rome*, and of other chief Cities, who (with *Gregory the Great*) owned the *Emperours* as their *Sovereign Lords*. So did *St. Ambrose* respect both *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*; so did the venerable *Council* of the *Nicene Bishops* reverence the *Emperour Constantine the Great*: Neither their number, being *three hundred and eighteen*, nor their publick representation of the *Catholick Church*, did encourage them to do or meditate any thing beyond prayers and petitions, recommending all their *Counsels* to *God*, the *Emperour*, and all the Church. No *Preachers* or *Christians* warmth needs go beyond the *pitch of Christ and his Apostles*, who are so absolutely for *obedience*, *respect* and *civil feare* to *Princes*, whether *heathen* or *Christian*, that no *supreme power* whatever need to fear the overthrow or shaking of their *Empire*, *Sovereignty* and *Dominion*, by admitting true *Christian Religion* and true *Christian Bishops*: nor need they feare it as any *sin*, *persecution* or *injustice* in them, to curb, repress and punish by all meanes the inordinate, pragmatick and seditious zeal, as of *Bishops*, so of any *Presbyters* or people, who shall pretend to bring in any *Religion* or *Reformation* against their will and permission: it being the work and mark of true Religion and *undefiled*, to establish the *Thrones* of *Princes*, to preserve the publick peace, to teach subjection, not onely of *purses* and *persons*, but of *soules* and *consciencs*, so far as *Princes* do not require them to disobey *God*; and in these cases they need not rack their wits to find out *rebellious remedies* or *disloyall evasions*; the onely lawfull and laudable refuge is neer at hand, namely *Christian patience*, which sets men furthest off from *railing* or *resisting*, both which are but the *scorchings* and *soote* of black and over-burning zeal, which makes a kind of *Charcoale* of Religion.

What wise, sober and humble *Christian* (then) can sufficiently love, honour and admire the modesty, humility and loyalty of true *Episcopacy*, ever expressed by the carriage of the best *Christian* and reformed *Bishops* towards all *Princes*? And who can sufficiently abhor the petulancy and insolency of those *Novellers* and *Reformers*, who shall dare to lift up either the *Presbyterian virgula*, or the *Independent ferula*, or the *Anabaptistick flail*, not onely to threaten, but to chastise *Sovereign Princes*, that list not to admit their wayes into their

their dominions, before they can approve them in their Consciences and Judgements; following the disciplining methods and penance used by some *Monks* of *Canterbury* against our King *Henry* the second?

Surely *Christianity* and the *Clergy* are never so healthy and comely, as when their complexion is rather *pallid* with the fastings and prayers, the studies and pains of humble Bishops and Presbyters, than *purpled* or *sanguine* with blood and fury.

The over-hot *breathings* of *Ministers*, like the *chaud* of *Charcoale*, stifle and suffocate the vital *spirits* of true Religion. Godly Bishops and Presbyters ever abhorred, as Hell and damnation, to teach Princes their Religion, their Canons, Catechises and Directories, as *Gideon* did the men of *Succoth*, with *Briars* and *Thornes*, or to discipline Sovereigne Majesty with Swords and Pistols, in order to perswade them to submit to the *Gospel-Scepter* and *Discipline*. No, they never did attempt so to do, either in the Primitive and persecuting times, when Magistrates were most froward and injurious, or in those times which were afterward more propitious and prosperous, when the *Clergy* fed highest, and was most *indulged* by the munificence of Christian Emperours and Emprèsses, devout *Kings* and *Queens*; who as good *nurses* never repined at the fulness of their own breasts, or the hearty sucking of their dear *nurslings*, joyning the Prince to the Prelate, and adding Lordly Honors with Estates to Christian Bishops: never fearing hereby to make them too wanton or insolent, while they saw them keep to the sober principles of Christianity, conformable to that Apostolick and Primitive *Episcopacy*, which was alwaies *pure* and *peaceable*, faithfull to God, humble and loyall to man, so Ruling the Church of Christ, as not to be Masters of mis-rule in any Nation, State or Kingdom.

Yea, in the *amplest enjoyments* of that pious *munificence*, and those *generous liberalities* which Christian Princes, Noblemen, Gentlemen and inferiour persons devoutly afforded to Bishops and the rest of the *Clergy*, (as tokens of their gratitude to God, their honor to their *Saviour*, their love to their spirituall *Fathers*, and their value of their own and other mens soules,) however some few *Clergy-men* among many might (possibly) surfeit sometime, and, as *Jesurun*, grow petulant, sensuall and sottish, through fulness of bread, idlenesse and luxury; yet still the generall face of the best Bishops and *Clergy* was comely and venerable: there wanted not in all Ages such Bishops and Presbyters, both in *England* and all Churches, for Gravity, Learning, Sanctity, Charity, Fidelity and Loyalty, as kept up the Office, Name and Honor of the Clergy and of *Episcopacy*, to an high degree of honor and veneration both with Princes and people that were good Christians. No men were more usefull or more imployed for the good ordering both of Church and Common-weale than Bishops were: none were better Counsellors to *Princes*, and greater Benefactors to their fellow-subjects; none further from faction, sedition, popularity, sacriledge and rebellion; none

none did greater service or better offices for their King, their Church, and their Country.

How loyal, resolute and religious a Remonstrance did the Bishop of *Carlisle* make in Parliament, against the *deposing of King Richard the Second*, when the whole stream ran against him? Was not *Morton* (first Bishop of *Ely*, and after of *Canterbury*) the first designer and a principal effecter of the union of the *White and Red Roses*, the two great houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, to the blessed extinguishing of those long flames of civil war, which drank up the blood and consumed the flesh of this Nation, whose greatest miseries rise from its own bowels? Was not *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Durham*, the chief Counsellour, Promoter and Actor of that other union between the two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, by treating and concluding a match with our King *Henry the Seventh's* daughter, and *James the Fourth King of Scotland*? a foundation certainly of very great honour and happiness to both Nations, if wise and religious superstructures had been built upon it. Now by a strange revolution of Divine Justice, that holy *Thistle* which lately vied for an Equality with, if not a Superiority above, the *Roses*, is become not so much united in a Parity, as subdued to an Inferiority.

Nor were the *English Bishops* less loyal to true Religion as Christian, yea and to the true Reformation of it, then to their King and Country. How notably did that renowned *Lincolniensis* (Greatest Bishop of *Lincoln*) assert the freedom of his Conscience against the Popes unworthy commands? How many other Bishops, in the contests between the Popes and our Princes about Investitures, asserted the rights of their Sovereigns? After the Roman darkness and Tyranny vanished, and the light of an orderly and loyal Reformation appeared, how many godly Bishops then did abide the fiery Tryal of Martyrdom? How many of them and their Clergy were banished and imprisoned as Confessors? How many of them, as *Fewel*, *Abbot*, *Andrews*, *Davenant*, *White*, *Morton*, and others, have wrote with incomparable study and unanswerable strength against the *Papal Usurpations*, *Errors* and *Superstitions*? and none beyond the last Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for clearness and exactness of the Controversies stated.

With how great a resolution and loyal freedom did *George Abbot*, his immediate Predecessor, write a notable letter to King *James* against all toleration of Popery, when the *Spanish match* was hot in treaty? At which time with what thunder and lightning did *Dr. Senhoves*, afterward B. of *Carlisle*, preach the two famous Sermons against the great *Diana of Rome* as well as of *Ephesus*, to such a degree of eloquent zeal and becoming courage, that he pleased even those whom he offended? In the very last Convocation in *England*, anno 1640. (which gave occasion to so great flames in this Church, meeting with times and minds which had both wood and fire ready, and onely wanted a Sacrifice) even this so decryed Synod (which had in it as learned, honest and venerable Church-men, Bishops and others, as ever were

were in *England*) had among *other things* concluded a full and firme defiance against *Poperie* for ever, as well as an establishment for *Episcopacy*, which they then found tottering and shaken, but had not the happiness to use the right means of establishing it; which was not by building it a story higher, but by taking it rather a story lower, at least abating its Pinnacles, Turrets and Battlements; what it wanted in ornament and height, it might have enjoyed in strength and settledness. Yet their design and endeavour was very prudent, foreseeing, as was easie, that the overthrow of *Episcopacy* in the Reformed Church of *England*, would be the greatest gratification to *Rome* that could be at present expected by the Papists. And certainly the Romish party were never more pleased then with those *Convulsion-fits*, which so tortured first, and afterward destroyed, not onely that *Convocation*, but all the former Stability, Honour, Peace, Plenty, Order and Government of this Church and its Clergy; which alwayes feared and foretold no less danger from *Scylla* then *Charybdis*. I might adde further the humble, yet resolute, *Remonstrance* made by the Bishops of *Ireland* to the Governours and Councel of that Kingdom, in the Lord of *Straffords* time, fully and freely declaring the inconsistency of any open and avowed toleration of *Poperie* with the honour of God, with the power and purity of the Reformed Religion, and with the peace of the Kingdoms.

Thus when the Bishops of *England* were *Capital* or *Dominical* letters both in the Church and State, their Piety, Loyalty, Courage, Zeal and Constancy made (I think) as fair and as goodly alhew as any of their enemies have done; they were legible afar off, at home and abroad, and will be so to present and after-Ages: many an one of them signified more, as to exemplary Piety and useful Vertues, then one hundred of petty Presbyters or puny Preachers either then did, or now do, or ever will be able to do; who were indeed never so considerable or commendable, so useful to the Church, or serviceable to the State, as when they kept to an humble subordination and wise communion with their Bishops, whose honour and peace was the Presbyters honour, as the honour of the head is the honour of every member of that Body. Doubtless their temporal happiness was bound up together; neither could Bishops be happy without the assistance of venerable Presbyters, nor Presbyters without the governance of reverend Bishops; neither should be without other in the Lords Church.

I might here further adde to the consideration of the obedientiall and peaceable principles and practises of true *Episcopacy*, its Charitable, Hospitable and Generous disposition, which are best expressed in times of peace and a state of plenty. As Bishops had a firm loyalty to their Princes, and obedience for conscience sake to their superiours, not examining their morall vertues, but their civil Rights, which are the onely measures of duty; in like manner Bishops had generally great charity to their equals, and benignity to ther inferiours: which is a great fruit of a subjects loyalty to his Prince, and love

love to his Country, relieving many poor people in their pressures, and thereby keeping them from those discontents which usually attend the distresses of mens conditions ; the afflictions of Princes oft rising from the dust, the meaner sort of people, when necessities animate them to animosities, and such insolencies as turne dust into lice, as *Moses* did to the plaguing of *Pharaoh* and all *Egypt*.

None but evil eyes, and worse hearts, could with unthankfullness and uncharitableness grudge the excellent *Bishops* of England those *Honors* and *Revenues* which they highly deserved, while they worthily employed them rather for others good than their own private enjoyments, in any way of luxury, or gallantry, or debauchery, the frequent gulfs of many other mens great Estates and Honors, when they are enjoyed and abused by very small and sensuall minds. Generally *Bishops* neglected their own private interests and gaine to advance the publick. How few of them, in many yeares of peace and plenty, raised any considerable fortunes to their particular families or posterities ? I am sure not comparable to what Judges and Lawyers in all Ages, yea and Military men have done in a few yeares, whose thrifty swords have gathered better Estates in one seven yeares, than any *Bishops* or other Church-mens liberall words and works ever did or aimed at in twenty yeares, though their yearly Revenues were as good, or better, I think, than most Commanders pay, and I conceive as much deserved by them, in order to the publick good and service, which they might do and really did in all Ages, both as to Church and State, to Superiours, Equals and Inferiours.

For *Bishops*, beyond all men in their times, were guilty of building, repairing and endowing many Churches, which other men pull down and rob, buy and sell, squander and embezell. *Bishops*, besides their temporary, daily and occasionall bounty, founded and erected many costly works of durable and Monumentall Charity, in Colledges, Libraries, Free-Schools, Hospitals, Almshouses, and the like : many noble endowments they began, many they encreased, many they perfected, to Gods glory, the Nations Honor, the encouragement of Learning and Religion, as well as the relief of many poor people. They took as much pleasure in their works of Charity, as others can do in their sacrilege or robbery ; taking away those things from the Church, and all religious uses, to which neither they nor any of their progenitors ever gave one farthing : for they are commonly persons of the meanest blood and ignoblest descents, as well as minds and manners, who are most repiners at the Churches patrimony, and most greedy to devour holy things ; which all persons of generous piety both feare and abhor to do, knowing that those penurious practises and sacrilegious principles which some men follow, are as much Antievangelicall as they are Antiepiscopeall, against Christ and his Gospel, as much as against the Clergy and true Christian Charity : It being impossible that Christian or Reformed Religion should ever flourish, except by miracle (as *Aarons* dry Rod did, when

it was nourished by no earth or dew) when the *Ministers* of it are such *diminutives*, kept alwaies in a *mendicant Minority*, and in a *plebeian parity*, as well as *poverty*; when Pastors of the Church are so pittifully penurious and inconspicuous, that they are alwaies driven like vermine to be creeping and biting, crying and whining, craving and coveting, crouching and complaining, rather than giving or distributing any thing with charity and cheerfulness to men, or consecrating any free-will offering to God, the Church, and their Country.

O how perfect a Blessing, how complete a Reformation, how Triumphant a Church, how glorious a Ministry, how pretious Predicants must there needs be then in *England*, when the visible order, social beauty, politick harmony and ancient Government of Religion being first deprived of all honors and amplenesses, Ministers are reduced to meanness and tenuity, either wholly scattered into fragments of *Independency*, or molded up in the *Masse* and *Chaos* of *Presbytery*; where every Ministers principle and practise must necessarily tend either to *rule in Common*, or else to rend from the *Community*; where there shall be no further motive to any Loyalty, Subjection and Peaceableness, than what either the terror and necessity of others power, or the tenuity and paucity of their own party and sides, imposeth upon such Ministers and their various Sectators, who thus *levelled*, or *ravelled*, or *huddled* up without any due *Subordination* to *Ecclesiasticall Governours* of any Eminency or Authority, must needs sow all seeds of Faction, Sedition, civil Troubles and Disloyalty toward civil Magistrates, whatever Title or Majesty they affect to be clothed withall! They cannot avoid to be alwaies exposed to and exercised with their peoples mutuall emulations, contrarieties, contradictions and contempts, which are raised and exercised upon the score of different Teachers and Religious disputes; for the determining of which there are no men of venerable worth and conspicuity appointed, such as Bishops and Synods of old were in all Ages.

Men cannot long have a *consciencious regard* to *Civil Governours*, when either they have not or they will not endure any *Ecclesiasticall*. They that see nothing deserving honor, love and submission to a Worthy, Learned, Grave and Godly Bishop, will hardly see much in any *Justice*, *Judge* or *Prince*; especially when Duty, Obedience and Fidelity shall be measured by mens *parties* and *opinions* in Religion, or by their civil and secular interests: which is alwaies expectable from any people that affect irregular liberties and formidable freedoms in any Church or State.

As Princes that ever have been Episcopall do hardly suite with the novelties and intrusions of either Presbytery or Independency; so tis certaine, *Presbyterian Preachers* will as hardly comply with an *Episcopall* or an *Independent Prince* as with a *Bishop*, and the like may be imagined of *Independents*; when neither of them enduring any order or subjection as to Religious polity, beyond their own fancy, must

must needs be lesse pliable to that obedience which is legal and civil, especially when it is exacted by those Princes that are not of their perswasion and way. Nor can there be indeed any aptitude in such mens *spirits* or *tempers* to any stability of loyalty, when their very conjunctions are like the first confused concretion of all things, rather an heap of contraries or novelties daily emerging, than a composure of any noble, orderly and constant harmony in Religion: which is never to be expected where there must ever be either a combination of folly and faction, of juvenility and simplicity onely; (none being admitted to some confederacies that do not first renounce much of their Learning and Reading, if they have any, or of their credit and esteem as to all Ancient Churches) or else, like *lumps* of yce, they must be compacted and governed as it hits, by Gravity and Levity, by Age and Youth, by Weaknesse and Ability, by Steadiness and Giddiness, by Rashnesse and Wariness, by Passion and Judgement, by Prudence and Confidence, by Modesty and Impudence, Hemp and Silk, Course and Fine, Linnen and Woollen, being twisted and jumbled together; these at the best must make up the associating and fluctuating methods of any levelled Ministry: or else they must be like sand and stones without lime, rather cast into severall little heaps, than built up in a joynt and grand fabrick, by just Rules, Orders and proportions truly edifying; when there shall be nothing of Authority among Ministers proportionate to the different Ages, Capacities, Gifts, or Offices and Merits of any of them, (which make up the true harmony of *Government and intermall Majesty of all Authority*,) but all things of Religious and Church-order must be left in such a popular and plebeian posture, as shall most incourage whatever is most *Turbulent, Factionous, Seditious* and *Rebellious* in any mens spirits, who will be prone either to affect more Rule than is their due, or else be *impatient* that any should govern them in Church or State *further than they list*, or think is agreeable to those *principles* and perswasions of *Religion* or *Reformation* which they strongly fancy to themselves, and aime as strongly to set up and impose on others when they shall be able, not by the approbation and permission of the *chief Magistrate* onely, where it may be fairly had, but in case he be so *blind, wilfull, obstinate* and *unconvertible*, (as some have been for *Episcopacy* against *Presbytery*) they will find a *call from God*, and some *speciall impulsives* to obtrude their opinions and designes, without, yea against the expresse will of the *Soveraigne Governour*; whose *obstinacy* against any such supposed waies of God, and pretended *Discipline of Jesus Christ*, is thought by many a sufficient *Absolution* and *Dispensation* from their civil *Loyalty, Oathes* and *Subjection*. Thus looking for God in *fires* and *Earth-quakes* of civil combustions, they lose him, who is best to be found in the *Evangelicall* and *still voyce*, to which the *Priests* and *Prophets* of the Jewish, also the *Apostles*, with their successors the *Godly Bishops*, of the Christian Churches, have alwaies listned, and generally obeyed; judging nothing more *diametrally distant*

from and opposite to true Religion than Rebellion (that is, the usurping of that power which is by Right and Law anothers) upon any religious pretence whatsoever. Certainly the *Jewel of Loyalty* neither was, nor ever will be, safer kept than in the Cabinet of *Primitive Episcopacy*; as *Aarons Rod* and the *Tables of the Law* were best preserved in the *Ark of the Testimony*, and in the most holy place, which were laid up with the *pot of Manna*; Emblems most lively setting forth the happy State of any *Christian Church* and Nation, while it maintaines the Lawes of God and man, while it subjects all men to the Rod or Scepter of just Government both in Church and State, supporting, as the Princes, so the chief Pastors, Bishops and Guides of the Church with an honorable plenty, and all other Ministers both in Church and State with competent and ingenuous alimony. As Christian Kings and Queenes have ever been, according to Gods promise, the most indulgent, liberall and tender *nurses of the Church of Christ in all Countries*, every where retaining and reverencing *Episcopacy* as most agreeable with their *Sovereignty* and *Monarchy*; so have all true *Christian Bishops*, in all Ages and places, ever been the most *Learned Assertors* of, and the *humble submitters* to, *Sovereigne* and *Monarchical* Authority of Princes, and no lesse to that of *Aristocracy* in *Common-weales* or *Republicques*, such as *Florence* was, and *Venice* still is; who never yet saw any reason of State to move them to change the ancient and honorable Government of *Catholick Episcopacy* for any other, which hath, as more of parity, popularity and poverty, so lesse of honest policy, firm peace and religious loyalty. Certainly a Christian Prince or State that designs stability to their power and peace, will need these two swords, of *Sovereignty* and *Episcopacy* to keep himself, his people, and his Church safe. A wise Governour cannot but see and say of *Episcopacy*, compared to all other formes, as *David said of Goliaths sword*, there is none like that, in respect of its *principles, operations* and *influences*, as to religious loyalty and publick tranquillity. The loyalty and civil subjection of all *novellers* seemes to be with so many salvo's and reserves of godlinesse and grace, of Religion, Christs Discipline or true Church-waies, of *Princes* not being tyrants or persecutors in their subjects sense, that there is little certainty, much lubricity, and as many dangers as evasions. But the *Loyalty* of *Episcopacy* is positive and plenary, resolute and absolute, according to those cleare Evangelical precepts and patternes, either to act or suffer with good conscience, owning no dispensations as from God or Man, Pope, or Presbyter, or People, which some *Antiepiscopeall Preachers* and *Professors* seem to have found out, as the *Gnosticks* of old did, being loth to be *Carbonated* or *Crucified Christians* if they can help it; pleading that *Right* followes *Might*, especially in Cases and Engagements of Religion; excusing the *Primitive Martyrs* softness and easinesse to suffer, as *Bellarmino* and others do the *Popes* pristine submission to the *Emperours*, by reason of their *Minority*, being then in their *bibs* and *hanging-sleeves*.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXI.



Y third *Plea* to recommend *Primitive* and *Catholic* Episcopacy most suitable to the genius and temper of the English Nation; in which the Spirits of people are (generally) so *beady* and *giddy*, so *high* and *stout*, that they cannot long bear any way of *Government*, or

any *Governours* which seem *levelling*, *popular*, *plebeian* and *prostrate*: however they may for a fit of *novelty* or *discontent* be pleased with such *Pageants*, yet these are not the *Mansion-houses* that *English* people will dwell in. They are too *stiff-necked* and *stubborn* a people ever to reverence or submit to such *Magistrates* in State, or such *Disciplin-ers* in Church, as are but their *Peers* and *Equals* at best, and many times their *Inferiours*, as in estate and learning, so in all those things, Divine, Civil and Humane, which are proper to *conciliate respect*, and *command* submission upon the account of some eminency of merit or worth, set off with some conspicuity of riches, honour or power.

The late *Presbyterian* design and defeat in England, as to inducing their Checker-work of *Lay-elders* to be Joynt-rulers and Partners with *Preachers* in *Ecclesiastical* authority, placing (as they must needs) even silly *Mechanicks* in many places in a *parallel jurisdiction* with the ablest *Scholars* and *Ministers*, as to Church-government and Discipline, yea and above them in their *numbers* and *suffrages*; the speedy baffling (I say) and discountenancing of this *pitiful project*, with all its long train, baggage and ammunition, by a general dislike, disuse and neglect of it, sufficiently shews, that either *Common* people in England have more modesty yet left in them than to think themselves fit *judges* and *rulers* in the State or Church with their *Magistrates* and *Ministers*; or else that they utterly disdain to be *Catechized* and *controlled* by such as are their plain *country-neighbours* and trivial *Comrades*, of the same forme for *rusticity* and *simplicity*, and many times as much below them in *prudence* as in *estate*, in *civility* as in *solid piety*, to which a *factious* and *pragmatick ambition* in any man adds very little.

The speedy confutation of this *incongruous polity* and *stratagem*, which, to please the people, sought to besiege my selfe and all *Ministers*, both in *City* and *Country*, with four or five or more *Lay-elders*, made up of *Farmers*, *shop-keepers*, *Clothiers* and *Handicrafts-men*, to be our *Assessors* and *Assistants*, as *Censors* and *Supervisors* of all the *Parish*, and *our selves* too, not only with us, but in some things above us *Ministers* both in number and popular influence; this hath really wrought such an *abhorrence* and *disdain* in most people of all such *Lay-ruling-elders*, and such a *despiciency* of all such *Disciplining-plots* as are neither prudent nor pertinent for the English temper, that even those *Ministers* who were at first most *zealous* to set up, in stead of the fair *Temples* and *Cathedrals*, those small *Synagogues* and low *Confis-*
stories

stories of *Lay-partners* in *Church-government*, even these *Ministers* find they have lost much of that pristine respect and influence they had among their own and all other people : so that upon the point neither *great* nor *small* will now be (further than they list) *governed* by such methods of imprudent men, who have reproched their own mother-Church, diminished themselves and their Order, blasted their Ministerial *Ordination*, soiled that *fountain* whence they sprang, disgraced those venerable *Bishops* who were lawfully and worthily their Fathers and Rulers, despised (as much as in them lyes) the very Catholick and honourable name of *Episcopacy*, abolished its ancient honour and authority, which were ever established and preserved till now by the Custom and Canons of this as of all Churches, also by the ancient Lawes of this Nation ; thus splitting even their dear *Presbytery* in pieces, (which was best embarked with *Episcopacy*) while they ran this on ground, upon the Rocks & Quick-sands, the oppositions of power and the despiciencies of people, between which all Church-government and publick respect is now removed from both Bishops and Presbyters.

Alas, how pitiful a part of any Government have any of these Ministers now to act and please themselves with, who affected to *play a new game at Chess* in this Church, onely with *pawns* and *rooks*, without *Kings* or *Bishops* : whose *unseparable* fate, at least as to the *Genius* of *England*, *King James* very wisely foresaw would stand and fall together, (if he had as wisely prevented the *danger* and *damage* of both :) it being very hard for any *Sovereign Prince* to govern such an head-strong people, unless he have *power* over their *minds* as well as their bodies. This a Prince cannot have but by Preachers, who, as the weekly Musterers, Orators and Commanders of the popu-lacy, do exercise by the Scepter of their tongues a secret and swasive, yet potent, *Empire* over most peoples soules. These preachers he knew were not easily kept either in good order, or in just honor (being men of quick fancies, of daring and active confidences, great valuers of themselves, and ambitious to be many *Masters*, yea popular and petty *Monarchs*, in the Thrones of their *Pulpits* and Territories of their *Parishes*) unless there were some men over them, who are fittest to be above them (as being too hard for them) in their own sphere and mystery, best able to judge of Ministers Learning, Opinions, Preaching, Praying and Living ; men for yeares of Gravity and Prudence, rewarded with Estates and Honors.

Judges 1. 7.

And such were *Bishops*, without whom Christian *Monarchs* are like those *Kings* who had their thumbs and great toes cut off ; it being not possible for a Prince immediately to correspond with every petty *Presbyter*, nor is it comely to contest with them, nor can he be quiet from their pragmatick janglings, unless they be curbed by some such Learned, Authoritative and Venerable Superiours as are properest for them ; who were the fittest mediums between the King and his other *Clergy*, both to perswade Princes to favour the Church, and to perswade Church-men to preach and practise loyalty toward their

their Princes, which tends to the honor of both Magistracy and Ministry. So that it was no other then an obvious *conjecture* to foretel, *No Bishop, no King*; since the same Scriptures and Principles of both reason and religion, piety and policy, lead men to obey both as rulers over them *in the Lord*, or to reject both, by affecting *popular parities and communities*, as in Church so in State.

Which abatement of *Kingly or Sovereign power* in one person, as to its civil *Magistratick and Monarchical* eminency, hath by late experience been found so *inconsistent* with the *Genius* of this *English Nation*, that the *Representatives* of the *People* have not onely importunately *petitioned* the restitution of *Monarchical*, yea *Kingly government*, but they have actually settled the *main authority* in one person, under an *other Name and Title*; justly fearing, lest the dividing and diminishing of *Sovereignty, Majesty and Authority*, as to the chief Governour, should in time make a *dissolution* of the *civil Government*, by frequent emulations and ambitions, incident to any such Nation as *England* is, which hath so many great and rival Spirits in it, prone to contemn or contest with any thing that looks like their Equal.

Nor do I doubt but Time will further shew us, (if it hath not done it already sufficiently) that no less *inconveniences and mischiefs*, both as to Church and State, may follow the *debasing and destroying* of *Ecclesiastical power and authority* in *England*, by dividing and mincing it: so diverting the ample and fair, the ancient and potent stream of *Episcopacy*, (which flowed from the *Throne* of Christ, and of *Christian Kings*) into the new *rivulets, small channels, and weak currents* either of *Presbytery or Independency*.

The *Scepter of Government* in Church or State, like the staff or rod of *Moses*, when it is cast out of his hand on the *Earth* or populacy, turns to a *serpent*, *Democracy* being a very terrible *Demogorgon*: untill it be resumed into *Moses his hand*, (as King in *Iesurun*) it doth not return to its former *beauty, strength and use*, which that did, after it had justly devoured the rods and serpents of the *Magicians*; as in time *Monarchical Government* will do all other kinds or essayes in *Engl.* which are but the *effects* of popular passions and encroachments, carried on more by some *Preachers Inchantments* then by *Lay-mens Ambitions*.

Strabo and others tell us, that the people of *Cappadocia*, when the *Romanes* had conquered their Kings, and offered them their *Liberty* as a Province or free state under them; they refused the favour, affirming the *temper of their Country* was such, that the people in it could not live if they were not governed by a *King*: So pertinacious were they, as indeed most people in the world have been, and are at this day, to retain the sacred *Tradition* of *Kingly or Monarchicall Government*, which being parentall and Patriarchall, is most naturall and divine, derived to us by *nature*, and confirmed by good experience ever since *Noah and Adam*, who had their just *Sovereignty* as *Fathers and Kings* over all mankind derived to them from *God the Great Father and Eternall King* over all, from whom *Monarchy* and so *Episcopacy* derive their *Majesty and Authority*; Pri-

mogeniture

Exodus 7. 9^d

Cappadoces
munus libertatis
à Romanis obla-
tum abnuentes,
missis ad Ro-
mam Legatis,
negabant vi-
vere Gentem
suam sine Rege
posse. Quod
mirati Romani,
permiserunt
illis quem vel-
lent Regem.
Strabol. 12.
p. 540. Just. n.
l. 38. c. 2.

mogeniture carrying with it, as Princely, so Priestly power, which made the same name ^{מֹדֵעַ} (*Gen. 41. 45. Exod. 3. 1.*) to signifie both Prince and Priest : The want of either of which, and the swerving from either of them, commonly occasioneth infinite distractions in any Nation and Church ; especially if they have been in all times wonted to be governed by them. To avoid which miseries among Mankind, the Wisdom of God hath guided, as most Nations to *Monarchy*, so this and all primitive Churches to the royall Priesthood of *Episcopacy*, from the very cradle or beginning of *Christianity*: At which time *S. Jerom* to *Euagrius* confesseth, it was (*toto orbe decretum*) a Catholick Decree and Order through all the Christian world, which could be no other then Apostolical at least.

And however other Reformed Churches may make a shift to live, and some of them thrive, without the formal name and title of *Bishops*, (though most of them have the efficacy of the power, and the reality of the authority in their Superintendents) yet I am confident, till English Spirits are wholly *con'd* and *depressed* with war, and such exhaustings as utterly dis-spirit and embase the Nobility, Gentry and Communalty, nothing will be more *inconsistent* with them than what favours of parity and popularity in Church-Government. They will rather affect to have every one what they list, which in effect will be no Government properly Ecclesiastick, further then they may be commanded and possibly over-aw'd by the civil sword, to submit to any such Triers, Ordainers, Committee-men and Censors, yea Tithing-men and Constables, as it is pleased to impose on them, while it exerciseth both a Civil and Ecclesiasticall Episcopacy over Church and State, as supposing it self safest when it hath both swords in its hands, that by so eminent power it may both preserve Majesty and exercise Authority, which are inseparable.

It is extreme vanity and folly to imagine that even the lesser *flies*, the *rabble* and *vulgarity* of the people in *England*, (naturally *course*, and now grown both *baser* and *runder* then ever, being insolent as to the presumptions of their liberties, both religious and civil) that these (I say) should easily be held by those fine new cobwebs of Church-Government, which some men have lately spun out of their own bowels and braines (for they are not of the ancient Web or Loom.) How much lesse can any wise man expect that the greater sort of people in the Nation, such as are either purse-proud (yet arrant Churles and Clowns) will be either catched or held by those imaginary toyles? What then shall we think either *Presbytery* or *Independency* will do with the *higher-spirited* Gentry, and the (heretofore) *Magnanimous Nobility* of *England*? Will not these Lords and Ladies think it ridiculously *strange* to find themselves *cited* and *summoned*, *tried* and *examined*, *reproved* and *censured*, *excommunicated*, yea and *reprobated* by a few petty-*Presbyters*, whom they look upon commonly as poor Scholars, *pragmatick* and *pedantick* enough for the most part, if they have any power, and be under none as to Church-Discipline?

Discipline? Or will these Gentlemen submissly *venerate* the Authority of *Good-men Lay-Elders*, or a cold Vestry of a few honest *Gaffers* with their Elect Pastor, who is as a *poor soul* set to *informe* and move that *poor Body* of Parochial or congregated Christians, who are ready to say with the *Pharisee* to all that are not of their corporation and opinion, Stand by, we are holier than thou?

Isaiah 65. 5.

Good God! what *stamps* of eminency, in Reason or Religion, in Piety or Policy, in Civility or Charity, will any persons of Noble Birth, Good Breeding and Pregnant Parts, see in these Consistorian or Congregationall *Conventions*, to keep up their own *Authority*, and to keep down other mens spirits from despising them? Among whom there neither is nor can be (generally) any such conspicuity or sufficiency for any parts and abilities, of mind and body, of estate and quality, as may redeem them from the very *contempt* and *laughter* even of *boyes*; to which many times their pittifull clothes, (which give either a great *glosse* or *damp* with vulgar eyes, as they are either rich or mean on the backs of men in *Authority*) besides their *simple carriage*, their *senselesse speeches*, and very *silly lookes*, are prone to expose them. Nor have they many times, as to the Lay-part of them, any thing without or within them to redeem them from this low and loose esteem, in all mens both judgements and consciences who are not very silly, superstitious or servile.

Yet of this course *bran* and *barrel* (for the most part) are *those men* and Ministers who have been most eager to *exclude* Venerable *Episcopacy*, and to challenge to themselves, either as Ministers or Laicks, the whole *Height, Depth, Length* and *Breadth* of *Ecclesiasticall Government* in *England*; not onely for ordaining Ministers, but for censuring, silencing, deposing, excommunicating, and wholly Anathematizing or abdicating from Christ and his Church, all sorts and sizes of men, whatever *Majesty, Sovereignty* and *Authority* they have upon them. For these new Masters professe, (like God) to be *no respecters of persons*: all must fall under their lash and stroke who are either in the *Parochiall* or *Congregationall* Communion and Jurisdiction. Possibly such *small Monitors* or *Triobolary Discipliners*, (who are justly of least esteem in a Nation and Church) might for a time, and in a humour, suite the spirits of some little *Colonies* or *Conventicles* in *Arnheim* or *Amsterdam*, in new *England* or in old and cold *Scotland*, where common people have much of the easiness or tameness of *peasants*: But certainly they are no way suitable to the *Haughtiness* and *Grandeur* of *England*. These manacles are so far from shackling the chief of our Tribes, and heads of our Families, that they are not capable to hamper the *feet*; so far from making good *Pillories*, that they will not serve for good *Stocks* and *whipping-posts*, for the due repressing and punishing even of vulgar *petulancy* and *insolency*; which we see prevails everywhere in spite both of *Presbytery* and *Independency*, for want of an *Honorable* and *Venerable Episcopacy*, justly constituted and honorably countenanced in the Church.

The temper of the *English Nation* is not like that of *Scotland*, (which with so brotherly and unwelcome a zeal would needs obtrude upon us Presbytery whether we would or no.) There every petty *Lairde* of a Village in his *High house*, hath either a bit and bridle in the mouths, or a *Cane* over the crags, of all the poor *Cotagers*, and of the poor *Clerick* his Minister too; who are in a kind of *Villanage* (as underlings) to his *Seigniorie*, servilely depending on him, the one for his great *Salary* of an *hundred Scotch pounds or marks a yeare*, (where every mark is thirteen pence half-penny, and every *pund* is *two shillings* English) the other for their *Cotages*, *Copy Holds*, *Farmes* and *Tenures*. So that the common people there being generally over-dropped and under-fed, low-purged and low-spirited, might easily be ruled, as to any religious Government and Church-Concernments, by such a Discipline as their gudd *Lairdes* and Sr. *John* pleased to put upon them; the ambition of Preacher and people being no higher than to *eate* and *drinke*, and to beget children in their own likenesse to *poverty* and *servility*, as the *Peasants* in *France* and *Boores* in *Germany* do.

But the *ruggednesse* and *fiercenesse* of the people of *England*, even of the very Commons and clowns, (who are higher fed, and bred to less slavery then in other countries) is such, that, like our *English horses*, *cocks*, *mastives* and *bores*, they are no where to be *matched* for the curstness and animosity of their spirit and mettle. How have we seen even *mean men* bristle against, not onely their grave *Ministers*, but their great Benefactors and *Masters*? *Tenants* have risen against their *Landlords*, and *Peasants* against the noblest *Peers*: so *Presbyters* have contested with their *Bishops*, and subjects with their *Soveraignes*. Such tragical *ruffings* and *disdains* of their betters are no news in *Engl.* And shall we think that *trades-men*, *peasants* and *yeomen* (not to mention *gentlemen* and *noblemen*, or such as shall govern as *supreme*) will, all or any of them, now be so *tame*, as to be *curbed*, *checked*, *ruled* and *managed* by those minime-*Ministers* and members of *Congregations*, or those petty *Presbyters* in their *Parishes* or *Associations*, whom they have no visible cause or motive in the world to look upon or esteem as their equals or betters, no way likely to be their benefactors, and so not worthy to be their *Rulers* in the least kind? This submission cannot be expected, unless *Englishmen* are (now) to be *subdued* by fine words, and made obedient by the formal and supercilious looks of some men, who affect in their Churches and Parishes to *govern* all, and are not fit (alone) to *govern* any, unless they had been more able and willing to *govern* themselves, and to have kept within that *compasse* of *Ecclesiastical Order* and *subjection* to their *Bishops* and *betters*, which the example of all *Churches*, and all worthy *Presbyters*, and true *Christians* in all *Ages*, commended to them, besides the particular *Laws* and *constitutions* of this Church and State.

These considerations of the unproportionableness of any other Church-government than a right *Episcopacy* to the temper of *England*, moved the *supercilious*, yet very learned, *Salmasius*, in his advice
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to the Prince Elector then in England, and to some other of the long Parliament, and of the Scotized Assembly, (who desired his judgement upon the then hot and perboyling, yea passionate and overboyling debates touching Episcopacy) to tell them, *That as the Episcopal Government, rightly constituted and executed, is very agreeable to the Word of God, and most conform to all Antiquity; so it was of all other most suitable to the English spirit and constitution: The want of which he already foresaw was, and would ever be, the cause of much disorder and distraction, of infinite Factions, Heresies, Schismes and Confusions.*

Vide Vic. Salm.
pag. 50.
Postquam
comperisset
Presbyterialem
statum citra
Episcopalem
in Anglicanis
Ecclesiis consti-
tere non posse,

(prout nata ista ingenia videret) in ea erat sententia, aliquam moderationem adhibendam, & Episcopos non omnino tollendos: melius illud regimen; & hinc dubie cum summa utilitate, processurum in illis Ecclesiis existimabat; maxime quum viderit, sublati Episcopi, omne genus Heresium & Schismatum gliscere: voluit ergo ut Episcopi essent moderatores perpetui Presbyterorum Collegii, &c.

Thus the great Dictator of Learning (as he esteemed himself) was pleased in this passage and other-where, graciously to express his judgement and pleasure, according to the humour he was in, or to the Interest which he was pleased to adopt. Sometimes he is Walo Messalinus, and ashamed to own his Name against Episcopacy: he was in that disguise to gratifie the pretensions of Presbytery, and the adherence or dependence which he had to the French and Dutch Churches: otherwhile he puts off the vizard, and with open face owns the eminency, authority, antiquity and universality of Episcopacy; yea the incomparable utility of it, when joyned with a grave and orderly Presbytery, besides a particular aptitude in it to the English Genius.

Vindic. Car. &
Walo Messal.

For he well saw that all Government, and Church-Government as much as any, is a beame of Divine Majesty, and requires not onely something of a Diviner sufficiency as to inward abilities and endowments, but also of a Diviner conspicuity and lustre for Authority, civil eminency and ornament. We read that God, besides his choice of Aaron and his Sons to be complete persons, to make them chief Priests according to his Command and Commission, gave also strict order for their garments, to have them made with such comeliness, cost and curiosity, as should be for glory and beauty, even before the eyes of the people over whom they were placed. And we further read that God forbid to his people the *Fewes* all birds that did creep and yet fly, they were uncleane and abominable to be eaten. An Emblem that nothing is lesse comely in Gods Church, than to see those men ambitiously affect to fly high in governing others, whose condition is low and creeping on the ground.

Exodus 18.
v. 2, & 40.

Deut. 14. 19.

Indeed no Government can be carried on in Church or State, (especially in Engl.) but either by the absolute terror of the sword, and secular power commanding, or by such legal injunctions and religious persuasions as bind good men in conscience to submit, first, to God, and for his sake to those whom he, as Lord of all, is pleased to set over us. Then is government in Church or State most complete and constant, when it hath first that rational Empire and religious prevalency over mens hearts, which ariseth from the persuasion that

Ffff 2

people

people have of the worth, abilities, right and authority which Governours have (by their laws) as *from God* in the State, so *from Christ* in the Church. Which perswasion as it brought all Christian people, Presbyters and Bishops, to be so wholly subject to their civil *Magistrates* and *Sovereigns*; so it made all Christian Presbyters and Professors to be filially submit to their *Bishops*, as to *Fathers* given them by Christ: even then when Bishops were rich in graces and gifts of the Spirit, but low as to worldly greatness, and under much persecution; yet then did the Majesty of Episcopal authority prevail, (on which the lively Characters and pregnant Memorials of the Apostolical pattern, designation and succession, were still fresh and most remarkable) then did it draw all *true Believers* and *good Christians* to venerate their Bishops or chief Pastors *for Conscience sake*; by so much the more, by how much Presbyters and People had more of the *power of Godliness* in them: whereas now it is made a new mark of Godliness and *Sainthood* with many, to *cast off*, to *hate, abhor, despise* and *destroy* all Bishops and all eminent Episcopacy. Sure either *primitive purity* or *modern dreggs* must be very much out of the right way: and which of them erres, I leave to all sober men to judge.

As for other Christians of looser *Consciences* and *Conversation*, which were prone in all Ages to be as weeds in the garden of the Church, (especially in times of Peace, Plenty and Prosperity) the *piety* and *wisdom* of *Christian Princes* and other godly people ever took care to keep them in the *more awe* and *reverence* toward their *Bishops* and *Ecclesiastical Governours*, by investing these in such outward and visible *enjoyments* for *estate* and *honour*, which might adde some outward *respect* and *authority* to them, (and that no *small one*) before those that had most need to be so restrained, overawed and dazled. Hence the piety and policy of *Constantine the Great* not onely gave liberal supports to the *Bishops* of the Church, but gave them places and honors *equal* to the *Patricii*, the *Senators* in order and degree, which were the Roman chief *Nobility*.

It is not onely an *imprudent*, but an *impious presumption*, and a *tempting* of God to needless miracles, for any people to invest those men in any *Government*, as in State so in Church, who are (as *St. Paul* saith) *little esteemed*, because deserving little; who have neither *personal abilities* for the Office, nor any clear and undoubted *commission* to authorize them in it from *God* or *Man*, from *Christ* and his Church: which, I conceive, can hardly, if ever, be found in any *ways* of *Church-government*, which are suspected for Novelty, or tainted with Parity and Popularity, contemptners of Catholick Custom, Primitive Antiquity, and Apostolical Succession in an holy Uniformity. From all which *depravations* as venerable *Episcopacy* is sufficiently known to be farthest removed of any, so it cannot but seem to all impartial Christians to be, as *every way* best in it self, so fittest for the native temper of *England*; where mens *spirits* are more accurate and acute, more inquisitive and searching into the rights, foundations and grounds

grounds of all authority over them, then in other Countries, where *meanness* and *easiness*, *servility* and *credulity* of common people, makes them *venerate* for their Gods any *Calf* or *Idol* which their Superiours please to set up in the Church, to serve or secure the civil Interests.

But in *England*, where people have much light and dare to use it, such *policies* and *projects* would (now) be not onely preposterous, but vaine and *ridiculous*. There is no putting (among us) *Eagles wings* or *Feathers* upon the bodies of *Fack-dawes*, *Rookes* or *Crowes*, which rather incumber them, than inable them for any orderly motion; much lesse do they make them *Imperiall birds*, fit to rule or over-aw the other winged *inhabitants* of the world, which will be ready to scorne and despise them.

And what indeed (for instance) hath more abased the condition, and abated the common honor of *Ministers* in *England*, of later yeares, than some of their unseasonable and unreasonable *affectations* to govern in common, as beyond their due proportion for Age, Gifts, Parts, Ornaments, so before they had complete Commission to empower them, either from God or any man in Sovereign power? Even such Presbyters as most affected, like *Icarus*, to fly above their *Fathers*, my self and the English world have seen to have so melted their own *artificiall wings*, that they have miserably fallen into a Sea, a black and a red Sea of confusion, contempt and contention, both among their own people and all the Nation.

Out of which Abyss they will never be able to wade or swim, in my judgement, unlesse they can (with such *Unity*, *Humility* and *Charity*, (as *St. Austin* adviseth some *Donatists*) revoke their exotick errors, retract their Schismes and transports, returning from their pertinacious novelries to the true proportions of Ancient Church-Government; which I think are in no degree to be found either in Presbytery, Independency, or any way apart from Episcopacy: both which new waies have so grievously blasted and singed themselves by the exorbitancy of those terrible flames which they kindled utterly to consume Episcopacy, that there is little likelihood either of these novelries should ever appeare to be entertained with any publick beauty, honor, esteem or approbation in *England*, where nothing is lesse tolerable than *Governours* that are contemptible, for want of Ability, Authority and Dignity, as to Estate and Honor.

Amidst all which immoderate and *mercilesse fires* (destinated to consume all the pristine beauty and honor of Catholick Episcopacy, both root and branch, in one day) yet (to shew not more the wonder of Gods mercy, than the true temper of the English people) behold not onely *Primitive Episcopacy*, but *Primitive Bishops* (that is, persons of *Learning*, *Piety* and *Vertue*, becoming that sacred Office & Dignity) have retained all this while, and will do while they live, (yea and when they are dead) so much of reall honor and true respect due to their worth, that no *Assemblies*, no *Armies*, no *Votes*, no *Ordinances*, no *Terrors*, no *Calumnies* of inordinate Presbyters, no insolent-

*Pertinaci enim
& animosi
perversitate
priores suos
sententias de-
fendendo, in sa-
cilegium schi-
smatis (quod
omnia scelera
supergradiuntur)
caecitate impie-
tatis irruunt.
Aug. l. i. c. cont.
Parrhen.*

insolencies of licentious people, nothing can ever deprive them of, or degrade them from, an high respect and esteem in the hearts and desires, in the loves and compassions of all unbiaſſed, learned, ſober and wiſe men throughout the Nation;

Who are not yet grown ſo dull and degenerate, as not to preferre the *Primitive, Catholick* and Venerable Authority of *Episcopacy*, as to order and Ordination, ſo to Government and jurisdiction, as much before the novel inventions and oſtentations of any *Presbyterian* and *Independent* models, as one would value the *English Roses* before the *Scotch Thistles*; freely to handle or feed upon which, is no ſuch precious *Chriſtian Liberty* as any wiſe men, Miniſters or others, have either cauſe to envy in others, or to congratulate in themſelves; ſince their former ſubjection to *Episcopacy* was far more to their Safety, Order, Plenty and Honor, than what they now enjoy in their petty Signiories. The loweſt parts of that Mountaine of God, *Episcopacy*, on which the Church of Chriſt for many Ages ſtood and flouriſhed, were higher than the top of theſe new mole-hills; the ſkirts of Bishops clothing were more venerable than the very *Crowns* of theſe Miniſters heads, the unanointed corners of whoſe haire and beards are now ſo deformedly ſhorne or ſhaven by a ſharp and popular raſor.

The renowne and value of *Episcopacy* is much riſen ſince *English-men* have ſeen added to the other excellencies of our *English Bishops*, the miracle and magnanimity of their Chriſtian patience, who after their hard and long ſtudies, attended with many meritorious and uſefull vertues, after they had lawfully obtained and many yeares peaceably enjoyed ſuch Honors and Eſtates as adorned *Episcopacy* in *England*, after they had no way, and by no law, forfeited theſe, or miſuled them; yet, in the decline of their lives, in the colder and darker winter of their Age, theſe grave and gallant men can beare with Chriſtian patience and heroick compoſedneſſe of mind the loſſe of all, and that from their own Country-men, Profeſſors of the ſame Chriſtian, yea and Reformed, Religion: and this without any reſpect had either to their preſent and future ſupport, or their priſtine dignity. A fate ſo ſad and Tragickall, as is ſcarce to be parallell'd in any Age or Hiſtory: yet have none of them been heard to charge God fooliſhly. They ſay and write either nothing, or onely the words of ſoberneſſe, Truth and Charity: they ſtill poſſeſſe their ſoules in ſilence and patience, when diſpoſſeſſed of all things: whereever they live, their luſtre ſhines through their greateſt obſcurity and tenuity, as the bright Sun through ſmall creviſes, far beyond the moſt ſparkling *Presbyters*, or glittering *Independents*; whoſe new popular projects for Church-Government, compared to *Primitive* and old *Episcopacy*, are like Comets or blazing Starres compared to the Sun and Moon.

The Gravity, the Conſtancy, the Contentedneſſe, the Meekneſſe, the Humility of theſe Venerable, yet afflicted, Bishops, (now reduced (God knowes) to a great paucity as well as tenuity) yet ſtill keeps
up

up *their price*, and commands from all wise and worthy men a veneration both of their persons, and of that comely Authority which they heretofore enjoyed, and worthily exercised, in this Church. Who almost of any considerable people in *England*, that are not either ignorant, fanatick or sacrilegious, but either openly or secretly with the happy *restoration* of Venerable *Episcopacy* to this Church and Nation? who, that hath sense of honor, justice or ingenuity, doth not deplore, and is not discountenanced to consider, the *Crowds* and *Loades* of indignities cast upon such excellent persons as for the most part the *Bishops* of *England* were; even then when they were to be sacrificed, by I know not what strange fire, as a *peace-offering* to the discontented *Presbyters* of *Scotland*, and their ambitious Symbolizers in *England*? I know some of those Lords and Commons who in the huddle helped to destroy Bishops and their Order, now not onely pitty the undeserved sufferings of such brave men, but repent of their own compliance; and so do many Ministers.

The usefulness, worth and necessity of excellent *Bishops* and of true *Episcopacy* were never so well understood in *England*, as since the sad effects have shewed us and all the world the want of them; if in any Nation, sure in this, where some of the very enemies of all *Episcopacy* heretofore, and the eager extirpators of it, do now expresse (which they have done to me) (as the other *Tribes* did to that of *Benjamin*, when they had almost quite destroyed it) something of mercy and pitty, of moderation and retraction. Judg. ii.

Alas, saving a few Ministers, most-what Lecturers, and some scrupulous people here and there, which had been a little bitten by some *Bishops*, either for their inconformity or extravagancy, and saving a few other men that had a mind to *Bishops Lands* and *Houses*, (both which were not the hundredth part of the people of this Nation,) saving these, I say, (who had and have most implacable *picques* and feuds and jealousies against all *Episcopacy*,) the rest, which are the most and best of the Nation, I periwade my self, have been and are so just and ingenuous, as not to take up vulgar & causeless, and yet eternall hatreds, against such worthy men as our *Bishops* most-what were, and so Venerable a Function as they were invested with. Yea at this day (as much as I perceive) the *Names* of *Episcopacy* and of every worthy *Bishop* are like *spices bruised*, and like sweet oyntment, (whose box is broken) more fragrant and diffused: just as an agreeable *perfume* would be after one hath been much afflicted with *Assaetida*. The very *Stench* which hath risen every where from the heaps and *dunghills* of *factious confusions* in religion, both as to mens minds and manners, since the routing of *Episcopacy* and *Bishops*, these have rendred that primitive Order and *Catholick Presidency* more savoury and acceptable then heretofore it was to some men, when their weaker brains were cloyed with the constancy of so great a blessing; as some are brought to *fainting spirits* by long smelling of the sweetest smells.

Episcopacy, like the body of holy *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and
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(placed there by St. John) when it was burned, hath filled the English and all the world with a *sweet odour*. It is like the bodies that have been well *embalmed* many hundred years past, never capable to putrifie, but will ever remain uncorrupt, as a sacred kind of *Mummy*, for a memorial to all generations.

Though the *Lands* and *Lordships*, the flesh and skin which adorned *Episcopacy* by humane bounty, be either devoured by worms, or so wasted and dissipated (as the *ashes* of some *Martyrs* were, by which their persecutors hoped to defeat them of a blessed resurrection;) yet still the Divine donations and endowments, the Spirit and Soul of pastoral power is remaining to Episcopacy: and its honor will be both *Immortal* and *Glorious*, when all its enemies shall be *ingloriously* either forgotten or remembered.

The *Apostolick Antiquity*, the *Catholick Dignity* of Episcopacy is not abated, nor ever can be: The *Divine* Wisdom, Beauty, Order, Authority, Usefulness and Blessing by it, in it and upon it, do still survive, and ever will, in all *Histories*, in all *Times*, in all *Churches*, and in none more justly than in this of *England*; where the experience of all sober Christians hath brought them to that sense which venerable *Beda* expresseth was had in his dayes, (that is, eight hundred years agoe) of Episcopacy and good Bishops, "That any Province or Church destitute of its Bishops, was so far destitute of the *Divine protection and benediction*. As this Age hath brought forth such as dare to despise, decry and destroy what all former Ages have happily used and highly magnified; so after-Ages, in the *revolution* of not many years, may admire, adore and restore with great devotion the *primitive honor of Episcopacy*, which some men have sought to lay in the *dust*, and bury in *oblivion*."

Whose resurrection is not to be despaired of, even to its *ancient glory*, when sober Christians of all sorts shall seriously consider, and compare with former times in *England*, the present State of this Church and the *Reformed Religion* in it, full of *divisions*, *distractions*, *disaffections*, of *animosities*, *envyes* and *jealousies*, of *offences*, *murmurings* and *complaining*s, running to *ignorance*, *negligence*, *irreligion*, and at best to *Romish Superstition*; where Ministers are *multiform*, people mutually scandalized and scattered, Christians not so much united by any bond of *uniform Religion* or *Worship*, as overawed from doing those *insolencies* and *affronts* to which their parties and passions eagerly tempt them. Nothing of Ecclesiastical Order, Discipline and Authority, further then a *sword* or a *gun*, or a private fancy afford; nothing of the *Clergies authoritative convention*, *correspondency*, or *communion* as brethren; no joyned counsel, no blessed *harmony*, no comely *subordination* among them; all proclaim a Chaos and confusion. Compare (I say) all these *deformed distempers* into which we are fallen since we *abdicated* or lost *venerable Episcopacy*, with that *Piety*, *Plenty*, *Harmony*, *Unity*, *Order*, *Decency*, *Proficiency*, *Respect*, *Honour* and *Authority*, which were heretofore so eminent and illustrious in the Church and *Church-men* of *England*, while

Provincia Pontifice destituta, divino pariter praesidio destituta. Bed. hist. l. 3. c. 7.

while it enjoyed the blessing of *Episcopacy*; in whose preservation and honour the honour of true Religion, the Majesty of any Christian Church, the dignity of the ordained Ministry, the validity of *sacred Mysteries*, the completeness of Ecclesiastical power, the Authority of all holy Ministrations, and the measure of all just Reformati-
 ons in Religion, (besides the civil peace) were heretofore thought to be very much bound up, as in all Churches and Nations that are Christian, so in none more than in *these of England*, if we consider the native greatness and generosity of some mens spirits, the roughness and stubbornness of others, all of them disdaining to be either abused by the simplicity, or curbed by the arrogance, of any men as their Church-governours, of whose Religious ability and Ecclesiastick authority they are in no sort satisfied. It is not good to tempt either the Sea or the Populacy, by keeping too low banks, which are easily over-run, and occasion much ruine to all sorts.

I may further adde, to convince my Brethren the Ministers, and all my worthy Countrymen, how agreeable and honourable *Episcopacy*, in its due place, posture & authority, was to the *genius of Engl.* by putting them in mind of that vast disproportion, for Love, Respect, Countenance, Maintenance, Encouragement and Honor, which now are paid, as generally to the function of the Ministry, so particularly to the person of any Minister, of whatever *quality or preferment, title or party he be*, comparing things to what the deserving Clergy generally enjoyed heretofore, while, under God and their Kings, their worthy Bishops protected them according to Law in well-doing. Heretofore (even in my memory) a grave, learned and godly Bishop was as the centre of his *Diocese*, the tutelary Angel of his Clergy, the good genius of every able and faithful Minister under him: He was the grand Oracle of the honest Gentry, the honoured Father and ghostly Counsellor of the true-hearted Nobility; he was the admiration and veneration of the most plain-hearted and peaceful Common-people. Notwithstanding all the *scurrilous obloquies* and *affronts* which sometimes either weak or wicked, foolish or factious men sought to cast upon all Bishops and all the Clergy under them, yet still the kindness of Parliaments, the favour of Princes, the worth of good Ministers, the discretion of wise Bishops, and above all the goodness of a gracious God, kept the Clergy of *England* in such a condition as was rather to be envied than pitted. No Minister of any worth was then so cheap & despicable, so obvious to injuries, and obnoxious to all indignities, as now he is, no not by an hundred degrees. Every grave and good Minister in his place then moved as wheels in an Engine, by that concurrent strength which then was in the whole Fabrick & Juncture of the Church: the beams of Episcopal honor shined on the meanest Clergy-man, whose own *fatuity or factiousnesse, weaknesse or wickednesse* did not obscure him. The secular interests and worldly enjoyments of the whole Clergy were then much more considerable, both for profit and honor; their livings much better and more secure to them (as their Free-holds,) if they kept within the bounds

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which our *Laws* had set ; their *preferments* more ample and more easie to be had ; their *reliefs*, in case of any loss, burthen or charge, more easie ; their *reputation* more conspicuous ; when they had something of *authority* and *commission* besides their Desks and Pulpits, when some of them were not only in Ecclesiastick Commissions, but assessors on Benches of civil *Judicature* ; for which as they might well have leisure enough, without neglecting their spiritual *employment*, so I believe they might be as able to serve their Country and their neighbours in that way, as a great many *Justices* of *last* *edition*, especially so far as to preserve the honor of the Church and true Religion from suffering any detriment in any County. It is evident that in all times since *England* was Christian, no *Courts* of *Justice* were ever had without some Divines at them and in them ; our Fore-fathers alwayes judging it to be of no less concernment to preserve Religion in *authority*, and Church-men in *conspicuity*, than to preserve their Estates, civil Peace and Lives.

Beyond this, how great a lustre (I beseech you) was added by the *piety* and *generosity* of the English Nation to all the *Clergy*, when some of the Bishops were taken into the Privy *Counsell* of the *Princes*, when all the Bishops had the places and priviledges of *Peers* in *Parliament*, having temporall Baronies ; yea when the *whole Clergy* in their Representatives had place and power in *Convocation*, both to consult of all things *Ecclesiasticall*, and to give of their own *Spiritual* *Estates* a free-will-offering to the publick *Treasury* ? These and such like marks of publick *conspicuity* looked indeed like the beams of *honor* upon the Clergy, making their faces to shine before the *common people*. This posture of the Clergy was manly, *generous*, *heroick*, becoming the Honor and Piety of the Nation, worthy of the munificence of Christian Princes, of the Devotion of Christian *Parlaments*, of the Learning and Merit of so excellent a Clergy and Christian Ministry as *England* enjoyed, which (of all *professions*) in any Nation should be least Eclipsed, and most illustrated with the tokens of publick respect, because no men have to encounter with so many *Devils* of *disdain* and *Spirits* of *opposition* in private breasts, as good *Ministers* have, if they will be *friends* to mens soules, and *foes* to their sins.

Now (*poor wretches*) wherein are any of us, as *Ministers* of the Gospel, considerable, for any publick *remarques* of respect and honor either to our persons or callings ? Are we not even ashamed of our selves and one another, when we see the *nakednesse* to which the justice of God, by our own sin and folly, hath exposed us and our profession ? Not onely all *Bishops*, under whose wings *Presbyters* were wont to be best sheltred, but even *Presbyters*, yea *Presbytery* it self, and all sorts of *Preachers* or Ministers whatsoever, are miserably *disputed* and *despised* by those many-*fac'd parties* in Religion which have been *gendred* of late in *England*, while people have looked upon that *ring-streaked*, *py-bald* and *party-coloured Ministry* which hath been set before them, vastly different from that *Candor*, *Beauty* and *Uniformity*,

Uniformity, which heretofore was both in *Shepherds* and their severall flocks, agreeable to that Primitive pattern, which never had a *Christian Congregation* without an appointed *Minister*, nor a *Minister* without due *Ordination*, nor *Ordination* without a *Bishop*, nor a *Bishop* without great honor and respect among all good Christians: The *Bishops* of the Church being, as *St. Jerom* expounds that of the *Psalmist*, those children of the Church which are prophesied to be made *Princes* in all *Lands* under the *Gospel*, and in the Government of *Jesus Christ*. Psal. 45. 16.

All these united together in an holy and happy correspondency kept up *Christian Religion*, its *Doctrine*, *Ministry* and *Discipline*, to some height and eminency; which is now fallen here in *England* to a very poor and pittifull, a plebeian and precarious, yea in many to a Parasiticall posture, not daring to discommend what they dislike, nor to owne what they desire, nor to desire what they approve, nor to complaine of what they feel pressing and pinching them: yea some are such Cossers and Tantanies, that they congratulate their Oppressors, and flatter their Destroyers, calling that a State of precious Liberty, which is indeed no better than a tamer slavery; boasting in their shame, and triumphing in the ruines and disparagings, as of their profession, so of the true Christian and Reformed Religion, which cannot but be darkned when the Clergy is Eclipsed, as now it is in *England*, where not any one Minister, great or small, can keep himself in any tolerable esteem with all parties, no nor avoid the contempts and reproches cast from some hand or other on him: let his worth be what it will, for Learning and Integrity, for Piety and Paines, yet he wants not those friends to Reformation that seek to depresse him, and would heartily joy in his utter ruine.

Some poor Ministers may (possibly) now shrowd themselves here and there under some particular shelter of some civil and less supercilious patrone, or some more sober and good-natured people: but, to speak the truth, none of them have any proper Sanctuary, or any meet refuge among themselves, where they may equally expect protection for their Rights, Persons and Profession, as Ministers of the Church, or as men in holy orders. How many with scorn disallow and disavow any such Church or Orders as the best Ministers pretend: nor do they that are first Antiepiscolal, and then Antiministerial, think that there is any thing of right due to any of them besides poverty and contempt. Yet to such ports (many times) most Ministers put in, when tossed to and fro in the tempest of popular contests, forced thus to run themselves a-ground sometimes, to avoid utter Shipwrack: many have given over their Livings, to enjoy their Liberties, and to preserve a capacity either to get another, or by occasionall preaching to get their bread. Ecclesiasticall Courts we have none, nor any considerable or competent Judges of our own Cloth and Calling. To Convocations or Synods we are never called, which I conceive might be as usefull and necessary

for the religious *interests of the Nation*, as *Parlaments* are for the secular and civil, out of which the *Clergy* are wholly excluded, *Bishops* being ejected out of the *House of Peers*, where they sate so many hundreds of yeares, yea, ever since there was such a great Council in the *Nation*, and long before there was any *House of Commons*. Neither *Presbyterian* nor *Independent* Ministers are admittable, (how-ever they have either renounced their *Clericall Order*, or Metamorphosed themselves both in apparel and in principles to a *Laick forme*.) Other men, though they ordinarily preach, yet may be chosen as *Members of the House of Commons*, and sit there; onely professed *Preachers*, though not in Orders, may not. So that in neither *House* the *Clergy* or *Ministry* (now) have any other *Proxies*, *Deputies*, *Representees* or *Patrons*, than such as the meanest *Mechanicks* or *Trades-men* have, no nor so much; for these may have of their own Art and Calling there, to assert their Rights, which Ministers have not, as any *spirituall Corporation* or *Fraternity*, not so much as the meanest *Burgesse Towne* or civil *Corporation*. Nothing is left the *Clergy* but a *Lay-Committee* for Religion; which may in time be as great an injury and a grievance to the true Religion, as any they sit to *inquire of*; while all the *Concernments* of the *Church*, all matters *Ecclesiastick*, all the *Doctrine* and manners of the *Clergy*, all that concerne the *Preservation* or *Reformation of Religion*, all disputes and determination of controversies, yea and of cases of *Conscience*, all settling and asserting of true *Doctrine*, all *confutation* of dangerous errors, all *Antidotes* against the poysons and infections of Religion, all direction for the *decency of Gods* publick worship, for administration of holy *Mysteries*, for *Ordination of Ministers*, for execution of *Church-Order* and *Discipline*, all the *Liberties* and *Livelihoods* of Ministers, must be wholly left either to the *Learning*, *Religion* and *Discretion* of some plaine *Country Gentlemen*, who (God knowes) are most-what but very superficially studied in these cases, being better skill'd in hawks and hounds, in their *oves* and *boves*, than in the deep studies or points of *Divinity*; nay tis well with many of them if they have not forgot their first *Catechize* and principles of Religion: or else the *Clergies* concernments must fall under the judgement of *Lawyers*, who finding no worldly profit to come by their *Pleadings* for Religion, do not much mind them, or enable themselves for them: or they must be exposed to the piety of *Physitians*, which was never thought very intense, nor much in the *Rode of their practise*: or the cases of Ministers must fall under the *tender-heartednesse* of *Souldiers*, who are more skilled in *Swords* than *Bookes*, in *Military* than *Ecclesiasticall Discipline*; men of blood, as *David* himself, are not fit to build *Temples* or *Churches*, as God tels him: or at last the affaires of Ministers must be referred either to the *formall gravity* of some *solemn Citizens*, whose *Shops* and *Counting-houses* have been their most constant and profitable studies; or to the *pragmatick activity* of some *confident Mechanicks*, who whetting each other by their disputes and janglings, are every where

where ambitious to be as thornes in the *flesh* and goades in the sides of poor Ministers, lest they should be lifted up *above measure*. To the mercy of some of *which* sharp censurs had the *Ministers* of *England* been (sometime) *left*, they had not left one *Minister* in his *Living*, nor one *Church-Living* in *England* for a Minister. But God then hampered them in their strange Vagaries, preserving still some Remains of this Church and its Clergy from being wholly *left* like *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*.

And indeed, who almost is there of any profession never so sober, that *ingenuously* now or at any time *sympathizeth* with either *Scholars* or *Ministers*? who is there that by a *native* (as *St. Paul* saith) *Phil. 2. 201* and genuine affection careth for their *affaires*? All seek their own Profit, Honor, Pleasure. Any of them may invade the *place* and *office* of a *Minister*, if they list. Few are *scrupulous* to pinch or deprive Ministers of their *profits*: none expects any great good from them, but rather *unwelcome* reproofes and *censures*, according as every *Minister* is either *severe*, or *supercilious* and *cholerick*, setting up his *small Tribunall*, and exercising his *Discipline* as he fancies best, scaring *silly men* and *women* sometime with the thunder-bolts of his *Excommunications*, *Examinations* and *Suspensions*; that generally all people are jealous of Ministers peartnesse and ambition, which aime to rule them with a Rod of Iron, when they have but the Scepter of a Reed in their hand.

Hence is it that most Gentlemen, Noblemen, Yeomen and Artizans, not onely do not much care for *Ministers* that are weighty and steady, but they generally look *askint* on them, and are afraid of them, as their Tetricall Reprovers and Moroser Monitors. In all respects all men are now tempted to despise them, as made every way *inferiour* to all sorts of men, of small gaines and uncertaine Estates, of no publik power, honor or *influence*; not worthy to be adopted to any *friendship*, nor to be feared for any *distance* and *enmity*; persons most safely to be *injured* of any men, having nothing to revenge or right *themselves* with but their sad *lookes* and *sharp tongues* a generation of men rather filled as with *wind*, and swoln with their own airy *speculations*, than any way *considerable* for solid sufficiency and *usefull worth*: yea, by very many and most illiterate persons, all Ministers are esteemed no other than their *Leeches*, *Hangbys* and *Dependants*, whom grudgingly they entertaine rather out of *formality* than conscience, out of *policy* more than *piety*. Persons of some *literature* and *ingenuous breeding* have (many times) secret *emulations* and *rivalries* against their Ministers, judging themselves not onely the better men in all other respects, but the better *Scholars* too, as it oft falls out now; so that they think it time lost to heare their Ministers preach, because they find them do it with little study or dexterity, and with lesse Authority.

The meanest, poorest and plainest sort of people expect neither much good nor hurt by any *Minister*, whom they see every where reduced to such a *tenuity* and *minority*, that there is no spark of *Majesty*,
or

or beam of *Magistracy* among them, since the ancient and honourable Chairs of the Bishops of *England* have been turned into Joint-stools, and their Jurisdictions or Courts, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, resolved into Lay-Committees. This blessing hath the Clergy of *England* gained, since Ministers affected to ride on Scotch saddles and Galloway-Naggs; which was once made an *Article* of accusation against Bishop *Farrar*, in *Queen Elizabeths third year*, as a diminishing of his Episcopal dignity.

Thus desolate, dejected and despised is the condition of the Clergy now in *England*, both in storms and in calms, ever since they have been beaten from, and denied Anchorage in, the fair Haven of *Episcopacy*, which ever was and ever will be the *safest and best harbour*, both for *Religion*, this *Church* and its *Clergy*. For no men will regard those Ministers who help to make themselves undervalued: Who will care to provide for or protect them, that cast off so fair a portion of *Estate*, and noble a proportion of honour, as the Laws of this Land had given them under the *Episcopal covering*? Whither now shall poor Ministers fly, unless they fly from their despised and distressed calling to some more easie, quiet and beneficial *Mechanick profession*; unless they renounce their former *Orders*, and take up a new standing, either upon their own tip-toes, or some Mole-hill which the Ants of the people have cast up: neither of which stations is either firm or comely.

The vulgar favour is too flat, dull and shallow, for any man of *Learning, Worth and Wisdom* to lanch into; he will presently be a-ground: for popular respect riseth to no higher a pitch than they see men have some publick influence of favour, estate or power. Go to the Palaces of such as are Princes, and think themselves great persons, their Courts and Families are commonly full of deep and rough, rapid and dangerous motions: the courtesie of country-Justices and true Committee-men is very various, much as the Wind and Tide are either with or against the poor Clergy.

Where are there then any proper *Advocates* and *Judges*, or any competent *Censors* and *Supports* of the Clergy, becoming men of Learning and Worth, beyond the ordinary rate of most men? Whom have they of their cloth and calling that is in any eminency of Place, Power or Honour, who might by their favour defend a poor Minister as with a shield, so as worthy Bishops did: without whom the Ministry in *England* may (I think) despair of ever recovering themselves to any great value or regard, while they are looked upon (even one and all) under a meer plebeian notion and proletary proportion; permitted indeed to marry, and beget children, but to servility, poverty and beggery. Few persons of any Worth or Estate will now either make their sons Ministers, or match their daughters to them, or contract any alliance or friendship with them: since no Clergy-men can be great, they will not be much valued for being good. Thus hath the fall of *Episcopacy*, like a great and goodly Oake, crushed all the Under-wood of the Clergy; which was safe while those defenatives stood

stood in our *Druina*: nor have those escaped the brush and crush who were most industrious to sell it. On all hands the honour of the Clergy is never like to revive in this *Nation*, till something like primitive and authoritative *Episcopacy* be either replanted or restored; the Spirit of the *Nation* being such, that it cannot be governed but by those that have some publick *eminency* and *real lustre* upon them, either as to *military power*, or *civil honour*, or *religious presidency*, set off with the ampleness of some *estate*, and the authority of some fitting *jurisdiction*. As *Augustus* said to the Egyptians when they desired him to visit their God *Apis*, *I worship Gods, not Oxen*; so do the most people of *Engl.* in their hearts *reply* to all Presbyterian & Independent Ministers, who seek to winne them to worship their ways, We were wonted to *venerate* grave and honourable Bishops, not every petty Presbyter or Preacher, as our *chief Church-governours*, according to the custom and manner of all good Christians in all ancient Churches, and in this of *England*, ever since *Ioseph of Arimathea* or *Simon Zelotes* converted us, ever since *K. Lucius* was baptized, and the British Church had the honour of Primogeniture to any National Church in the World; ever since either *Palladius* in *Scotland*, or *Patricius* in *Ireland*, or the latter *Austin* in *England*, by the mission and commission of the devout *Gregory* the Great, either restored or planted *Christian Religion* and Bishops in *England*; the shortest of which Terms or *Epoches* is now above a thousand years: In all which time *England* hath been famous for nothing so much as for the great regard *this Nation* had (till of late years) both to *Christian Religion* and to the *Clergy*, which never till now were made to live without the *crowns* and *coronets* of their worthy Bishops in every Diocese, which were the coverings of power and honour upon the heads of all the *Clergy*; to whom the access of a *poor Minister* was short and easie, his hearing speedy, his tryal legal and rational, his dispatch without delays, his dismissal fatherly, and his submission filial and comely: insomuch that peaceable and good Ministers were never more blest, than when they had the sight of their *worthy Bishop* or *Diocesan*, who did not onely as a good *Shepherd* oversee and rule them, but tooke care to *feed* and *defend* them, with Order, Plenty, Peace and publick Honour; blessings of so great price in our mortal pilgrimage, that they had need be very *pretious Liberties* indeed that are to be purchased by parting with them, or exchanging them for the dry Martyrdoms of Poverty, Contempt and daily Confusion.

*Deos, non Ba-
ves, veneror.*

*Britannica
primogenita
Ecclesia.*

CHAP. XXII.

A fourth plea
for Episcopacy,
from their
true Piety and
orderly Policy.



IN the last place, I do with the more courage and confidence recommend the cause of *Venerable Episcopacy* to my *honored Countrymen*, because no Nation or Church under heaven ever had more ample and constant experiences of that *excellent worth* which hath been in their *Bishops*, or of that *excellent use* which hath ever been made of a regular *Episcopacy*, both in respect of true Piety and Orderly Policy.

I know it will at *first dash* with full mouth be here replied, how *many Bishops* have been *superstitious, sottish, luxurious, tyrannous persecutors*, and what not? especially before the Reformation, till their wings were so clipped that they could not be so bad as they would; yet some of them were bad enough.

My answer is, I do not undertake to justify every thing that *every Bishop* hath done in any Age, late or long since: though I am charitably modest to palliate the *shame* or uncomeliness of my *Fathers*, yet I am no *Mercenary Orator* or *venueall Advocate* to plead for their enormities, which are in no men lesse tolerable or expiable. There were (no doubt) among *Bishops*, as well as other men of all sorts, some weak, some wicked; as *Ezekiels figs*, some very good, some very bad: yet take them in the generall view and aspect, even in the darkest times, I am sure they were in *England* ever esteemed and employed both in *Church and State*, as *Primores Regni*, men of the greatest abilities and best repute for Learning, Wisdome, Counsel, Piety, Charity and Hospitality in all the Nation; nor were many of them in those times inferiour by birth and breeding to the greatest *Noblemen* in the Land. I do not censoriously *rifle mens* personall or private actions, but I consider their publick influence and aspect: It sufficeth to my designe, if I demonstrate by *induction* of *many particulars*, that *Episcopacy* is *no enemy to Piety*, no way prejudiciall to Church or State, yea a *maine pillar* to support the welfare of both. Many *Bishops* may have been bad, yet is *Episcopacy* good; as *many Priests* of old were, like *Elies Sons*, vile men, yet was the *Priesthood* *Honorable* and *Sacred*: many *Judges* and *Justices* may be base and corrupt, yet is *Judicature* good; many *Magistrates* unworthy, yet is *Magistracy* an excellent and *necessary Ordinance of God*. He that should sift all the *Presbyters* or Ministers of any sort that have been, or now are, even the greatest zealots *against Bishops and Episcopacy*, I believe he would find among them *drosse* enough; yet must not the Office of *Presbytery*, or the Function of the *Ministry*, be cast off or abhorred. He that shall examine by right Reason, Religion, Conscience and Honor, what some *Princes*, yea some *Parlements*, have been, and done, as to the persons of men, will find they have been neither *Gods*, nor *Angels*, nor *Saints*, nor *Saviours* alwaies, but *poor sinfull men*, of common passions and infirmities; yet

yet is the honor and use of *Soveraigne power* in Princes, and supreme *Counsel* in full and free *Parlements*, of admirable concern to the publick good.

So is it in point of *Episcopacy*; notwithstanding that many *Bishops* were but men, yet some, yea many, nay I hope the most of them (especially since the Reformation) were as *Mortall Angels*, *Faithfull Pastors* and *Venerable Fathers*. There are upon account reckoned up by *Bishop Godwin* and others 1479. *Bishops* in *England* and *Wales*; for above 1100. yeares; of which time some Histories remaine, though *Bishops* were long before; but of these there are some Records both before and since the Reformation. Who will wonder that in so great an harvest, in so large a field, there be found some light, some empty, some blasted eares?

This is certaine, that till these last *tempestuous times*, *Bishops* in *England* had given so ample and constant experiments of their Prudence, Piety, Worth and Usefulness in all Ages and States, for Ecclesiasticall and Civil Affaires, that they did abundantly conciliate and conserve those great measures of *Love*, *Respect*, *Honour* and *Estate*, both publick and private, which their Persons and Function by Law enjoyed: Insomuch that as there were no where to be found better *Bishops*, so no where had they better entertainment, before and since the *Reformation*, while they enjoyed the favour of *Princes* and the love of *Parlements*; who never heretofore listned to the plebeian envy or petulancy of those who sometime petitioned and prated against *Bishops* and *Episcopacy*, as *Diotrephes* did against *St. Iohn*. The Wisdome, Gravity, Piety and Honor of this *Nation* never thought it worthy of them to overthrow so Venerable, so Usefull, so Ancient, so Catholick, so Honorable an Order, meerly to gratifie the peevishnesse, or passion, or revenge, or discontent, or ambition, or envy of *inferiour people* or *inferiour Presbyters*, who were at their best every way, when kept in *compasse* by wise *Bishops*.

No men heretofore, never so much *sty-blown* with faction, could so far prevaile by their insinuations and agitations, as to have any *Vote* passed in *England* against *Episcopacy*: all men of Learning, Gravity and Prudence, for these thousand yeares and more, in *England*, (as in all Christian States) owned and highly revered, as *Episcopacy* in generall, so good *Bishops*, as the chief *Conduits* that had conveyed to them, their *Fore-father* and their *Children*, all *Christian Ministry* and *Ministrations*, all *Christian Mysteries* and *Comforts*, yea *Christianity* and *Christ himself*. Which Spirituall, Divine, Eternall and Inestimable blessings, this, as other Nations and Churches, ever owed, as chiefly to Gods mercy, so *instrumentally* to the hands of *Bishops*, by whose *Ministry* they were taught, by whose *Authority* they had many other *Ministers* duly ordained and sent into the harvest, when it was great, and required many *Labourers*. These in their order assisted, as *Presbyters*, their respective *Bishops* in Teaching and Governing the Church; but without or against their *Bishops* they never acted, upon any account of *Parochiall* or *Congregationall*

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pretentions,

Vid. Gadwin.
Epif. Ang in
Honorio.

pretensions of Ministers *Equality*, or peoples *Immunity* and *Liberty*. Alas, what ground was there for either of these *pretenders* in *England*, when there were no *Parishes* divided (as now they are) till the yeare of Christ 634. when *Honorius* an Archbishop of *Canterbury* began that way, for the more easie and orderly carrying on of Religion among the Country-people, who had now generally received the Christian faith and Baptisme? Till then the *Pagani* or Country-people either repaired to their *Bishops* and his *Clergy* in the Cities and chief Townes where they resided, or they occasionally attended their *Bishops* in their *visitations* of them, or such *Presbyters* as were sent out by the *Bishops* to officiate among them. There was then no *fancy*, nor many hundred yeares after, of any *petty Churches*, either of *Associated Presbyters* or *Independent* people, without, yea against, the *Episcopall Ordination*, *Inspection* and *Jurisdiction*: still *Bishops* and *Episcopacy* were preserved and honored in *England*.

And this not onely by private persons of all ranks and qualities who were considerable for their honesty or Devotion, but by our most admired *Princes*, our noblest *Peers*, our wisest *Parlements*, who did ever keep up the use and honor of *Episcopacy* in *England*: nor did they ever disdain to have *Bishops* their *Assessors* and *Assistants* in *Parlements*, esteeming it a *rustick* and *plebeian temper*, to admit men to publick Counsel and Honors for their *Valour* and *Estates*, and not for their *Learning* and *Religion*; by which all worthy *Bishops* did as much ennoble themselves in all wise mens esteem (if they wanted that of blood and descent, which many of them had) as those who most swelled in the conceit of their great *Ancestors*, who left them great noble *Estates*, but many times ignoble minds, little wits, and lesse *honesty* or *vertue*: which hath been the fate of some who have most puffed against *Episcopacy*, and despised those *Bishops* who were in all *Morall*, *Rationall*, *Religious* and reall *Excellencies* not their equals, but far their betters.

What *Prince* was ever more sage in her Counsel, or more solemn in her *Government*, more advised in her favours and frownes, than our *Augusta*, *Queen Elizabeth*? what *Sovereigne* ever more reconciled *Empire* and *Liberty*, or held the balances of Justice more impartially and more prosperously between all *interests* and degrees of men, both in *Church* and *State*, between *Clergy* and *Lairy*, *Nobility* and *Communalty*, for neer half an hundred yeares? In all which time she had no greater blemish, than her yielding sometime too much to the *sacrilegious importunities* of *begging Courtiers*, who terribly fleeced, and sometimes *slayed*, the *Estates* of some *Bishopricks* in *England* and *Wales*; not so much out of her malice or covetousness, as out of her mistaken *munificence*. For never any *Prince* did more really, religiously and constantly honor her *Bishops* as *Fathers in God*: one of whom She had for her *God-Father*, namely Archbishop *Cranmer*; another (I think it was Archbishop *Whitgift*) she called her *black Husband*; most what preferring such men to be *Bishops* as were worthiest of her favour, fittest for *Gods*, the *Churches*, and her

her Majesties service. Did this wise *Princesse* ever listen to the insinuations, pretentions, petitions and charmes of those men in her daies, who so much importuned and molested the publick peace and patience by their despite against *Episcopacy*, and their scurrility against *Bishops*? Some of them (possibly) might be well-meaning men; but I take the best of them to have been *popular* and *superstitious* in this point, others very pragmatick and juvenile: none of them were any great *Polititians*, while they would either have no *Church-Government* with any *Eminency*, or wholly reduce it to such a parity as they designed for their *ambitions*, which would have made themselves and all the Clergy (as at this day) more *divided* and *despicable*, than ever they could have been *under Bishops*, though *Bishops* had had no more power than an *High-Constable*, or a *Country-Justice*. Besides this, the simplicity of those *zealous* men in those daies who most maligned *Episcopacy*, and *disparaged* the *Church of England*, (having been terribly scared by some *Popish Bishops* in *Queen Maries* daies, whose sad pictures still frightened them in the Book of Martyrs,) did then by their needless Divisions, Distractions, Oppositions and Separations, greatly advance the *Papall interests*, as learned Mr. *Cambden* wisely observes, writing of the contests between *Archbishop Whitgift* and Mr. *Cartwright* with his *Associates*; whose *unhappy Successors* could (we see) never carry on their designs now at last, but with the *infinite* troubles & miseries of this *Church and State*; by which they have advanced their *Presbytery* in *England* so little, so not at all, that never any men got so little, or lost so much, by so *dear a bargain*, which cost not onely much *money*, but much *blood*, many *lives*, many *soules* and many *sins*.

Cambdens
Elizabeth on
Dr. Whitgift:
Dum Præsidum
convenientiâ &
Novatorum
perinaciâ
Schismata orie-
bratur; glauden-
tibus interim
Pontificiis,
multo quæ in
suas partes per-
trahuntur,
quasi nulla esset
Ecclesiæ Angli-
cane unitas,
nulla uniformi-
tas.

After this renowned *Queen* had left *Episcopacy* not onely standing, but fixed and flourishing in *England*, to the content and happiness of the most and best of her Subjects, in *Court* and *Country*, in *Parlaments* and out of them, *King James* succeeded as supreme Governour in Church and State.

What *Christian King* was ever crowned with more learning, and a larger heart in all Knowledge, Divine and Humane, Ecclesiastical and Civil? This *Prince* had been nursed with the milk of *Presbytery*, he had been long dipped and dyed in *Presbytery*; if any, sure this *King* might have seen, at least fancied, the beauty that *Presbytery* added either to the *Reformed Religion*, or the *Imperial purple*: His education by *Buchanan*, and his castigations by Mr. *Knox* and others, might in all probability have much devoted him to *Presbytery*, and prejudiced him against *Episcopacy*; of which I believe he seldomer heard one good word, than he did Faction, Treason and Rebellion, from those warmer *Presbyters*, who, as his *swadling-clouts*, so straitly wrapped him up in his *minority*, that he could hardly fetch his breath with freedom, yea, and in his *majority* too, when they made themselves as his *chains* and *fetters*, to bind *Princes*, as *all men*, to their good behaviour. Yet notwithstanding these *Presbyterian Prepossessions* for so many

years, did not this great Monarch heartily rejoyce, when he came to a Church handsomely and honourably governed by learned, grave, orderly and venerable Bishops? (the onely Catholick Government of all Churches, of which he had read so much, and so much good in the Ecclesiastical Histories, and nothing of any other) Was it not an infinite content to him, to see himself freed from the vexatious Thistles and provoking Thornes of some Presbyterians in Scotland, (for others were grave and modest men) that he might enjoy the fair and sweet Roses of Sharon, such Bishops as had ever been the chiefeſt flowers in the Garden of Christs Church? Was he ever satisfied, untill he had reduced the Kirk of Scotland from some Presbyterian extravagancies, to such Episcopal Order and Constancy as was indeed very excellent, and neereſt to the primitive pattern of paternall Presidency, fraternal Assistance and filial Submission? (But few people are ever so happy as to know and value their own happineſs.)

When this great work was done, of restoring Episcopacy to so ancient a Church as Scotland was, and confirming it in England, contrary to the vain hopes, childish presumptions, and self-flatteries of some popular men, who could never with reason expect that so learned and wise a Prince as K. James would exchange the Ark of God for Dagon, Episcopacy for Presbytery; did he not as seriously triumph in the blessed alteration of his Ecclesiastical Station, as he did to remove his habitation from, and extend his dominion beyond, that Hyperborean horror of Scotland, to this Southern sweetneſſe and amany of England?

These things thus well ſetled as to the Order and Honour of the Church of Christ in his Dominions, although this King were a Prince of most profuſe, and indeed prodigious, munificence, (thinking no Epithet became a King leſſe (as Tully ſayes of Deiotarus) than that of homo frugi, thrifty or illiberall) yet did he never incline to devour the Churches patrimony, to keep the Episcopall Seates vacant, that he might enjoy the Revenues. He once refused the offer of Cathedral Lands, which some had projected as very ſeiſable, because (as a grave Bishop then suggested to him) God was twice every day publickly and ſolemnly worſhipped in every Cathedral, and his Majesty there publickly prayed for in his greateſt neceſſities: whatever hunger ſeiſed his royall appetite in the (Babiquia) ſharpeſt famine of his Exchequer, yet he never, waking or ſleeping, thought of Conſiſcating Church-Lands, or making Bishops to be ſuperſtitious, or ſuperfluous in the Church, because his condition was neceſſitous. No, whatever failings as a man that Prince had, yet, as a King and a Christian, he had this juſtice and generoſity, to preſerve the honor of Bishops, and the Rights of the Clergy. Indeed, as he was the greateſt Scholar of a King in all the world, ſo he was as great a patron of good Scholars as the world had. Nor will thoſe that have moſt quarrelled the Memory and Reigne of King James, eaſily mend the condition of Church or State; which he left in Peace, Plenty and ſafety. Nor was it ſo much policy or reaſon of State, as ſtrength of true Reaſon, and the prevalencies of true Religion, which ſo counterbiassed that
Kings

Orat. pro Deiot.
Rege.

Bishop Andrews;

Kings judgement against Presbytery, as a partial and popular novelty, or confirmed him in Episcopacy, as an Apostolick and Catholick Antiquity; between which he thought there was no more compare as to Church-Government, than there is between the Majesty of goodly Lions and the subtilty of little Foxes.

After this great pattern of *King James*, (whose learned arguments were more prevalent than his arms in Religion) followed his *unfortunate Son*, the last King, who amidst all his reproches and *improsperities* cannot be denied this Honour, that he seemed not inferior to any King that ever lived in his regard to the Churches ancient Order, Estate and Honour: although few Princes ever sustained greater difficulties and necessities as to his Estate, yet never any had greater Antipathies against what he thought *Sacriledge*, nor a less longing to tast of the Priests portion; which he esteemed sacred, because it was Gods, dedicated to him, and so vested in him both by Law and Conscience, by true Divinity and just Humanity, that he judged no power on earth could, without manifest sin and robbery, alienate it from God and his Church. This made him so zealous not onely to preserve Bishops, upon his Fathers principles, but their Rights and Estates also, because he thought them to be Gods and his Churches; to maintaine whose right he remembred himself to have sworne in the first place at his Coronation, and so was no lesse bound to them than to the rest of the people, as to their civil Properties, Lawes and Priviledges. Certainly, however some have denyed this King the Title of *Pater Patria*, yet he seemes to have deserved that of *Filius Ecclesie*, both *Alumnus* and *Patronus*, of which he appeared more ambitious than of any earthly glory, or Kingdom, or Life.

For whence, I beseech you before God, Angels and Men, do you think arose that his Princely and Christian pertinacy, even to the death, in the point of Episcopacy and Church-Lands? *Henry the Fourth of France* could change the whole scene of his Religion from the Reformed to the Roman, meerly upon reasons of State, dispensing with conscience to preserve his Kingdom and his shortliv'd greatnesse; yet is he cryed up for *Henry le Grand*: how much greater is that King to be esteemed, whose consciencious constancy (which some counted obstinacy) lessened him to nothing, when to the very last he maintained those sharp Agonies, Contests and Disputes he had as to the interests of the Church and Episcopacy, which he counted his greatest concerns as to Religion, Justice and Honor? How did he encounter Mr. *Henderson*, Mr. *Marshall*, and others, upon this point chiefly? how indeed did he confound them by Scripturall grounds, by Ecclesiasticall precedents, by Catholick consent, by the sacred, venerable and unanswerable custome of all Churches till his daies? What answers, what offers of moderation and conciliation did he make as to this point of Church-Government, to the admiration, yea astonishment of his Antagonists? Although as to Military successes and Civil concessions, he yielded much to an over-powering power; yet as to this rock of Ecclesiasticall affaires, like

like the Ark upon mountaines of *Ararat*, where he rested there he fixed, there he continued rooted, unmoveable, invincible, chusing rather to be dashed in pieces than to renounce his *principles*, or to move contrary to those *conscientious perswasions*, for which he thought he had such cleare and valid grounds, such ancient prescriptions, such constant presumptions, that he thought *nothing* in Religion could be safe or certaine, if in this *point of Church-Government* the *Catholick Church* were not to be believed or imitated in *Episcopacy*.

Good God ! whence should it be that a *Prince* so knowing, so sensible of his dangers, when he saw the *Presbyterian proposalls*, power and *interests* so pressing upon him, (for *Independency*, that little stone, was not then cut out of the *Mountains*) whence had so great a *restivenesse* and obstinacy seised upon so great a *Prince*, in a posture of so great *storms* and danger ? which would in all likelihood at first have been *appeased*, if he would have cast this *Jonas*, *Episcopacy*, overboard, and swallowed the Church-Lands into the *Sea* of the *Exchequer*. He that could, as to civil and Regall *concernments*, much deny himself, why should he chuse, upon the *Churches account*, to suffer so long a war, so many wounds, so tedious prisons, so sad *Tragedies* living and dying ? For however differences at last were *inflamed* upon other accounts in the procedure of the war (which necessarily multiplies offences on the *conquered party*) yet certainly the maine purpose and motion, first of the *Scots*, and then of the *English Presbyterians*, was this, Destroy the *Temples* of *Episcopacy*, and set up the *Synagogues* of *Presbytery*. Which any *politick Prince* would speedily have done, at least when he saw so terrible a *tempest* in present pressing upon him, yea and prevailing against him. What *Prince* was ever so in love with any *Bishops* or any Church-men, as to love them better than himself ? which in Reason he could not, and in Religion he ought not todo, nor would certainly have done so far as he did, if he had not had such perswasions deeply rooted in his *conscience*, of a justice, gratitude and duty he owed to God, to his Saviour, and to the Church, more than to the *persons* of a few *Clergy-men* ; which he solemnly avowed, as in Gods presence, to Mr. Marshall of *Finchfield* in *Essex*, after a long conference at *Newcastle*, as I take it, had with him touching *Episcopacy*, (as Mr. Marshall himself soon after told me) assuring him, and conjuring him to assure others, of his Majesties *uprightnesse* and *resolvednesse* in this point of *Episcopacy*, as to matter of *Conscience*, and not of State or Policy : else, in point of secular advantages, his own peace and preservation, the publick tranquillity, the increafe of his revenue by the *Confiscation* of *Bishops* and *Cathedral-Lands*, would have amounted to much more benefit than ever he or his could expect from a few *Bishops*, *Deans* and *Prebends*.

Thus riveted was the Kings *Conscience* to *Episcopacy*, unable, upon any terms, till convinced not by Arms but Arguments, to consent to the utter *extirpation* of it, although he offered & condescended to many *moderations*, which were from him as much in vain, (for nothing but

root

root and branch would serve) as all the *Extirpators Allegations* to his Majesty against *Episcopacy*, to prove it not to have been the Primitive, Catholick and Apostolick Government of the Church, were in vain: for indeed nothing was produced *new*; all were *trivial* and *thred-bare* arguments, which had been answered ten times by learned men in this Church, and had for ever silenced all sober and modest men, if they had had so great regard to the *Churches Catholick and constant Testimony*, or to the *Scripture-rule and Apostolick pattern*, as indeed they should have had.

Besides this *insuperable difficulty*, fortifying *Episcopacy* in his *Conscience*, his Majesty no doubt had *prejudices* enough against *Presbytery*, as to its *novelty*, its first violent *intrusion*, his Fathers *vexation*, its now armed *obtrusion* upon himself, a *Sovereign Prince* and chief Governour of Church as well as State: to these were added all the former *Troubles and Tragedies* in *Scotland*, by the *scufflings* of *Presbytery* against *Episcopacy*; besides, he saw the destroyers of *Episcopacy* already divided among themselves, neither *Presbytery* nor *Independency* could agree whose the *child should be*; yea, he lived to see *Presbytery*, when it had been set up in the House of God, *saln*, like *Dagon*, with its hands and head broken off, before the *captive Ark* of *Episcopacy*. Mean while *His Majesty*, and all the World at home and abroad, saw the miserable *Distractions, Confusions, Luxations and Licentiousnesse* which brake in daily upon this Church for want of that vigor and authority of *Episcopacy*, which had been the great defense, under God, the King and the Laws, against those *foul and filthy inundations*.

A state of *Church-religion* and *Reformation* which his Majesty saw was at present, and was ever likely to be, far distant from that which was enjoyed in *England* under his *Princely Predecessors*, and in some part of his own reign, when *England* was filled and overflowed with good Christians, good Scholars, good Presbyters and good Bishops; of which *order England* ever afforded, and specially since the *Reformation*, so many learned and commendable, yea some rare and admirable instances: Insomuch that this Church had cause to envie none in the World, ancient or modern, as for other things, so for this, the blessing of *excellent Bishops*, as well as orderly *Presbyters* and sincere *Christians*.

Indeed no Nation for many *Ages* (if we may feel the temper of any people by the *pulse of their Parlements*) either had more cause, or seemed to have more disposition to value, and actually did *venerate*, its excellent Bishops, than *England* did: yea, I have known those *Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers* and other people, who were, as to some *Ceremonies*, less satisfied or more *scrupulous* than the Church and State was, yet these men how have they commended, how courted, how almost adored such Bishops as they thought godly and grave, good Preachers and good Livers, as well as good *Governours*: But as to the general sense and vote of the *Nation*, which was audible and legible in its *Laws and Constitutions* for above a thousand

thousand years, it ever did it tell this honour, and its *Clergy* this justice, that no where in any Christian or Reformed Church *Bishops* were more ample, more remarkable, more revered, more honoured, even to the highest honour of Peerage; yea the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* had place next the Royal Blood, never diminished or degraded by any Prince, or by any Parliament in any Age.

Nor is it the least of the Riddles of *Providence*, how Bishops and Episcopacy, having so resolute a Prince, and so great a King to be their patron and protector, should now in *England* fall under so great diminution, dejection, yea utter destruction; considering that there never had been worthier Bishops in any time of the Church, than have been in *England* this last Century; nor in any part of that Century were there more excellent Bishops, than were to be found among them at that very time when all their Palaces, with Episcopacy, were pull'd down about their ears, and the best of them buried in the dust and rubbish: by which some men hope that the Names, Merits and Memories of all Bishops, and the ancient honour of Episcopacy, shall be forever smothered in obscurity or obloquie, in scorn or oblivion; whose Resurrection, Reputation and Eternity, as to their deserved honour, and to the publick honour of this Church and Nation ever since it was Christian, and ceased to be either barbarous or unbelieving, I do here endeavour; which if I cannot recover to life, yet I have brought these pounds of Spice and sweet Odours for the Entrement, and leave a fair Inscription or Epitaph upon the Grave-stone or Monument of Episcopacy, if it must be ever buried in *England*: an Office of Piety in a Son to his Fathers, being my self a Person every way as free from suspicion of flattery or partiality, as can well be found, never either injured or obliged by any Bishop, as to any publick advantages, further than my Ordination as a Minister; which I count a great and holy Obligation, because by no other hands, I conceive, I could have lawfully received Holy Orders in the Church of *England*.

Free therefore from all biasings either for against the Episcopal Order, which hath now no sinister temptations attending it, I do affirm that Episcopacy could never have fallen into its terrible Fits and Convulsions, into such excessive and mortal Agonies in a worse time, as to the undeserved ruine of so many worthy men; nor yet in a better time, as to the eminent worth of those Bishops, and other Church-men of their subordination, who might well have born up the Cause and Honour, as well as the weight of the Contest and Ruine of Episcopacy. A wise man would wonder how in a full, free and fair hearing, before competent, complete and impartial Judges, it was possible for Episcopacy (which was founded and supported by so strong foundations and supports; to which all Churches, all People, all Presbyters, all Princes, all right Reason, all due Order, all politick Honour, all Scriptural Patterns and Divine Precedents gave concurrent ayds, besides the Laws and ancient Customs of this Church and State) how it should suffer such a rout and reprobation, (in
stead

stead of due *Reformation* where ought was amiss,) when it was able to bring forth such *Armies* at that time in *England* of learned, grave, godly, venerable and incomparable *Clergy-men*, *Bishops* and others of their perswasion, which like so many *Heroes* and *Atlases* were capable to have born up the *falling skie*, if it had not been over-charged with the Sins of the Nation. Doubtless the whole world did not afford in any *National Church* more excellent *Bishops*, or more able *Divines* for any *Ecclesiastical Convocation*, *Synod* or *Council* : singly they were mighty men both of *Stature*, *Vertue* and *Valour*, higher by head and shoulders than most of the *Presbyterian Champions* ; but socially they had been invincible, if they had not been encountred with the *sword*, which regarded not the greatness of their *Learning*, or the soundness of their *Judgements*, or the gravity of their *Ages*, or the sanctity of their *Lives*, but jealous of their firmness to *Episcopacy*, presently set up a new *Assembly*, no way representing, because not chosen by, the *Clergy* of *England*, according to the wonted custom, in which the *Clergy* of *England* had their *priviledges* as well as the *Commons* of *England*, to chuse their *Deputies*, according to Law and the *Kings Commission* : yet these were to do the *Journey-work* of *Presbytery* as well as they could in *broken times*, undertaking to *Directorize*, to *Unliturgize*, to *Catechize*, and to *Disciplinize* their Brethren, their Fathers, their Countrymen and their Sovereign without any *contradiction* ; there being none among them that either would, or could, or dared to *plead the cause of primitive Episcopacy*, which had so resolute a *patron*, and so many able *defenders* at that time in *England*, as among the *inferiour Clergy*, so among those of the *Episcopal Degree*.

Among whom we have onely to excuse the indiscretions, frailties ; defects or excesses of two or three later *Bishops*, (who possibly forgot the Counsel of *Phœbus*, to use lesse *stimulations*, and more *restrictions*.) Do but consider with compassion the great *temptations* of these *Bishops*, by that favour, place and power they had, besides their *native tempers*, which might be too quick and *passionate*, also the *Scholastick privacy* and bluntness of their education, not having taught them so well to *dissemble*, at least not to *moderate* their passions ; take all together, it may be their *greatest enemies* in their place, posture and provocations, would not have been much more *moderate* and *calme* than they were.

But let these *Bishops* passe, who, as the *highest trees*, have suffered first and most the *battery* of the storms raised against *Bishops*. These few were abundantly *counterpoised* by those many other *Bishops*, both in former and later dayes, whose worth and abilities every way were such, that it is hard to find any of their *adversaries* in all things equall to them, nor could they have stood before them in the *combate*, if no weapons but bookes and *arguments* had been used : certainly some one *Bishop* had been able to have chased an *hundred Presbyters*, these last being seconded by none of the *ancients*, the first having all *antiquity* on his side.

Tis true, I well know, that many of the *Presbyterian* party were men of very *fleet pace*, of *woluble tongues*, *pregnant parts* and *plausible appearances*, which did very well while they kept their ranks and stations, but yet (under favour) they did not any of them attaine to the *first three*. There were many pounds, yea talents difference, between a *spruce Lecturer*, or a *popular Preacher*, and a *well-studied Bishop*, whose great Learning and Experience had made him every way grave and complete : there was as great a distance between some *Bishops* sufficiencies, and the ablest *Antiepiscopall Presbyterian* that ever I knew, as there was between their *honors* and *revenues*. Take them in all latitudes, for writing, speaking and doing; that I say nothing of their *prudentials* in governing, wherein *Bishops* drove the Chariot *tolerably well* at all times, sometimes very well, during a thousand yeares and more in *England* and *Wales*. But the *Presbyterian wisdom* and *Policy* hath not onely overthrown others, but themselves too in a few yeares, together with the unity, order and honor of this Nationall Church.

Yea, as to that part of a *Clergy-man*, which is not more popular and plausible than profitable and commendable, when well performed, I meane *preaching*, no *Presbyterians* exceeded the *Episcopall Clergy*, or some *Bishops*, in this particular; if they preached oftner, yet not better; no nor oftner, considering the Age and infirmities of body which might attend some *Bishops*. Nothing was beyond the thunders and lightnings sometime, or the *gentle raines* and *softer dewes* otherwhile, which distilled from the *Tongues* of Learned, Godly and Eloquent *Bishops*. How oft have I heard them with equall profit and pleasure? Such apples of Gold in pictures of silver, such wholesome fruit in faire dishes, were their sermons, many of which have been printed, and many hundred more never published. Doubtless none of the *Primitive Bishops* and Fathers went beyond ours in *England*, if we may judge of their *Preaching* by those short and most-what *plaine Homilies* or Sermons which we read : Few of which were preached before great *Princes* and their *Courts*, as ours oft were, whose Court-sermons, since *Queen Elizabeth* began to Reigne, if they could be collected together, I doubt not but they would be one of the richest *Mines* or *Magazines* of *Learning*, *Piety*, *Prudence* and *Eloquence* in the world. For those Sermons, both for the present *Majesty* of the Prince, for the *curiosity* of the *Auditory*, and for the *abilities* of the Orator, were the *Quintessence* or *Spirits* of many sermons and much study, commonly as much beyond *ordinary preachments*, as *orientall pearles* are beyond the *Scotch Pallors* of those *Jewels*. Not but that it is the commendation of ordinary *Ministers* to preach *plainly*, yet *powerfully*, to ordinary hearers, so as may most profit them. For he is the best *Archer*, not who shootes highest or furthest, but neereft and surest as to that mark at which he is to aime, which in preaching must be the saving of soules, not pleasing mens eares. Nor did the others preach lesse honestly or usefully, because more elaborately, at Court, considering the *(παύσιμα) nauseous wantonnesse*

wantonnesse, of most Courtiers, and their curious expectation, who needed as much as they expected, sermons that favoured, not onely of the Lips and Lungs, but of the heart and head too. For Court-hearers will never get profit unless the Preacher take paines. And Queen Elizabeth very smartly once said, when she heard a warme and earnest, but a very plaine and easie Country-preacher, who was brought to preach before her in her progresse by some of those Courtiers who then seemed to favour the Nonconformists, She that had been wonted to drink strong-waters rarely distilled and compounded of many excellent spirits, which were very cordiall in lesser quantities, did not wel relish any drink that was very smal, though it seemed scalding hot: which is rather a culinary than a celestiall heat in preaching, whose true warmth lies in the weight of the matter, not in the noise or heat of the speaker.

I am not ignorant that some of our later Bishops fell under great obloquy and odium among many people, specially the last Archbishop of Canterbury, who being a man naturally active, quick, rough and cholerick enough, lesse benigne and obliging than was expected from him, had brought upon himself so great a weight of envy, jealousy and disdain, that there was no standing before it: when once he was left to stand by himself, he was easily over-run by a multitude, being but low of stature, of no promising, winning or over-awing presence. As for his politick or civil Demeanours, upon which account he suffered death, I have nothing to do with them in this place, both he and his Judges are to be judged by the Lord.

As to his Religion, I shall afterward expresse my sense whether he were Popish or not.

But first I would a little consider that suddaine cloud which covered the face of many of our brightest Bishops at once, confining them to prisons, who were esteemed persons of great Candor, Prudence and Moderation; yet was their discretion much called into question, when twelve of them were snared and twice committed, most of them to the Tower, for a Remonstrance or Protestation which they made in order to assert their ancient and undoubted priviledge, to sit as Peeres in the House of Lords, to which they had by writs been summoned.

Some State-Criticks thought they forgot what became their yeares, their wisdom, their dependance, and the distempers of the times. My answer is, possibly those goodmen might, through discontent and indignation at the vile and vulgar indignities they suffered, (even a Parliament now sitting, of which they were Members) pen the form of their intended plea lesse conveniently; passion being an ill Counsellour or dictator to the wisest men: yet, I believe, few of their severest censurers would have been more cautious in their expressions, if they had been under the like tumultuary terrors and insolencies, which, repeated and unremedied, were capable to provoke men of very meek spirits and mortified passions to speak or write unadvisedly, as Moses himself did in a case of lesse personall provocation than at other times

About the
year 1375:

he had given him from the *petulancy of people*. Nothing scares sober men more than to be destroyed by *vermine*, as that brave man *Simon of Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was, whom the *rabble* at seven or eight blowes hacked in pieces. A valiant man will not cry out for assistance when he is to encounter with his match; but if many *beasts of the people* unprovoked run upon him, he may without cowardise call for succour where he thinks it may be had. Such was the case of *those Bishops* at that time, when they not onely fancied, but actually found, promiscuous and rude heapes of people, not onely threatening, but offering indignities to their *persons* as well as to their *place* and *function*; through whose sides they saw the malice and insolency of such *Riotous Reformers* sought to strike at the whole *frame* and constitution of the *Church of England*, which they, as all good men, had great cause to value more than their lives, if they might lay them down in an orderly & deliberate way, not in a *tumultuary* and confused fashion. Whatever *miscarriage* those *Bishops* were guilty of in that particular, yet I am sure it was somewhat excusable by the greater *Misdemeanor* of those who gave them occasion so to complaine: Nor doth it any way blemish that excellency which in their more calme and composed actions they did discover, worthy of themselves and their Predecessors; to whom *Erasmus* long agoe, in *Archbishop Warhams daies*, gave this commendation, that *England of all Churches had learned Bishops*.

*Sola Anglia
doctos habet
Episcopos.
Erasm.*

I will not go beyond the *Reformation of Religion* to find worthy *Bishops* in *England*; it may suffice (here) to register some of the well-known names of them, which possibly the vulgar never heard of, though men of reading and breeding cannot be ignorant of them. What was more gentle, ingenuous and honest-hearted than *Archbishop Cranmer*, whose native facility made him in rough times lesse fixed, till he came to be tyed to the *stake of Martyrdome*? where he took a severe revenge on his inconstancy, by burning his right hand first, but his sincere, though fraile, heart was *unburned* amidst his ashes. What was more *down-right* good than Bishop *Latimer*, who joyed to sacrifice his now *decrepit body* upon so holy an account as the *Truth of Christ*? What was more holy than Bishop *Hooper*, or more resolute than Bishop *Ridley*? What more *severely*, yea *morosely* good than Bishop *Farrar*? All of them *Martyrs* for true *Religion*, by whose fires it was fully refined from the *Romane Idolatry*, dross and superstition. This foundation laid by such gracious and glorious *Martyr-Bishops* in *England*, God was pleased to build a superstructure worthy of it in other most worthy *Bishops*, even to our daies.

Time would faile me to give every one of them their just *Character*. It may suffice to place an *Asterisk* of honor to some of their *names*. What man had more Christian gravity than *Archbishop Parker*? who had more humble piety than *Archbishop Grindall*? who more Christian Candor, Courage and Charity than *Archbishop Whitgift*? who overcame his enemies by wel-doing and patience, deservedly using that triumphant Christian *Motto*, *Vincit qui patitur*. Who had

had more of pious prudence and commendable policy than *Archbishop Bancroft*, who did many Ministers good that never thanked him for it? Who had more of an honorable gravity and all *vertues* than *Archbishop Abbot*? to whom I may joine his brother Bishop of *Salisbury*. All these were as chief of the Fathers, *Metropolitans* of *Canterbury*, *Primates* of all *England*, as to Ecclesiasticall Order and Jurisdiction, according to the ancient pattern of the Church of Christ in all Ages and places. Nor were the *Archbishops* of *Tork* inferiour to them, such as *Sandes*, *Hutton*, *Matthewes* and others; men of great and good spirits, Learned, Industrious, Hospitable, Charitable; good Preachers, good Livers, and good Governours.

After these came those other Bishops, who were equal to them in Gifts, Graces and Episcopal Power, but so far inferior to them in Precedency and some Jurisdiction, as the good Order and Polity of the Church required. No Age or History of the Church can shew in any one Century a more goodly company of Bishops, than here I could reckon up. To omit many that were worthy of honourable remembrance, who had been some of them Confessors and Sufferers, others constant professors of the true reformed Religion; these I may not smother in silence without sacrilege, robbing God of his glory, this Church of its honour, and these Bishops of their deserved praises; most of whose works do yet speak for them, and loudly upbraid the ingratitude of those that cast dead flies of indignities upon such Bishops, whose names are as a pretious Oymment poured out.

What was ever more pretious, more resplendent in any Church, than Bishop *Jewel*, for Learning, for Judgement, for Modesty, for Humility, for all Christian Gifts and Graces? What one or many Presbyters ever deserved so well of this Church and the Reformed Religion, as this one Bishop did, whom God used as a chosen arrow against the face of the enemies of this Church and the Reformed Religion? What man had more of the Majesty of goodnesse and Beauty of holinesse than Bishop *King*? Who was more venerable than Bishop *Cooper*, though much molested by factious and unquiet spirits? Who had more ampleness and compleateness for a good Man, a good Christian, a good Scholar, a good Preacher, a good Bishop, than Bishop *Andrews*, a man of an astonishing excellency both at home and abroad? How shall I sufficiently express the learned and holy Elegance of Bishop *Lake*, whose Sermons are so many rare Gems? or the holy Industry and modest Piety of Bishop *Babington*? Or the Nobleness, by Grace, by Gifts, by Birth and by Life, of Bishop *Montacute*? How acutely profound are the Disputes and Decisions of Bishop *White*? How full of equanimity & moderation was Bishop *Overall*? How clear, compendious and exact was Bishop *Davenant*? How fragrant and florid are the Writings, as was the Life, of Bishop *Field*, whose Labours God did bless with the Dew of Heaven, he long agoe asserting the honour of this Church by an unanswerable Vindication? What can be more beautiful for Learning, Judgement and Integrity than Bishop *Bilson*, whose excellent works if some in England had more studied, they

they had not so easily opposed the perpetual Government of the Church, which he proves to be *Episcopacy*? Was there any man more Saintly than *Bishop Felton*, who had been a good Patron to some Ministers that since have helped to destroy his Order? What could be more devout and thankful to God than *Bishop Carleton*, who hath erected a fair pillar of Gratitude for the remembrance of Gods mercies to this Church and State? How commendable for ever will the learned Industry of *Bishop Godwin* appear to impartial Posterity, who hath with equal fidelity, diligence and eloquence preserved the History of our English Bishops for above a thousand yeares from oblivion? Nothing was beyond the couragious and conscientious freedom of *Bishop Sinhouse*, whose eloquent tongue and honest heart were capable to over-awe a Court, and to make Courtiers modest. Adde to all these the famous *Bishop Hall*, who had in him all that was desirable in an excellent Bishop, for Learning, Meekness, Patience, Peaceableness: his eloquence both in speaking and writing was transcendent, yet the least of his excellencies. Left any rust or soyl should grow upon so great graces and abilities, he was (among other Bishops) polished by the Grindstones and roughnesse of these times; yea, there wanted not to his dying day some men, who gave him a greater lustre by their insolencies. Who had ever more of the Dove and lesse of the Serpent then *Bishop Potter*, a man severely good, and conscientiously, not factiously, scrupulous in some things, but not as to *Episcopacy*? What shall I speak of the Meekness and Tender-heartedness of *Bishop Westfield*, who frequently softned his auditors hearts, not onely with his excellent Sermons, but his unaffected tears? yet was he forc'd among other Bishops to lye down in sorrow, though no doubt he now reaps in joy. Nothing was more mild, modest and humble, yet learned, eloquent and honest, than *Bishop Winniffe*. I conclude this goodly Regiment of Church-colonels, of Ecclesiastical Rulers, of venerable Bishops, with *Bishop Prideaux*, who was a Miscellany or Encyclopaedy of all Learning: after he had by many years diligence honoured the Divinity-professors Chair, and the University of Oxford, together with the Nation, by his vast pains, and was deservedly made a Bishop, (though somewhat too late) he! was at last so squeezed to nothing by the iron hand of our times, that he had nothing left to maintain himself and his children, but dying bequeathed them Piety and Poverty as their Legacy.

See Bishop
Prideaux his
last Legacy.

May we not cry out, as he did of old, *Bone Deus, &c. Blessed God, to what times hast thou reserved us?* what terrors hast thou shewed us? If it be thus done in the fruitful, sound and green trees, what will be done with those that are hollow, barren and rotten, dry, twice dead, and pulled up by the rootes?

All these Heroes of Learning and Religion, these renowned Bishops, the honor of *Episcopacy*, the glory of this Church, the just boasting of this Nation, (together with many others) have, some long since, some of late, dyed in the Lord, and are at rest from the sore Labour and travells they in the evening of their lives met with under

der the *Sun*. Many of them were exhausted, distressed, despised, destroyed, as to all worldly enjoyments; yet not *miserable*, nor so *afflicted* as to be forsaken of God, or despairing of *Gods mercies*, though they found little from man.

Nor is the English world, heretofore so full, so famous, so flourishing with rare *Bishops*, as yet so drained, but there are some *such left* as are worthy to bring on the *Reare*, and close up this *gallant Troop* of gowned *Generals* and mitred *Commanders*. If I might without offence to the Modesty and Gravity of *such Bishops* as are yet living and best known to me, I would tell the erring and *ingratefull Age*, that, as it was said of *Gonsalvo*, whom *Guicciardine* calls the *great Captaine*, an Age is scarce able to breed or match such a *Scholar*, such a *Writer*, such a *Bishop* as *Bishop Morton* is. A most illustrious and *invaluable Jewell*, yet shut up now in a *little box*; a great and rich Vessel driven in his old Age to a *small harbour*, where his safety is *tenuity* and *obscurity*. Nor may I give a lesse tender touch of *Dr. Fuxon*, whose modesty, fidelity and exactness was such, that when he bare the *great envy* of being at once a *Lord Bishop of London* and *Lord Treasurer of England*, yet he never had blame for either of them: his Government as a *Bishop* was *gentle, benigne, paternal*; his managing of the *Treasury* was such, that he served his Prince *faithfully, satisfied all his friends*, and *silenced all his enemies*, of which he had enough as a *Bishop*, though as a man he was so meek and in-offensive, that I think he could contract no *enmities* with any. Some men wished they might have oftner heard *him preach*, and truly I was one of those; not onely because preaching was so much in fashion at *London*, but because that City needed good *preaching*, and was to be much taken by it. Nor could any preacher in my judgement exceed the *Bishop of London*. I confesse I never heard any man with more *pleasure* and *profit*, so much he had of *Paul* and *Apollos*, of a Learned *plainnesse* and a usefull *elaboratenesse*: when he preached of *Mortification*, of *Repentance*, and other Christian *practicks*, he did it with such a *stroke of unaffected eloquence*, of potent *demonstration* and *irresistible conviction*, that few *Agrippa's*, or *Festus's*, or *Felix's* that heard, but must needs for the time and fit be almost *perswaded* to be *penitent* and *mortified Christians*.

I will yet be so modestly and honestly *impudent*, as to mention two or three *Bishops* yet living, not because I know them, but because they are worthy to be known, loved and honored by all good men. Such as *Dr. Duppa* the *Bishop of Salisbury*, a person of singular Prudence and Piety, equally Grave and Good, Learned and Religious, so eminent in many things, that he is worthy to be not onely a *Tutor to a Prince*, but a *Counsellour to a King*, and no lesse to be a *Bishop* in the *Church of Christ*. Next I crave leave to mention *Bishop King*, of whom I need say no more, but that I think him a Son worthy of such a *Father*. I cannot forbear to conclude all with a mighty man, *Dr. Brownrig* Bishop of *Excester*, whose name and presence was once very *Venerable* to many *Ministers*, while they
were

were *orderly Presbyters*; now he is a *dread* and terror to them, since they are become *Presbyterians* or *Independents*, such *Grasshoppers* they seem in their own eyes in comparison of his *puissance*, who so filled the *Doctors Chaire* in *Cambridge*, and the *Pulpit* in place where *he lived*, and had filled his *Diocese*, had he been permitted to do the office of a *Bishop*, that it would have been hard to have *routed Episcopacy*, if he had sooner stood in the gap, being justly esteemed among the *Giantly* or *Chiefest Worthies* of this Age for a *Scholar*, an *Orator*, a *Preacher*, a *Divine*, and a prudent *Governour*; so much mildness there is mixed with *Majesty*, and so much *generosity* with *gentleness*. But I earnestly beg his *Lordships* and the *others pardon*, since the *iniquity of the times* have compelled me thus far to transgress, as to commend such persons yet living, who though most commendable, yet are in nothing more than this, that they are more pleased to deserve, than to heare their just commendation; the best *consciences* being alwaies attended with the most tender, modest and blushing *foreheads*. But I will trespass no further.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Review of
our late En-
glish Bishops.



UNT thus far I have set forth the *worth* of some (I am sure) of our *English Bishops*, even in those dayes which damned them all, that the world may see upon what mens heads the total ruine of *Episcopacy* and all *Cathedral Churches* have saln; how there wanted not many good Bishops then, when worse and harder measure befell them and their Order than since *England* was Christian. Indeed many, yea most of our Bishops were as *Noahs*, *Sems* and *Japhets*; yet have all these been drowned in the *Presbyterian Deluge*. Even these made up the so odious, so unpopular, so decryed Bishops in *England*. The pest and contagion of whose fate as it came first from *Scotland*, (where (no doubt) there were many Bishops of equal vertues, though inferiour revenues, to the worthy and well-known Dr. *Spotswood* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*) so it reached to *Ireland*, where there wanted not Bishops worthy of the fraternity of Bishop *Usher*, Bishop *Bedel* and Bishop *Brambal*, all cruelly persecuted first by *Papists*, and after by *Antipapists* though persons of the highest form for all *excellencies*, yet must all these be destroyed & their whole Order, with the destruction of *Sodom*. Although more than *ten righteous Bishops*, I am sure, were to be found in each of these British Churches, yet all must be *routed*, all *rooted up*, as guilty of the unpardonable sin of *Prelacy*; a new sin, and unheard of in the Church of *Christ*, but now to be put into the black Catalogue of *scandalous sins*, when *Heretic*, *Schism*, *Sacrilege* and *Sedition* must be left out.

These, these and such like Bishops are the men whose fate I passionately pittie; men famous in their generation, either for solid
Preaching,

Preaching, or weighty writing, or grave counselling, or holy living, or prudent governing, or charitable giving (all of them for some, and some of them for all these excellencies.) These are made the most unsound, the most infamous and *superfluous parts of this body politick and Ecclesiastick*; these must be, one and all, represented to vulgar simplicity and scurrility as the *Popes*, the *Antichrists*, the *Bite-sheeps*, the *Oppressors*, the *Tyrants*, the *Greedy and dumb dogs*, the *Cretians*, the *slow-bellies*, the *Devourers*, the *Destroyers* of all godliness and true Religion. These foule glosses, first made by *Martin Mar-prelate* of old against *Episcopacy* and the *Bishops of England*, are now set forth in a new and second edition, with larger notes and exquisite *Commentaries* upon them, intimating that these are the men who have by their Learned, Grave and Godly *Misdemeanours*, as *Bishops*, forfeited (not by any Law, but by absolute will and pleasure, meerly as *Bishops*) all their Houses and Revenues, all their Honors and Preferments, yea their good Name and Reputation, which by Law and desert they had obtained and enjoyed, yea all the Ancient *Dignity*, *Apostolick Authority* and Constant *Succession* of their Place and Function in the Church; which had not more of eminency than of necessity, nor more of necessity than of Primitive and Catholick Antiquity. For the reall faults of some, and the imaginary of other *Bishops* (whose name was their onely crime) must all Ages after them be for ever punished with the want of such *Grave*, *Learned*, *Godly* and *Venerable Bishops*, as have been destroyed, (for better cannot be had or desired:) and posterity must be ever exposed in these British Churches to all those *Factions*, *Fedities*, *Divisions*, *Disorders* and *Confusions*, which follow the want of due Episcopal order and Government in the Church.

‘ But *Bishops (qua tales)* were enemies to the power of Godlinesse: *Obj.*
 ‘ the worst of them and the best of them were men too much
 ‘ devoted to empty formes of Religion; they urged *Ceremonies* so
 ‘ far as to neglect *substances*, straining at gnats and swallowing Ca-
 ‘ mels; they jostled out preaching by *Catechizing*, and over-layed
 ‘ Ministers private prayers by their long *Liturgies*; they did not kin-
 ‘ dle, but quench, damp and resist that spirit of *Zeal* and Reforma-
 ‘ tion which for many years hath burned in the breasts of many god-
 ‘ ly Christians, by whose flammings and refinings at last all *Bishops*, as
 ‘ drosses, with all their ornaments and adherents, have been justly
 ‘ consumed.

I confesse I cannot tell how to answer for all the actions and ex-
 pressions of every *Bishop*; they were of age, and able to have answered
 for themselves, if any of them as offenders of our Lawes had
 been brought to plead for themselves, which not one of them was,
 as to *Ecclesiasticall* matters, that I ever heard of; for the weight of
 the *Archbishops* charge was chiefly upon civil or secular affairs.

Who knowes not that *Bishops* were but men? that if left to
 their private spirits and single Counsels, they might as easily over
 or under-do, as their Adversaries have done, beyond or short of

what becomes wise and good men? The greatest blame that I perceive among any of them, was, that they would injoyne, or exact, or remit any thing as to publick Order, Discipline and Government of the Church, without a joynt agreement and uniformity among themselves, according to what the Law allowed or commanded. This fraternall concurrence and mutuall correspondence had been worthy of Grave, Wise and Learned men: for all private *fancies* obtruded by any one or two *Bishops* in so tender a case as Religion is, and upon so *touchy* a people as the English now are, do but breed variety, this differences, these disputes, these dissentions, these despites, these oppositions, these breed confusions. All the actions and *injunctions*, all the *Articles* and disquisitions of *Bishops* as such, should have been as exactly consonant and *uniforme* as possibly could be.

But as to the *crimination*, That Bishops, like *Hernshaws*, abounded in the wing and feather of Ceremony, but had little substance or body as to the *power of Godlinesse*: First, *Scripture* and *Christs example* reach us, that decent and apt Ceremonies, publick or private, are not in their nature *enemies*, but *helps*, to the *power of Godlinesse*; as putting off all Ornaments, eating the bread of Sorrow, putting on Sackcloth and Ashes, Fasting, Weeping, Smiting the breast, Bowing, Kneeling, Prostrating to the ground, being all night in Solitude and Darkness, lying in the Dust, &c. all these were and are helps to an *humble, broken, contrite, penitent and devout temper of Soul*. Contrary, Company, Wine and Oyle, Singing and Musick, Dancing, Discourse and Laughter, were and are helps to *holy joy and thankful jublations*; so are lifting up the eyes and hands to Heaven, Sighing and Groning, to *fergency of Prayer and Praises*. It is but a rude, affected and fanaticke imagination of *clownish Christians*, that decent Ceremonies of Religion, wisely appointed in any Church, or fitly applied by any private Christian in his private devotions, these cannot stand, but the substance and sincerity of Godliness must fall; that there can be no *forms of Godlinesse*, but the power of it must *vanish* or be *banished*. They may as well imagine, that they cannot put on their *clothes*, or *dresse* themselves handsomely, but they must presently cease to be wise men, or honest men and good women, but must turn either *spetres* or dishonest. Do we not find that many such Christians, who have of later years cast off all the former *decent and wholesome formes* of Godliness, (either by Profaneness, or Preciseness, or Peevishness, or Faction, or Atheism, or Superstition) are most apparently now removed from the *real power of Godlinesse*, which mortifies all inordinate lusts, moderates all passions, brings the thoughts, words and deeds of Christians to the exact conformity of true Holiness, Justice and Charity? Who are more vain babblers and endless janglers, who more unholy, unjust, uncharitable, unmerciful, implacable, immoderate in their passions, presumptions and revenges, than many of those who have most *stript* themselves, as to their Religion, of their clothes and coverings, that they may *pro-*
phesie

phesie with saul quaking and naked, enjoying what immodest and insolent freedoms they list to use and call Christian Liberties and Simplicities ?

Certainly, the *power of Godliness* is most seen, when men having most power in their hand to do good or evil, do chuse the good and refuse the evil. No men were more gracious and spirituall, none did more good, than many of the *Bishops of England* in their prosperity, both publickly and privately ; yea no men have suffered more evil in their adversity with more *silence and patience*. They onely once cryed out, when they durst not go to the *Parlament by Land*, and going by water, they were, with *St. Stephen*, assaulted on the shore with a showre of stones, and could not land with safety of their lives : Since that time, though fleeced and flayed, yet they have *held their peace* under the shearers hands, both singly and socially, as far as ever I have heard or read. It is no great sign of the power of *Godliness*, that men can endure no power, civil or Ecclesiastick, but in their own hands, and think no power is of God which other men lawfully enjoy.

Since *Bishops*, and *Episcopacy*, and *Liturgy*, and *Ceremonies*, and *constant Catechizings*, and *all uniform celebration of Sacraments* are discarded ; since nothing but *Ministers* private breasts and brains must serve the Church, with their formed or informed, constant or extemporary *conceptions*, Praying, and Preaching, and Celebrating ; is the *power of Godliness*, as to true *grace*, or the *fruits of the Spirit*, much advanced ? Is there more constant hearing of sound Doctrine ? Is there more of sober and settled Knowledge ? Is there more Modesty, Humility, Equity, Charity, Obedience, Unity, Proficiency, Patience, Love and Fear of God, or Reverence of Man, or Conscience of Duty to both, than was formerly ? If these Antiepiscopal men (who so much pretend to the bare sword of the Spirit, that they scorn to wear any scabbard of *Form* or *Ceremony*) have with *Saul* utterly destroyed the *Amalekites* of Immorality and Hypocrisie, what means the bleating, crying, complaining, biting and devouring of one another which are among us ? what mean the factions, divisions, envies, animosities among both Ministers and People ? what means the contempt of the Word of God, of all publick Duties, and of the best Ministers, who are most able, most humble, and most constant ? what means the Uncatechisedness, the Sottishness, Profaneness, Impudence and Irreligion which are so much spreading and prevailing ? How many rich and poor people neither have, nor care for, any Preachers at all ? No Sermons, no Prayers, no Catechises, no Sacraments, no Morals, no Civilities almost are left among them. All the Religion of many is resolved into disputing and denying Tithes, into paying their Taxes, into the fear of Souldiers, the Sword and Laws, the Prisons and Gallowes of Men ; lastly, into enjoying what liberties or looseness in Religion they fancy best, as far and as long as they list. But are there, in earnest, generally more or better *Scholars*, or *Ministers*, or *Christians*,

now than there were under *Bishops*? I trow not; scarce the half part for number, & scarce the half part so able for Learning as they were heretofore: as our *Timber* for *great Oaks*, so our *Ministry* in *England* for grave *Divines*, is much wasted. Whatever the matter was and is, I am sure, if it was not the Wisdom and Piety of Bishops, it was the undeserved *Blessing* of God, that made the *power* of *Godlinesse*, in sound Knowledge, Humility, Faith, Repentance, Love of God, Justice and Charity to men, in unity amongst Christians, in good Lives and *good Works*, appear much more to me and others under *Episcopacy*, than ever it hath done since its dissolution. Undoubtedly, true Religion, both as to its profession and power, as Christian and as Reformed, as opposite to *Prophaneness* and to *Popish Superstition*, did, among the generality of the Nation, both *Nobility*, *Gentry* and *Commons*, thrive better when it fed on the *pulps* and *water* (as some esteemed of the *Liturgy*, *good Catechizing*, *sound Preaching*, *frequent Communicating*, and *orderly Governing* under Bishops) than since it hath fed of other *mens dainties*, who left a lean Church and Clergy, while they have been filled with Kings and Bishops portions. The garden of Christs Church was much safer and better among those *Ceremonious Briars* and *Thorns* (as some count them, yet good fences of religious Order and Honour) under *Episcopacy*, than since it hath been laid so open and wilde, without ancient *boundaries* or *defences*. Alas, poor *Ministers* (even all upon the point) have no authority among the Common-people, but what is precarious and despicable, which people contemn, cast and kick off as they list, unless so far as a Soldier may perchance smile upon a Preacher.

Object.

Answ.

But to avoid these just *Ironies* and retorted *Sarcasmes*, the more grave and modest *Antiepiscopall Spirits* do now profess, That their fierce wrath was intended onely against *such Prelates* as were indeed Persecutors, Proud, Idle, Superstitious, Imperious, Luxurious, Court-Compliers and Flatterers, &c. I reply, first as to *persecution*, First, Many Bishops were blamed as too remisse and indulgent by some of their own Order who drove more furiously. Secondly, all were not equally such persecutors in their enemies sense; yet all of them equally complaine of being no lesse persecuted. For their Court-Complying, they had been very ingratfull men, if they had not owned with all loyall respect and service the fountaine of their Honor and Estates; yet good men could not love their King without loving their Country, nor their Country without their King; which all godly and honest Bishops did: if any others did not, why did not Justice separate between the good and the bad, the precious and the vile? Why should good Bishops, yea and good *Episcopacy* it self, suffer? As *Abraham* said to God, *Gen. 18. 25.* so doth God say to every good mans conscience, *Far be it from thee to destroy the righteous with the wicked.* Why should not all *Presbyters*, yea & *Presbytery* it self, as well suffer a finall and totall *extirpation*, (which some men have designed and desired) since (no doubt) there were and now are many, yea as many, nay more for the number, of insufficient preachers

preachers and *unworthy Presbyters*, as there were of *Bishops*; and few, if any of them, so able, so worthy, so well-deserving of the publick, both Church and State, as some *Bishops* were? Why should *Presbytery* be preserved alive, and *Episcopacy*, which is the elder, be flaine? Since *Episcopacy* in all Ages hath preserved *Presbytery*, why should *Presbytery* ingratfully extirpate *Episcopacy*? Was it not because *Episcopacy* was fatter than *Presbytery*, or had a better fleece, and therefore was fitter for a sacrifice? O no; but *Presbytery* (they say) is a *plant of Jesus Christs*, which *Episcopacy* is not; and therefore to be weeded out. Truly, it may as well be said by the *partiall Presbyterian*, that the *seventy Disciples* were of *Jesus Christs* appointment, but the *twelve Apostles* were not; that God created the lesser Stars and Planets, but not the Sun and Moon; that God made people, but not Princes; that he formed the feet and hands, but not the eyes and heads of naturall bodies. This is the great question, which is not to be thus begged or supposed, but should have been solidly proved, before judgement had been so severely passed against *Episcopacy*: we should have seen the time and place, when and where *Episcopacy* usurped, when and where *Presbyters* ruled, in this or any Church, by way of parity, without any *Bishop*, *President* or *Apostle* above them. The constant streame of this *Jordan*, which hath flowed from the first springs and fountaines of Christianity, ever flowing and over-flowing in the Catholick Church, this should have been miraculously divided, before that *Presbytery* should have boasted of its passing over *dry-shod*, and of its drowning all *Bishops* and all *Episcopacy* (as the *Egyptians*) in a *Red Sea*, between the returnings and closings of the waters of *Independency* and *Presbytery*.

Whenas it is well known, even by their own confessions that have any graines of Learning in them, that *Presbyters* were ever as *Cyphers* in all Churches, insignificant as to Church-Government, without *Bishops* being set over them and before them, as *Capitall Figures*. *Bishops* were ever esteemed as the chief Captaines of the Lords host in this *Militant State*, principall *Stewards* of Christs House-hold, head-shepherds of his flock, the (πρωτοψάλται) first-ordained and first-ordainers of the Evangelicall *Ministry*, the first consecrators and distributors of all sacred mysteries, the prime Conservators and Actors of all Ecclesiasticall Authority: These were in all Ages, next the *Scriptures*, the Churches chiefest Oracles and Interpreters; these were the grand *Divines* in all Times and Places, not superficially armed with light armour, onely for the preaching or Homilisticall flourishes of a Pulpit, but with the weighty and complete armour of veterane and valiant souldiers, who were to stand in the fore-front of the Lords Battails, to receive the first charge and impressions from the Churches enemies of their force, cunning and malice; these were the fairest transcripts or Copies of Apostolicall Mission and Evangelicall Commission; these were the great Magazines of sound and vast Learning; these the Centers, Refuges, Sanctuaries & Succour of both Ministers and people in all Churches; these gave, as
holy

holy Orders to Presbyters and Deacons, so decent *Ceremonies* to all the Church, also fatherly *Counsels* and friendly encouragements to all worthy Ministers, when young and novices, weak and defective, when fearfull and dejected; these gave Vigour and Authority to that Discipline which was necessary to punish and repress scandalous livers; these, these worthy *Bishops* (such as we had good store in *England*, even now at the last cast) were the *Chariots and horse-men of Israel*; these alwaies (by the help of God) recovered the Ark of God, after the *Philistines* had taken it; these recollected the flocks of Christ, after they had been *worried* and *scattered* by grievous wolves and foxes; being persons of more publick influence, of more eminent example, of larger hearts and greater spirits (commonly) than most or any *private Ministers*; most mens spirits *shrinking* with the tenuity of their place and *condition*, and enlarging with the ampleness of them: God usually giving of that spirit of *Government* and Authority to those that are placed justly in it, as he did to *Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Saul, David, Samuel* and others, both *Princes* and *Prelates, Judges* and *Magistrates*, who but equal (it may be) to inferior persons in sanctifying Gifts and Graces, (as the Bishops of *England* might be to the many godly Presbyters) yet in this they exceeded them, not because placed *above them* in worldly Place and secular Honour, but because they, from the Apostles *pattern*, were particularly appointed and commissioned by the Church of Christ, and so fitted to execute those eminent Offices of Church-government in Ordination and Jurisdiction, beyond what was ever given to any Presbyters without their Bishops.

Having then such a *cloud of Witnesses* both at home and abroad, of former and latter times, by which to justifie the deserved *eminency* of *Episcopacy*, and to condemn the insolency of *Presbytery*, I cannot forbear with *St. Paul* to demand in the behalf of our *worthy English Bishops*, who have been so distrusted, so discountenanced, so dejected, so despised, so desolated, so depressed. Wherein did they come short of the very best of those Presbyters, (who were known sufficiently to my self) who have so studiously sought their ruine, and so ambitiously usurped against them? Were Presbyters good Preachers? so were Bishops. Were Presbyters able Writers? Bishops were more. Were Presbyters zealous Opposers of Popery? so were Bishops. Were Presbyters devout Men? so were Bishops. Were Presbyters unblameable Livers? so were Bishops. Were Presbyters Martyrs and Confessors? so were Bishops. Were Presbyters Instruments for a just and orderly Reformation of Religion? Bishops were more. Were Presbyters useful to Church and State, by word and example, in their petty Parishes? Bishops were more in their primitive Parishes or larger Dioceses, which were long known and of force in the Church of Christ, before lesser Parishes were in use or in being. Were Presbyters hospitable and charitable, (without which all Religion, Faith and Fervency is nothing?) Bishops were more; equal in their Affections, beyond them in their Liberalities as much as in their

their *Revenues*. Are Presbyters that were able, faithful, humble and orderly, gone to Heaven? so (no doubt, through Gods mercy) are those *holy Bishops* who have been cast upon Dunghills, as *Lazarus* and *Job*, by the *cacozelotry* of some men in our times, who have so much *hunted and owed, despised and destroyed* them. Many Presbyters have done well and learnedly, but many Bishops have exceeded them all; who were so far from losing or abating the Gifts and Graces they had when but Presbyters, that they increased them and improved them when made Bishops, above other Presbyters, who were then at their best, when they most kept within that place and station in which God, and the Church, and the Laws, and their own proportions had set them, in an holy and humble, a rational and religious, a pious and prudent *subordination* to their *respective Bishops*, as their lawful Superiours and reverend Fathers, whose names are, and ever will be, *pretious* to all those that understand what belongs to excellent Learning, to eminent Vertue, to Christian Courage, to admirable Patience, to what is Primitive, Catholick and complete in the Order, Honour, Polity, Government and Happines of the Church of Christ.

No Learned or Worthy Writer, Forreign or Domestick, who can fly above the *Parasitisme* of *popular Pamphlets*, (which will soon be condemned to *Chandlers shops*, to *Ovens* and to *Privies*) no pen (I say) that hath any genius of Learning, Life and Honor in it, will blot its paper, or blunt it self, with the names of those that have been or are the unjust, malicious and implacable enemies, the insolent despisers and injurious destroyers of such *Primitive Bishops*, and such *Primitive Episcopacy*, as these British Churches plentifully afforded. But every worthy *Author* will be ambitious to adorne his works, and *enamel* his *Historie*, with the illustrious names of such *meritorious Bishops*, who have not onely been *worthy* doers, but unworthily, yet worthy, sufferers, very patiently though very undeservedly, knowing, with *Paulinus Bishop of Nola*, how to lose all things but God and a good Conscience, which are the true Honor and Eternal Treasures of good Christians. If the most of, or all our *Bishops* had been vile men, and fit to be destroyed, why was not their wickedness and unworthiness publickly and personally charged? Why were they not legally *Summoned, Accused, Tried, Witnessed* against, *Convinced, Condemned*? Might not many, yea most of our *Bishops* have said in their proportion as our *Blessed Saviour*, Who is it that can accuse me of sin? what evill have I done? for which of my good works, in Preaching, Praying, Writing, Giving, Living, do you stone me, or seek to destroy me and my function? They were neither evil men, nor evil Christians, nor evil Preachers, nor evil *Bishops*; yet nothing must be left them, but the grace and opportunity to suffer (not as evil doers, but) as became Learned, Grave and Good men.

John 10. 31.

1 Pet. 4. 15.

Which *Episcopall* glory and *Christian* grace they have in an high degree attained, many of them saying with more truth than the *Stoicks* were wont (*τίνα πάντα κατέχω*) I have lost nothing that was
mine,

mine, yet I have all that is *worth having*; notwithstanding that they were deprived of all their *Ecclesiasticall Estates*, not allowed, according to the mercy of *Henry the eighth* to *Monks and Friars*, to *Nuns and Potaries*, (which were grown the *superfluous Leeches* and *Wens* of the Nation) any pension during their lives. Some *Bishops* could never get the *Arrears* due to them before the dreadfull *Act of dissolution*: many of them were spoyled, as of other goods, so of their good *Libraries*; where their best *company*, *faithfullest friends*, and surest *comforters* were to be found amidst those *afflictions*, *desertions* and *solitudes*, which they were sure to meet with both from foes and friends; most men being friends to mens fortunes, not to their persons or virtues.

With these dark foiles and deep shadowes hath the brightnesse of our best *Bishops* been set off to after-Ages. O what admiration, what astonishment, what horror will there be, when *impartiall Posterity* shall read, together with their excellent writings, the plentifull poverties, the illustrious obscurities, the honorable contempts, with which the excellent *Bishops* of these *British Churches* have been at last rewarded; even then when indefatigable studies, incomparable endowments and holy *improvements*, had both fitted them for and preferred them to those honorable *employments*, rewards and encouragements, which they lawfully obtained and worthily enjoyed! being persons for their Graces and Gifts, for their Learning and Judgement, for their Gravity and Prudence, much more worthy (if God had seen fit) to have been continued in their *Golden Candlesticks*, and to have shined to their last in this Church, than to have been so shut up in *dark lanternes*, or to be put under such *busshels* as not onely hide, but quite extinguish their *personall* and *publick lustre*; so burying, as much as may be, while they are yet alive, their excellent *abilities*, which did not consist onely in good *preaching*, but also wise *Governing* their Churches, in keeping both Ministers and people in good *Order* and *Unity*, in being not onely Monitors and Fatherly Correctors, but *Refuges* and *Defences* to their Clergy and others, as *Fathers* to *Sons*, in ordaining and incouraging able Ministers, in continuing a *Catholick succession* of a complete and *Apostolick Ministry* to this as all other Ancient and Renowned Churches, in preventing that great Scandall and Schisme (to the Papists (now) most desired and welcome) which is and will ever hereafter be imputed to us with unanswerable reproches, while, by *Apostatizing* from *Primitive Episcopacy*, we do not so much forsake the *Romane party*, (which in this point, as in many others, is Orthodox and sound) as the *Catholick Church*, and that *Authoritative* order which began with Christianity, and ought as much as may be in providence for ever to continue with it. An ordained Ministry, a right *Government*, and good Order in the Church, being (as I have demonstrated) no lesse necessary for the Churches *well-being*, than the Word and Sacraments are for the being or beginning of it. Religion and Christian Churches soon *moulder* to nothing, where there is not an indisputable

disputable, *Authoritative* and complete *Ministry*. Nor is this to be ordinarily had without *Episcopacy*; least of all with the violent and undeserved extirpation of *Episcopacy*, if we will follow the *judgement, custome and practise* of all Christian Churches from the beginning, rather than modern *novellers*, who will never be able to make up the breaches, or to patch up the Rents, which they have either rashly or unnecessarily made in this particular, not from the Roman onely, but indeed from the Christian and *Catholick* patterne, to which the *Reformation* of the Church of England studied exactly to conforme, as in other things, so in the *point of Episcopacy*, untill the fatall fury of these later times: which is the more unexcusable, because no Church in the world had lesse cause either to complaine of, or to reject, *its Bishops* or *Episcopacy*; for certainly no Church since the Apostles daies was ever more flourishing under *Episcopacy* (for other Government was not known till of late) nor had any Reformed Church either more worthy *Bishops*, for the most part of them, or more able Ministers, even at that time when all *Bishops*, with their Order and Succession, were devoted to utter *destruction*.

Not that I here forget how some *Bishops* in England were under very great *Jealousies*, as if they were *Popishly affected* and inclined, as if they were *under-hand Factors* for Rome, and *secret Traitors* to the *Reformed Religion*: Thus most (if not all) of them were censured by some men of very sharp noses and severe tongues, yea and condemned before they were tryed, for superstitious and Super-ceremonious Prelates. Hence that popular Odium and Indignity of joyning *Prelacy* and *Popery* together: which *Sarcasm* and *reproch*, I confess, ought by all wise Bishops and other Ministers to have been seriously avoided, so as no way justly to deserve any such *suspicion, taunt* or *proverb*, there being nothing less advancing, or more diminishing, the true respect and honour of *Christian Ministers* and *Reformed Bishops*, than unworthily to comply with or conform to the *Bishop* and Church of Rome, in those things where the distance is as just and necessary as it is great, and grounded on Gods Word, being founded upon that eternal distance which is and ever will be between *Light* and *Darknesse*, *Truth* and *Falshood*, *Error* and *sound Doctrine*, between the *Institutions* of Christ and the *sacrilegious Inventions* of Men, between the *infallible Rule* and *Oracles* of Gods Word in the Scripture, and the *variable Canons* of poor men, between the *Catholick Custom* of pure and *Primitive Churches*, and the particular practises of later *Usurpations*, brought in in the twilight of dark and depraved times. These *diametral* distances ought ever to be preserved by all godly Bishops, who may not come neerer to *Popery* than *Popery* is neer to *Christianity*, or then *Antichristian policies* may correspond in some things with *Christian piety*.

Which just bounds, as far as ever I could understand, our pious Bishops in England, from the first *Reformation* till now, have religiously observed; not one of them (much less all) deliberately or open-

ly owning any communion with the Church of Rome, where they saw the Church of England had made a just, clear and necessary separation: yea, the learned Bishops of England have, generally, so fully confuted the Falsity, Injury and Indignity of that calumny, both by their Preaching, Writing, Living and Dying, that men must be blind with despite, mad with malice, or drunk with passion, when they vomit out so foul calumnies against all Bishops and Episcopacy in England, as if they were Pandars for Popery, and Pimps to the Whore of Babylon; for this is the language of some mens oratorious Zeal against our Bishops and all Episcopacy, which will in time much more agree with Presbytery and Independency, I fear, than ever it did with Episcopacy.

But it will be demanded of me, whence then arose this smoke of Jealousie, which was so popular and spread abroad, that it made so many pure Eyes to ake and smart, yea to grow watry and blood-shotten, not onely among the vulgar, but even among our greatest Seers and Overseers? Was there no fire where there was so great a smoke? My Answer is, these jealousies of some Bishops (and other Ministers who most imitated them) being Popishly inclined, never had, so far as ever I could discern, any farther ground than this: Some Bishops pleased themselves, beyond what was generally practised in England, with a more ceremonious conformity than others observed; first, to the Canons and Injunctions, which (they thought) were yet in force in the Church of England, being not repealed, but onely antiquated through a general disuse; next, being aged and learned men, and more conversant in the Antiquities of the Church than younger Ministers, they found that such ceremonious Solemnities in Religion were then very much used, without any sin or scandal; no godly Bishop, Presbyter, or other good Christian, ever making scruple of using the sign of the Cross in Baptism, and at other times of Bowing, Kneeling, Prostrating himself, or of putting his mouth to the ground and kissing the Pavement when he came to worship God, or to celebrate holy Mysteries, expressing thereby that Humility, Faith, Fervency, sense of his own sinful Unworthiness, and that unfeigned Reverence which he bare in his heart toward God and his Service. This, I suppose, made some of our Bishops hope that they might with the like inoffensiveness add such Solemnity to Sanctity, and such outward Veneration to inward Devotion, and yet be as far from Popery or Superstition as the ancient Christians were; yea, as those Ministers and others now pretend to be, who make so much of lifting up their eyes and hands in Prayer, or who are pleased to be uncovered in Praying, Preaching, Singing, or Celebrating the Sacraments.

Besides this, many Bishops found a secret genius of Rusticity and Rudeness, of Familiarity and Irreverence, strangely prevailing among Country-Preachers and People so far, that they saw many of them placed much of their Religion in affecting a slovenly rudeness and irreverence in all publick and holy Duties; loth to kneel, not onely at the Sacrament, but at any Prayers, or to be uncovered at any Duty, enemies

mies to any man, and prejudiced against all he did, if he shewed any ceremonious respect in his serving God : They saw some were grown so spiritual, that they forgot they had bodies ; and pretending to approve themselves to God onely as to the inward man, they cared not for any thing that was regular, exemplary, orderly, comely or reverent, as to the outward celebration, in the judgement and appointment of the Church of England. Hence some men grew to such great applaudings of themselves, (as if this were the onely simplicity of the Gospel) that they thought every man went about to cut the throat of Reformed Religion, who applied any scissers or Razor to pare off rudeness and rusticity, or to trim it to any decency in the outward Ministrations, according to what seemed best to the Church of England. Many Bishops thought that Religion would grow strangely wild, hirsute, horrid and incult, like Nebuchadnezzars hair and nails, if it were left to the boisterous Clowneries and unmannerly Liberties which every one would affect, contrary to the publick appointment of the Church.

If some Bishops pleased themselves in using such outward and enjoyned Ceremonies, beyond what was ordinary to some men, yet certainly a thousand decent and innocent Ceremonies, such as those enjoyned by the Church of England were declared to be, do not amount to one Popish Opinion ; nor are they so heavy as one popular & erroneous Principle, which tends to Faction, Licentiousnesse and Profanenesse. Ceremonies may possibly be thought superfluous, because not of the substance of the Duty ; but they are not to be charged as superstitious where the Devotion of the heart is holy, and the Duty is sincerely performed for the Essentials of it, as it is instituted by Christ, & enjoyned by the Word of God, who hath left the ceremonious part of Religion, more or less, very much to the prudence of his Church, according to the severall forms and customs of civil respect and decency used in the world ; which St. Austin and St. Ambrose with all the Ancients declare, placing no further Religion in any Ceremony of humane invention and use, than it served aptly to excite or express inward sincerity of Devotion, and an outward conformity to the decent customs of any Church : Which keeping to the Truth, Faith and holy Institutions of Christ, for the main, were not blameable for that variety of Ceremony, which was and might be observed without any damage to Truth, or breach of Charity.

As to the maine charge then, that Bishops in England were Popish, that is warping from the Reformed Doctrine of the Church of England, as it was and is stated opposite to the Romish errors and corruptions, I do believe that the Bishops of England were in all Ages since the Reformation, and in this last, as much removed, and as free from Popery, as the most rigid censors of them, who dare accuse every man for Popish, who is not boyled up to the same superstitious height and Ceremonious Antipathy with themselves, or who do not presently adopt every mans new fancy, opinion and form of Religion, (though private, forraine and impertinent to us) rather than the publick Authority and

wisdome of the Church of England in its religious determinations and injunctions; which were not more *Moderate* than *Orthodox*, *Orderly* and *Comely*, not partaking of the *Romish contagion*, though it did not abhor the *Romane* or any *Christians Communion*, so far as *Rome* kept any *Communion* with *Jerusalem*, I meane with the *Primitive, Catholick* and true Church of Christ.

I do not pretend to search the hearts of any *Bishops*, nor (it may be) should I have approved some things which some of them said or did, as to the *unseasonableness*, rigor and *excesse*: yet this I affirm, that those men must have foreheads of *flint*, hearts of *brasse*, and pens of *Iron*, who dare to charge with *Popery* any one of those excellent *Bishops* whom I have mentioned with honor; besides many more whom I have omitted, who better knew the true Medium of Religion and Measures of Reformation, between Superstition and Profaneness, Affectation and Irreverence, Indevoutnesse and Rudeness, than any of their fiercest opposers and unjust destroyers.

And since I have thus far undertaken, not the *Patrociny* (which is a work far above me) but such a *parentation* at the Funerall of my *Fathers* as may (I hope) not misbecome me, I shall further adventure to do so much right to some *Bishops*, to whom I was most a stranger, as to this foule suspicion of *Popery*, which being first fixed upon them, was easily diffused to all the *Bishops* of England, by the wonted spreading of all envious and evil reports, which easier find entertainment in mens hearts and tongues, than any that are good: For these seem to men to lessen themselves by commending others; the others help either to cover or excuse mens own faults, or to set off their seeming zeal and virtues.

The first and greatest was the last *Archbishop* of Canterbury, who was by many suspected and charged not onely as *Popishly* affected himself, but as a poysoner of the whole streame and current of the Reformed Religion in England; at last he was treated either as a *Heretick* or a *Traitor*, or both, to Church and State.

It becometh not me to sentence either the sentenced, or sentencers that adjudged him to death, his and their judgement is with the Lord; onely as to the aspersion of his being *Popish* in his judgement (which reflected, in the repete and event, upon all the *Bishops* of England,) truly his own Book may best of any and sufficiently, vindicate him to be a very great *Antipapist*: great, I say, because it seemes by that Learned dispute, that he dissented from *Popery* not upon popular surmises and easie prejudices, but very learned and solid grounds; which true Reason and Religion make good, agreeable to the judgement of the Catholick Church in the purest and best times. And in this the *Archbishop* doth, to my judgement, so very impartially weigh the state and weight of all the considerable differences between the *Papists* and the English *Protestants*, (not such as are simple, futile and fanaticke, but learned, serious and sober) that he neither gratifies the *Romanist*, nor exasperates him, beyond what is just;

just; neither warping to a novel and needless *super-reformation*, which is a deformity on the right hand, nor to a *sub-reformation*, which is a deformity on the left, but keeping that golden Meane which was held by the Church of England, and the greatest defenders of it.

As to his secret designe of working up this Church by little and little to a *Romish conformity* and *captivity*, I do not believe he had any such purpose or approved thought; because, besides his declared judgement and conscience, I find no secular *policy* or *interest* which he could thereby gaine, either private or publick, but rather lose much of the greatnesse and freedome which he and other *Bishops* with the whole Church had: without which temptation no man in charity may be suspected to act contrary to so cleare *convictions*, so deliberate and declared determinations of his conscience and judgement in Religion, as the Archbishop expresses in that very excellent Book.

I am indeed prone to think, that possibly He wished there could have been any *faire close* or *accommodation* between all Christian Churches, (the same which many grave and learned men have much desired:) And it may be his Lordship thought himself no unfit *instrument* to make way for so great and good a work, considering the eminencies of parts, power and favour which he had. Haply he judged (as many learned and moderate men have) that in some things between *Papists* and *Protestants*, differences are made wider, and kept more open, raw and sore than need be, by the private pens and passions of some men, and the interests of some little parties, whose partial policies really neglect the publick and true *interest* of the Catholick Church and Christian Religion, which consists much in peace as well as in purity, in charity as in verity: he found that where *Papists* were silenced and convinced in the more grand and pregnant disputes, (that they are novel, partial, and unconforme to the Catholick Church in ancient times; as in the Cup withdrawing, in the peremptory defining of Transubstantiation, in publick Latine prayers, such as common people understand not what is prayed or said, in praying to *Angels* and *Saints*; in worshipping Reliques and Images with divine worship, in challenging of a *Primacy* of Divine Power and Jurisdiction to the Bishop of Rome over all, in their adding *Apocryphall* Bookes to the proper and ancient Canon of the Scripture, in their forbidding marriage to the Clergy, and the like) when in these points the *Romanists* were tised, discountenanced and convicted, then he found they recovered spirits, and contested afresh against the unreasonable transports, violences and immoderations of some professing to be *Protestants*, who, to avoid Idolatry and Superstition, run to sacriledge and rudeness in Religion; denying many things that are just, honest, safe, true and reasonable, meerly out of an (*inslele*) excessive *Antipathy* to *Papists*. Hence some are run so far that they will have as no materiall Churches built, or used, or consecrated, so no Liturgy, never so sound, solemn, and easie to be understood;

derstood, so as no *Bishops*, never so holy and Orthodox, so no *Ministers* rightly ordained by them, no orderly Ceremonies or decent Rites whatsoever used by the *Papists*, though they first had these from those *Churches* which were yet beautiful and pure in their Primitive health and integrity.

The truth is, it would make a *wise man mad* to fall under the sinister censures and oppressions of all vulgar opinions, who still urge in things indifferent that unsociableness which is between light and darkness, truth and error, Reformation and Superstition; never suspecting themselves for superstitious in being so Anticeremonious, Antiliturgicall and Antiepiscopeall: nor are they jealous lest any thing that hath the heat of their zeal might want the light of true judgement, and be like a *Taylor's goose* or *pressing iron*, hot and heavy enough, but neither bright nor light, neither seeing nor shining. Truly I find the calmness and gravity of sober mens judgements is prone to improve much by Age, Experience, & Reading of the Ancients, hereby working out that juvenile leaven and lee, which is prone to puffe up and work over younger spirits and lesse decocted tempers in their first fervors and agitations. Possibly the *Archbishop* and some other *Bishops* of his mind did rightly judge, that the giving an enemy faire play by just, safe and honorable concessions, was not to yield the cause or conquest to him, but the more to convince him of his weakness; when no honest yieldings could help him any more, than they did indamage the true cause or courage of his Antagonist.

For my part, I think the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* was neither Calvinist, nor Lutheran, nor Papist, as to any side and partie, but all, so far as he saw they agreed with the Reformed Church of England, either in fundamentalls, or innocent and decent superstructures: yet I believe he was so far a Protestant and of the Reformed Religion, as he saw the Church of England did protest against the Errors, Corruptions, Usurpations and Superstitions of the Church of Rome; or against the novel opinions and practises of any party whatsoever. And certainly he did with as much Honor as Justice so far own the Authentick Authority, Liberty and Majesty of the Church of England, (in its Reforming and Setling of its Religion,) that he did not think fit any private new Masters whatever should obtrude any Forraine or Domestick Dictates to her, or force her to take her Copy of Religion from so petty a place as Geneva was, or *Francfort*, or *Amsterdam*, or *Wittenberg*, or *Edenborough*, no nor from *Augsburg* or *Arnheim*, nor any Forraine City or Town, any more than from *Trent* or *Rome*, none of which had any Dictatorian Authority over this great and famous Nation or Church of England, further than they offered sober Counsels, or suggested good Reasons, or cleared true Religion by Scripture, and confirmed it by good Antiquity, as the best interpreter and decider of obscure places and dubious cases. Nor did his Lordship esteem any thing as the voice of the Church of England, which was not publickly agreed to and declared by King and Parliament,

ment, according to the advice and determinate judgement of a *Nationall Synod* and lawfull *Convocation* convened and approved by the chief Magistrate, which together made up the complete *Representative*, the full sense and suffrage of the *Church of England*. His Lordship (no doubt) thought it (as indeed it is) a most *pedling*, *partiall* and *mechanick* way of Religion, for any Church or Nation, once well settled, to be *swayed* and *tossed to and fro* by the private opinions of any men whatsoever, never so godly, contrary to *Publick*, *Nationall* and *Ecclesiasticall Constitutions*; which carried with them, as infinitely more *Authority*, so far more maturity, prudence and impartiality of Counsel, than was to be found or expected by any wise men in any single person, or in any little *juncts* of *Assemblies*, or select *Committees* of *Lay-men* whatsoever.

And truly in this I am so wholly of his *Lordships* opinion, that I think we have in nothing weakned and disparaged more our Religion, as Reformed in *England*, than by listning too much to, and crying up beyond measure, private Preachers or Professors, be they what they will for their grace, gifts or zeal; who by popular insinuations here and there aime to set up with great confidence their own or other mens (pious it may be, I am sure) *presumptuous novelties*, against the solemn and publick *Constitutions* or determinations of such a Church as *England* was. These, these agitations and adherencies have undermined our Firmeness and Unity by insensible degrees. What was *Luther*, or *Calvin*, or *Zuinglius*, or *Knox*, or *Beza*, or *Cartwright*, or *Baines*, or *Sparkes*, or *Brighman*, (not to disparage the worth which I believe was really in any of them or their Disciples) to be put into the *balance* against the whole *Church of England*, when it had once Reformed and settled it self to its content, by joynt Counsel, publick consent and supreme Authority? Which hath had in all Ages, and eminently since the *Reformation*, both *Bishops* and other *Ministers* of its Communion, no way (*singly*) inferior to the best of those men, and joyntly far beyond them all, whose concurrent judgment and determination I would an *hundred times* sooner follow, than all, much more any one of *those men*: yea possibly I could name some one man, whom I might without injury prefer to any one of those fore-named persons; such was *Melanchthon* abroad, and such was our Bishop *Jewel* at home. And indeed the *Church of England* had (blessed be God) so many such *Jewels* of her own, that she needed not to borrow any little gems from any foreigners; nor might any of them, without very great *Arrogancy*, *Vanity* and *Imodesty* (as I conceive) seek to *strip her* of her own *Ornaments*, and impose theirs upon her or her *Clergy*.

Which high value, it is probable, as to his *Mother* the *Church of England* and her *Constitutions*, was so potent in the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, that, as he thought it not fit to subject her to the insolency of the *Church of Rome*, so nor to the *impertinencies* of any other *Church* or *Dollor*, of far less *name* and *repute* in the Christian world. No doubt, his Lordship thought it not handsome in Mr. *Calvin* to be

be so far (*ἀλλοτριωμῶν* rather than *ἐπισκοπῶν*) censorious of the Church of England, as to brand its devotion or Liturgy with his tolerables ineptia, who knew not the temper of the Nation, requiring then not what was absolutely best, but most conveniently good: and such not onely the Liturgy was, but those things which he calls tolerable toys.

This charitable sense I suppose I may justly have of this very active and very unfortunate Prelate, as he stood at a great distance from me, and eminence above me; against whom I confess I was prone in my greener years to receive many popular prejudices, upon the common report and interpretation of his publick actions. In one of which I was never satisfied, as to the Piety or Policy of it; that when his Lordship endeavoured to commend the Liturgy of England to the Church of Scotland, (which was a worthy design, as to the uniformity of Devotion) yet he should affect some such alterations as, he might be sure, like *Coloquintida*, would make all distastful. Such was that in the Prayer of Consecration and Distribution at the Lords Supper, which was after the old form of *Sarum*, and expunged by our Reformers as too much favouring Transubstantiation; besides some other changes in that and other things, of which possibly his Lordship could give a better reason than I can imagine, or have yet heard.

Toward his decline I had occasion to come a little neerer to his Lordship; where I wel remember, that a few daies after his first confinement, when he seemed not at all to despaire of his innocency or safety, having occasion to wait on him, and being not onely a stranger wholly to him, but under some prejudice with him, as to some relation I then had, yet he was pleased, after some accesses to him, to invite me to some freedom of speech, asking me (among other things) what the sense of people generally was of him and his actions. I freely told him, the vulgar jealousies and reports were, that his Lordship, by secret approaches, did seek to betray the Reformed Church of England to the Roman Correspondency and Communion; which was so tender and just an apprehension in all people, out of their zeal to their Religion, that I humbly conceived it were great wisdom to avoid all suspicion of it. Nor did it seem an hard matter so to do, in waies, as much to Gods glory and the Churches Honor, so lesse exposed to peoples jealousy or obloquy; common people being easily won or lost by persons of publick place and eminent Authority, whose actions as they could not be hid, so their wisdom or weakness would be exposed to every censurer, according to that party and side which he most adopted or opposed.

I added, that people were not taken generally so much with grand and severer virtues, as with things more plausibly and seasonably, yet piously and prudently, adapted to their capacity as well as their good; that as they were not to be unworthily humored, so nor too roughly neglected or offended; that it was much easier not to raise, than to allay the Spirit of jealousy in the Populacy; that it was no
hard

hard matter for a good and great man honestly to make himself gracious with the best and most people, by doing them as much good as they could expect, without any wresting of his or their consciences, without diminishing his lawfull Authority, or their ingenuous Liberties; that in some cases and posture of times, a wise man was not bound to do people more good than they would or could bear, nor was he to surfeit and tire them by over-driving them to better pasture; that it was possible to serve *the times*, and yet to serve *the Lord*, as the *Pilot*, that in a *rough Sea* humors the winds and waves, yet saves himself, his ship and goods; lastly, that it was no hard matter for his *Lordship*, and other *Bishops* of great parts and preferments, to out-do in Preaching, Praying and well-doing all those that most maligned Episcopacy.

To this purpose I took the boldness sometimes to speak to his *Lordship*; which as he heard at first with something a severer brow, so he at length very gravely and calmly thus replied: Protesting with a serious attestation of his integrity before Gods Omniscience, that however he might mistake in the mean and method, yet he never had other design than the *Glory of God*, the *Service of his Majesty*, and the *good Order, Peace and Decency of the Church of England*: that he was so far from complying with *Papists*, in order to confirm them in their errors, that he rather chose such methods to advance the honour of the *Reformed Religion in England*, as he believed might soonest silence the cavils of fiercer *Papists*, induce the more moderate *Recusants* to come in to us, as having less visible occasion given them by needless distances and disputes to separate from us; which he thought arose much from that popular Variety, Inconstancy, Easiness, Irreverence and Uncomeliness, which might easily grow among us in the outward profession of Religion, for want of exact observing such *uniformity and decency* in Religion, as were required by the *Laws and Canons* of this Church and State. He added, that he had (further) a desire, as much as he could, to relieve the poor and depressed condition of many Ministers, which he had to his grief observed in *Wales and England*, where their discouragements were very great, by reason of the *tennity and incompetency of their Livings*; that in his Visitations he had sometimes seen it with grief, among twenty Ministers not one man had so much as a decent garment to put on, nor did he believe their other treatment of life was better; that he found the sordid and shameful aspect of Religion and the Clergy gave great advantages to those that were *Popishly inclined*, who would hardly ever think it best for them to joyn with that *Church* which did not maintain either its own Honour or its Clergy to some competency and comeliness.

Much more discourse his Lordship was pleased to use at several times to this purpose, which commands my charity to clear him, as far as I can judge, of any tincture of Popery, truly so called, or of any Superstition, which placeth a Religion in the nature and use of that thing which God hath not either particularly commanded, or in

general permitted. I suppose he thought that where God hath allowed to his Church and to every private Christian, (so far as may consist with the Churches good Order and Peace) a *liberty of ceremonies and circumstantial decency* as to Gods worship, [there neither himself was to be blamed, nor did he blame other men, if they kept within those discreet and inoffensive bounds which either the Churches publick Peace required, or its Indulgence to private Christians permitted. And thus I leave this *Archbishop* to stand or fall to his and our *great Master*, who will judge our confidences and infirmities according to our sincerity. Doubtless this Prelate had more in him of Charity, Liberality, Munificence and Magnificence (as appears by the works he undertook to found, to build or to repair) than ever I saw in any of those who are the having and getting, not the giving enemies to Episcopacy.

And what if I have the like Charity for *Bishop Wren*? to whom I am wholly a stranger, further then I have sometime heard him preach, with great evidence of *pregnant Intellectuals*, set off with notable Learning and *Acute Oratory*. I never heard that he was actually charged, or judiciously convinced of any one *Tenet* or opinion that was formally *Popish*. I know his Lordship was terribly decryed, as if he had stung his Diocese, both Ministers and people, with serpents, (as *Hannibal* did the *Romanes* in a Sea-fight with the *Bithynians*) when some thought he onely rubbed some *tenderer skins* with *nettles*, which might sting them shrewdly, but they could not deadly *poison them*: for, mustering up, as it seems, all that his Lordship found in the old *Injunctions* or new *Canons* of the Church of *England*, (rather abolished many of them by disuse, than legally repealed) his *Visitation-articles* seemed as an Army of *Ceremonious punctillo's*, which he urged and exacted beyond what had been wonted, judging them to be as *Bees*, which might each of them bring a little wax or *bony* to the hive of Devotion, when others took them to be either as *Flies*, that did onely buz and fly-blow Religion, or as *Wasps* and *Hornets*, which stung so grievously some tender consciences, that many of them (as the *Canaanites* of old) were driven by them out of this *good land*, to seek their liberty and ease in horrid and desolate plantations.

I confesse, things of this nature, which being obsolete are urged afresh upon the publick practise of Christians in Religion, ought (as I conceive) to have their *revived* and *renewed* Authority from the *joynt Counsell*, publick *prudence* and consent of the Nation, else rigorous remedies, even of disorders, may prove worse than the supposed or reall *diseases*. For many antiquated *Ceremonies* in Religion, though they be not quite *worne out*, yet, as garments long agoe made and now out of fashion, are rather to be kept as *Monuments* in the *Wardrobe* and Records of Religion, than to be on the suddaine put upon mens backs, and urged to be *worne*; especially when they seem antique to the most, and uncomely by their unwontedness to be commonly *worne*, though the stuffe be never so good, and the state of them not unhandsome.

Al-

Although all *these* might not amount to any thing that is properly *Popery*, no more than a thousand shadows can make one substance or body, yet many did judge them as a *cumulative kind of Popery*, which cloyes Religion with such a *Masse* of needless *Ceremonies*, that it is like a tree too much over-growne with mosse, even to a barrenness; or like a garment not adorned and set off, but wholly hidden, incumbred and buried with a *superfluity of lace*: which is either a great *Prodigality*, or as great a *Vanitie* and *Affectation* (especially considering the *matronely gravity* which best becomes Christian and Reformed Religion,) as that fancy was of our *Henry the Fifth*, who when he was *Prince of Wales*, came one day to the Court and his Fathers presence with a suite all cut and embroidered with oilet-holes, having a needle hanging out of every hole, that he looked more like a *Porcupine* than a *Prince*. But as that *Prince* afterward proved a very brave *King*; very pious and valiant, besides successfull, (which adds much to any *Princes piety* in the opinion of common people,) when he left his *needless needles*, &c betook him to his *Victorious sword*; so it is probable this *Bishop*, if he had received so grave an *admonition* as the wisdom and meekness of a *Parlament* could have given him and other *Bishops* of his mind, would easily have amended any such *luxuriancy of Ceremonious observations*; which if they would be a meanes to induce any *judicious Papists* to change their opinion as to these points of *Doctrine* which most divide us and them, truly it were a very great *uncharitableness* in us, not to comply very far with them in whatever the Church commands as innocent and decent ceremonies. But sure they must be very silly birds, and scarce worth the catching, which will be taken onely with the *chasse* of ceremonies or pictures in a case of Religion, (which so highly concerns their *consciences* and *salvation*) so as to change their side upon these formalities, untill their judgement in the maine matters of *Doctrine* be convinced and satisfied: nor do I know how we can well lay such strong *limetwiggs* among such *chasse* as would hold any *Papists* firme to our party and *perswasion*. Not that I would have them scared or scandalized the more against us, for want of that reverence and decency which becomes us in the worship of God, and in holy mysteries, by the dictates of Reason, as well as the Indulgences of Religion; but considering that just and vast distance in some grand points between us and the *Papists*, as to outward worship, grounded upon inward *perswasion* and devotion, I think it becomes the wisdom and wariness of *Protestants*, (according to the admirable temper and moderation of the *Church of England* in its Reformation) as not to deny themselves the use of any things enjoyned as decent, because *Papists* had abused them, so not to affect by any particular modes to *symbolize* so far with them, as may confirme them in any thing that we judge *Superstitious* or *Idolatrous*. This made many sober men so much strangers to the Policy and Piety of those who so much urged to set the *Lords Table* Altar-wise, to adorne it with the Crucifix and other pictures, and to bow with *adoration* toward it. Though

these might be lawfull in the abstract, yet sure not expedient in that state wherein the *Reformed Profession* stands opposite to the Papists superstitious veneration of a Creature transubstantiated to a God. Though I have no conscience of duty toward an Idol, so as to worship it, but onely to the true God, who is every where; yet I think it best for me not to go into an *Idols Temple*, there to worship the true God, when I may do it other-where, without any such appearance of *evill*, or *scandall* to those that see me, and know my principles against it.

But as to the *true and real discriminations* between the Religion of the *Church of England* and *Popery* in Doctrine, I conceive the *best dimensions* of this Bishop are to be taken, by those that are wholly strangers to him, as I am, by that notable *Book* which was lately published and dedicated to his *Lordship* by Dr. Cofins, his well-known friend and successour, than whom no man ever fell under greater popular *jealousies* for *Popish*, yet no man it seems leis deservedly, as appeared when he came to the *Test* before the *Committee of Lords*, who then cleered him as to Mr. *Smarts* accusations for Superstition; and since that he hath further cleered himself, no man more handsomly, before the best *Protestants* in *France*, where his *long exile* and sufferings have not so exasperated him as to make him yield any way to the *Papists*: yea no man hath at home or abroad been a more stout *Defender* of the *Protestant Religion*, as it was established in the *Church of Engl.* which the testimony of Mr. *Daillé*, one of the *Protestant Ministers* at *Charenton* neer *Paris*, fully and freely confirms, telling all the world, *That they are either beasts or fanatics who count Dr. Cofins a Papist*, from whom no man is really more removed; which his very excellent History touching the Canon of the Scripture fully assures us, being a grand and *fundamental point* in difference between the Papists and us; wherein he having so irreparably battered and shaken their *Apocryphal Babel*, by solidly proving the *Church of Rome* to be erroneous and pertinacious in that point, all sober men will soon suspect her *honesty*, *fidelity*, and pretended *infallibility* in other things which do as little agree with the *pristine Practice* and judgement of the *Catholick Church*. Truly it is pittie so great and able a *vindicator* of the *Reformed Religion* should longer suffer a *pilgrimage* among *Papists*, being forced to dwell in *Mesech*, and to have his habitation in the *Tents of Kedar*, and not have leave to return in *peace* to his *native Country*, of which he hath so well deserved in this learned *undertaking*: which piece sure he would not have dedicated (being so *Antipapistical*, that it peels the very bark of the *Church of Rome* round) to his friend the *Bishop of Ely*, if he did not intend him a *collateral security*, or a *vindication* from any such *aspiration* of being either a *practical* or *dogmatical Papist*; wherewith many have more pleased themselves, than proved it against that Bishop.

But no *Net* playes with *wider wings* or *larger bosom* than that popular *Drag*, which sweeps as it listeth into its bosom all men for *Papists*, *Pelagians* or *Arminians*, who are not just of some mens private opinions

Tunc Cofins,
imò noster (in-
tercedit enim
nobis cum illo
suavis amicitia
atque familia-
ritas) admo-
dum probatur.
Bestia sunt, &
quidem fanati-
ci, qui eum de
Papismo sus-
pectum habent,
à quo vix repe-
rias qui sit ma-
gis alienus.
Ex autogra-
pho test. Dr.
Bernardo
Holsp. Grai.

nions in all things; taking what freedoms and latitudes they please themselves in their opinions and actions, but allowing none to other men, no not in points that admit of dispute, without *scratching the Conscience, violating the true Faith, or breaking Christian Charity*. It is a wonder of wise and just men, how this *Bishop*, if he were so evil a doer as was voiced, hath not been long agoe publickly heard, and sentenced according to his deeds, but is punished beforehand by a long imprisonment, when as he was committed to prison, not as his sentence (I think,) but as his security, to be forth-coming at his *lawful tryal*, to which in eighteen years he hath not been brought.

If then neither of these *two Prelates*, whose eminency and activity drew so many eyes of *envy* upon them, were really *popish*, which was not very probable, when they knew the Prince, whose favour they enjoyed, to be so stedfast and able in his judgement against Popery, as I have oft heard the *Earl of Holland* and others affirm; I presume the other late *Bishops of Engl.* upon whom the *Tower of Siloam* fell, may find so much justice and charity as to be freed from that suspicion, and not to be thought *greater sinners*, as to that particular, than many *Presbyterians* who joyed most in their destruction.

Never any of them, that ever I heard, gave any occasion to be thought a Papist, except onely the last *Bishop of Gloucester*, Dr. Goodman, (*Vir sui nominis*) as some report; a man of good learning and good life, who having suffered in his old age (almost to a distraction) by the storme and distresses of times, (which *wet* many other men to the skin, but it *stripped off the clothes, & slayed off the very skins* of many Clergymen, and all Bishops especially) was driven, it seems, beyond his *pace*, & something beyond his *patience*: for thus provoked beyond all measure and merit (as he thought,) by those who much professed Reformation (and yet so much, in his sense and experience, did deform and destroy the *Church of England*;) it is no wonder, if, dying and dejected, he chose rather to *depart in communion* with the Church of *Rome*, than to adhere to the Church of *England*, which (as *Eliab*) he thought now decayed and dissolved, (at least as to its visible Order and Polity) if not quite destroyed. Not that he owned (I hope) a communion or *Conciliation* with the *Romane Church* as Popish, but as far as it was *Christian*, not as *erroneous* in some things, but as *Orthodox* in many others; from which (as Bishop *Bedel* saith) no good Christian doth, or ought to separate. And since we hold Baptism among the Papists to be valid, which is the sign of a Christians new birth, and first admittance to the Churches Catholick Communion, he might hope, that dying in that Communion so far as it was Catholick, would be no hindrance to his admission to the Church in Heaven. At worst, it seems his *discontent* and *despair* drove him rather to think of *returning* to the *Confines of Egypt*, where he believed there might be found some *Bread of life* in an orderly way of House-keeping, than to *dye in the Wildernesse* of a Church which was now *howling* and *starving*, and self-desolating in his apprehension; that, as *Lots Daughters* were so far excusable for their

Vide G. G: his Queres to Dr. Hackwell about the Decay of the World.

1 Kings 19. 10

Vide Bishop Bedels Sermon on Come out of bey my People.

their incests with their Father, as they believed all men were destroyed besides, so may this poor Bishop (now made poor, when he had been very rich) have this to plead for his resting at last in the bosom of the Church of Rome, that he knew not any other so visible and conspicuous a Church, either fit, or worthy, or willing to receive one that had so long lived a Protestant and a Bishop in the Church of Engl. and was now no longer permitted either to live or dye, either a Protestant or a Bishop, according to the constitution of the Church of England; from which at its best, many of those have more separated themselves living and dying, who are the sharpest Censurers of this Bishop for dying a Papist, which is but a greater kind of Separatist from the Church of England and the Church Catholick in some Opinions and Practises. But I have done with this Bishop, who was dying most declared, and with the other two, who living were most dubious and ambiguous, in the censures of the world, as to their Religion. What their Morals, Prudentials or Devotionals were, (who had so long and so great an influence of power and favour) I must leave to the Supreme Judicature of God above them, and that subordinate or lower Bench of their Consciences within them. If we should take their dimensions by the successes and events, truly they have been very unhappy: after-Counsels are prone to think it had been easie to have prevented such calamities; but the *race is not to the swift, nor the battail to the strong*. Though true Piety is alwayes the best Policy, yet it is not alwayes attended with Prosperity. No doubt the sins of all sorts were ripe for wrath, and in common calamities the best may suffer as well as the worst; the afflictions of the first being their tryals, of the second their punishment.

My concern is onely to examine the ground of that Charge cast upon them, and for their sakes upon all our Reformed Bishops, as if ranckly popish, as if Prelacy and Popery were no more separable then Gehezies Bribery and his Leprosie; which I justifie to be as false a calumny as it is foul, and no way becoming the mouths or thoughts of those who aim to judge righteous judgement, or consider the account they must give to God of what they say and do, in truth or falsity, in justice or iniquity. This I am sure, if our Bishops, and many other grave Divines, had no inclination to Popery in their Prosperity, their Adversity might have been a great temptation to them, less to approve that Reformed Religion, not for which, but from which, they have suffered so hard measure, as untried and unconvicted to be condemned, punished, destroyed, beyond any men that lived orderly and peaceably.

CHAP. XXIV.



Hat I may for ever silence the harsh braying and tedious barkings of all Antiepiscopal Pens and Tongues against our Godly *Bishops* and Venerable *Episcopacy*, (which is as much, or more, an enemy to Popery, than either Presbytery or Independency) I crave leave to insist a little more largely upon the name, worth and memory of one of our *Bishops*, very well known, not onely to the British Churches, but to all the Christian world that hath any correspondency or commerce with Learned men. It is *Dr. James Usher*, late Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Lord Primate of *Ireland*; whom I reckon as ours, because not onely his ashes and mortal remains are deposited with us, but he lived his last yeares of exile, and ended his mortality amongst us in *Engl.* where besides his constant paines in Preaching, even to his last, he hath left us many of his Learned works, which are enjoyed by, and highly esteemed of, all worthy men who were blest with the example of his great and unspotted worth, which no envy, no malice can (I think) be so impudent as to blemish.

With this rare and Reverend *Prelate*, this great and gracious *Bishop*, I was rather happy than worthy to be acquainted many yeares, so far as to be able more neerly to discover his genius and temper, both before and after the storme of blood and Massacre in *Ireland* had driven this holy man to fly from that (*Terra ira Dei*) land of Gods wrath, and to take such *Sanctuary* or shelter as then he hoped might be had in *England* for *Protestant Bishops*; where he little thought (good man) he should have found some *Protestants* in *England* as fierce to undoe and destroy their *Bishops* (though of the same Reformed Faith, and of unblameable Profession) as the most Jesuited *Papists* were in *Ireland*; who were and are sworn enemies against them, not as Christian *Bishops*, but as of the Reformed Religion, which had nothing in it more Primitive, Illustrious and Honorable than this, that in *England* it shined with the glory of those Apostolick Stars, Godly and Venerable *Bishops*, which did not depend on the *Pope of Rome*.

The reall excellencies of this *Bishop* every way were such, that they exceeded all ordinary measures of humane commendation and capacity, extending to something of admiration or ecstasie: None but those whose minds are enlarged to some proportions of his accomplishments can be able to comprehend his worth and amplitude: so vast, so transcendent, so astonishing was his *Learning* and *Understanding* in all kinds of knowledge, Divine and Humane, that he was as the *Cynosure* by which all great Divines steered, and as the *Sundiall* by which all great Scholars set their watches. Much of this Treasure was discovered in his writings, printed, and not yet printed, of all sorts, both of greener and riper studies, in all which he was exact and complete. He wrote, as he studied, not in the beaten paths of

Bishop Usher,
Primate of
Armagh, an
unanswerable
vindication
of Prelacy, not
Popish, but
pious.

Θαυμάσιος
μᾶλλον ἢ
ἐπαινετός.
Admirandi
quàm laudi
proximus.

of Plagiary Compilers, or Syftematicall Collectors, (as *Scriba doctus ad regnum Calorum;*) but he brought forth out of his large heart and vast reading new as well as old, things of rare, hidden and *untroden observation*, even out of Manuscripts which scarce any but his *Eagle-eye* had seen, and but few could read. All which he judiciously collected, methodically disposed, clearly explained and aptly applyed: yet it was with him as with copious and *living springs*, the least part of his innate, acquired and unexhausted fulnesse was to be discerned *by any of his outward emanations*.

So accurate was he in all usefull and *Learned Languages*, Occidentall and Orientall; so cleare a prospect he had of all *History* and *Chronology*, of all *Controversies* ancient and modern, that nothing escaped him: nor was he onely as a Reader and Spectator, but as a Judge and Censor, as an Arbitrator and Dictator in Disputes, as one that sate in a Tribunall of Sovereigne Learning above all. Nothing was new or hidden to him in *Philology*, *Philosophy*, *Geography*, *Astronomy*, *Mathematicks*, and least of all in *Theology* or *Divinity*; he had conquered all others, but in this he *Triumphed*, which was the *Trophee*, *Crown* and *Center* of all his other studies.

There was scarce any Book, printed or *Manuscript*, worth reading, in private or publick *Libraries* throughout all Christendome, which he had not read, either in the *Copy* or *Originall*, and digested into the method or designe of his studies; yea, and to a miracle remembered, as to the maine contents of it. To the *Immensity* of his Learning there was added excellent principles of *Politick prudence*, as a *Governour of the Church*, and as a *Counsellour of State*; wherein he was conspicuous, not for the crafty projects and practises of policy, or for those sinister waies of Artifice and Subtilty, which are the usuall unreasonable *Reasons of State*, the so admired depths of devillish Hypocrisie, but (indeed) the *flats* and *shallows* of all Truth and Honesty: no, the Measures and Rules of his Politicks and Prudentials were taken from that great experience he had gotten, and many excellent observations he had made, out of all *Histories*, as well *Humane* as *Divine*; though he alwaies laid the greatest weight upon the grounds and *instances of holy Scripture*, which gives the truest judgement of wisdom or folly.

These great abilities, managed with so much Piety, Prudence and Integrity, could not but make this *Bishop* as fit to be a *Counsellour of State*, (for so he was in *Ireland*) or a *Privy Counsellour to his Prince* (which other Bishops were who lived in *England*) as any of those *Misepiscopists* were, who most envied and denied that honour to this or any other Bishops; with whose *sufficiencies* few of their enemies (the chiefe of whom I well knew) were to be compared, either for Wisdom, Graviry, Goodnesse, Learning, Experience and Eloquence, or for that Sanctity, Severity and Integrity, which make a complete Counsellour. All which are hardly learned by the juvenile Gallantry of a little travelling, or by seeing many Men, or by courting many Mistresses, or by passing through many Cities and Countries

tries in a negligent way, or by wearing *ample plumes* on mens heads, or by shewing fair clothes on their backs, or by fanciful and affected conformities to all the *modes* and fashions which may be observable in torreign places: all which Leven do usually so puff up many young Gallants (who glory most in their *Nobility* and *Gentry*) with *Amorousnesse*, *Futility*, *Vapouring*, *Vanity* and *Folly*, that it is a long time before they can throughly decoct them, or settle themselves to that clear and serious study of *Piety* and *Policy*, of *Wisdom*, *Divine* and *Humane*, which onely can furnish out fit and able Counsellours of State, who are to be not onely as the Eyes, Guides and overseers of the Publick, but even of the Prince; whose hand of power (if he be wise) will steer according to the Card and Compass set before him by his Council; which cannot be good, if it be not godly, nor prudent, if it be not pious.

So that it is not onely my wonder, but it will be so to all Posterity, what should move any sober and religious wise men to exclude all *Bishops* and *Clergymen* from all capacity of being either Members of the great and *Parliamentary Council*, or of the *Privy Council* of any Prince or State:

When 1. Religion ought alwayes to be as much under the care, counsel and inspection of *Christian Princes*, *Parlaments* and *Councils* of State, as any secular or civil affairs; which never prosper where Religion is put in the rear and Crupper of business, or where the Clergy, beyond all men, must be excluded. Do we not read in one *Melchizedek* (the Type of Christ) both Prince and Priest joyned together? Afterward, were not *Aaron* and *Moses*, the one as *King*, the other as *Chief-priest*, appointed by God as the leaders of the *Church of God*? From this example, *Abiathar* the Priest also *Gad* and *Nathan* the Prophets, were Counsellours as well as *Confessors* to *King David*; so was *Azariah* the son of *Zadok* the Priest a chief Prince and Counsellor to *King Solomon*; so *Jehojadah* the Priest was a Father, a Protector, and a chief Director to *King Joash*, who ceased to prosper when he wanted such a Counsellor.

1 Kings 4. 2.
2 Kings 11.

2. When no men may be presumed, or indeed generally are, and in all times have been, so able in managing and advising of matters religious, as eminent Bishops and well-chosen Church-men, certainly none were so fit as they to give account to the Prince and State of the true estate of the Church and Religion, which are miserably mis-represented by other ignorant or envious Informers; none so much layes to heart the true concerns of Religion, or the interests of mens souls; none will so much take care that these suffer no prejudice and detriment by any Lay-mens disorderly insolency or covetous encroachments.

3. As for the preaching part of a Bishop, or his residence and inspection to his particular *Diocese*, it can be no hinderance (as some men have pittifully pretended) sometime to attend the general good of their own and all others *Dioceses*: they may not be thought to neglect their own *Cabin*, who are sometime employed for the reparation

or *conservation of the whole Ship*; as my Lord Viscount *Newark* very honourably, learnedly and eloquently expressed himself in the House of Peers, where it was briefly disputed touching Bishops sitting as Peers in the House, which they had done ever since there was an House of Christian Peers in *England*. So that the pretended damage, as to their particular care of their Diocese, is abundantly compensated by the good they may do to the *publick*; which may easily be as much as that was of the *English* and *Scotch Presbyters*, who were dispensed with for many moneths *Non-residency*, as to their *particular Livings* and *charges*, when they were to attend the *Assemblies* great service of making a *Catechize*, a *Directory*, and helping to extirpate Bishops out of this Church and State.

4. The retortion upon these Ministers especially who were so much enemies to Bishops being in any Council, Civil or Ecclesiastick, must needs be a most smart and severe conviction of their Partiality, when we have daily seen so many petty *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Preachers as busie as Bees, and every where eager Sticklers in all secular Councils and Affairs. How did some of them haunt some Lords and Commons in the long Parliament? How did they ply all *Committees*, specially that for Religion, which had swallowed up the Convocation? How prone are they still, *uncalled*, to croud or insinuate into all publick, yea into Cabinet-Counsels, both military and civil? What of concern in Church or State, for these last *eighteen years*, can move or pass without their *suggestions*, *whisperings* and *agitations*? Many publick Declarations favour much of their strain and form, both for fancy and phrase; especially if they regard any *religious businesse* of State, as Fastings, Humiliations, Thankgivings, and the like; which heretofore were managed by the counsel of great Bishops, as able I believe as any of our new and little ones. But it is not strange that some men should think themselves fit to be at both ends of all publick *Counsels*, either laying or hatching them, and yet be so eager against all Bishops, who were full as honest, and in all respects as able and worthy, as the best of these Sticklers: for nothing makes men more presumptuous of themselves, or more envious against others, than want of true knowledge of eithers dimensions.

5. And lastly, the very *light of Nature* makes it seem very preposterous and impolitick to exclude all Church-men, of which Bishops were ever the chief Fathers, out of all publick Councils: for all Nations have taught us, that they did so far venerate their Gods and honour their Religion, as never to carry on their *chief Counsels* & publick *Affairs* of War or Peace, for Religion or Civility, without taking some of their Holy men and Priests into their Councils: so King *Balak* calls for *Balaam* in his greatest exigencies; so were the *Pontifs* or *Flamens* ever among the chief *Roman Counsellors* and *Senators*; so were the *Druids* ever among the *British* and *Gallick Parlements*; so were the *Magi* among the *Persian Princes*; so at this day are the *Musties* among the *Turks chief Counsel*: All Mankind knowing this, that the
best

best counsels are those which rise nearest to *Jupiters Throne*, and are drawn from the clearest fountains of *Divine Wisdom*.

If the true God, and the Son of God, the *Christians Saviour*, have justly the Titles of the *All and Onely wise*, yea the *wonderful Counsellors*, how (I beseech you) can it stand with any Christian sense, or reason of *state and true Religion*, to exclude those men, beyond any, from all *publick Councils* of Church and State, who are most in *Gods and Christs stead*, best studied and acquainted with the *Divine Will, Wisdom and Counsel in Gods Word*? I am sure (so far as I am versed in any Histories) neither this Church or State (nor any other) did ever flourish *without Bishops* among the prime Counsellors, both in Parliament and other-where; nor did they ever more flourish in Piety, Peace and Plenty, than when these had as great an influence as any other *Men of Learning, Worth and Wisdom*.

How things may hereafter thrive, where the Clergy are so nipt and frost-bitten, time and success will best inform the *survivors*: yet it is no very promising omen, when neither Clergy-men are encouraged to be fit and able, nor, if fit and able, are at any hand to be admitted to such publick use and honour; when any others may, whatever extraction, rise and education they have had: for they are not alwayes noble Rivers and ancient Springs of Vertue, Wisdom and Honour, but many times small Brooks and very inconsiderable Rivolets, which aspire to this honour of *contributing* their small drops of Counsel into the great & publick Cistern of *Government*. And such were they (as far as I understood) *men*, for the most part, who with least patience could bear any Bishops to sit in counsel with them, lest they should be miserably *outshined* and *eclipsed* by the others improved parts and well-known learning, which vastly exceeded the small shreds and short ends which many other men were so highly conceited of in themselves, whose Estates laid the greatest foundation of their Honour.

But I here crave the Readers pardon for this digression, no way impertinent to my designe, which is, to demonstrate the merit, and so far to recover the publick esteem and honor, of good *Bishops* and all the Clergy, such as they ever enjoyed in this and all other *Christian States*, till these darker daies in *England*; which pretend to seek a greater light, by putting out of Princes Courts and Counsels the chiefeest Lamps and Stars of Learning, Religion, Counsell and Wisdom.

To returne then to this excellent *Bishop* and able Counsellour, the *Primate of Armagh*: as to his personall policy, domestick subtilty, or private cautiousness, truly he had little enough of the *Serpent*; but as to his harmelesse innocency, he had very much of the *Dove*, ever esteeming Piety the best Policy, and Sanctity the safest Sanctuary.

If any thing might seem to have been as a veniall allay in him, it was a kind of charitable easiness and credulity, which made him prone to hope good of all, and loth to believe evil of any; especially

if they made any *Profession* or shews of *Piety* : he did not think, there could have been so much gall and vinegar mixed with the shewes, or realities, of some mens graces, untill he found by sad experience some Godly people, and *Presbyters* professing much Godliness, who formerly were prone to adore him as a God, or an Oracle, were (now) ready to stone and destroy him with all his brethren the British Bishops.

He was most prone to erre on the right hand of charity, and to incline to those opinions in things disputable which seemed to set men furthest off from Pride, Licentiousness and Profaneness; of which he was better able to judge than of Hypocrisie, being more jealous of Irreligion than Superstition, which is the right hand, and more venial extreme of Religion. He had not, til of late yeares, felt the scalding effects of some mens over-boiling zeal, or the dreadfull terrors of their righteousness who affected to be over-righteous, who despised his Learned, Wise and Moderate Counsels, touching the settling of Peace, Order and Government in the Church.

The rare endowments of this pattern of a perfect *Bishop* were both wrapped up and set forth, as occasion required, with such Tender Piety, such Child-like Humility, such a Saintly Simplicity, such an Harmeleſs Activity, such an Indefatigable Industry, such Unfeigned Sanctity, such Unaffected Gravity, such an Angelick Serenity, and such an Heavenly Sweetness, as made all his Writings perspicuous, though profound; his Preaching plaine, yet most prevalent. He had an Eloquent kind of Thunder of Reason mixed with Scripture-Lightning, which together had a pleasing potent terror : his praying was fervent and pathetick, without affecting either too diffused a variety or too circumscribed an *Identity* : his fervency, discretion and sincerity, alwaies set his prayers far from any thing either of a verball and vaine repetition, or a flat and barren invention : he ever highly esteemed, and devoutly used, the Liturgy of the Church.

Indeed he Prayed, or Preached, or Practised, continually the Scholar, the Christian and the Divine : his whole life, as to the conversable part of it, was so Civil, so Sacred, so Affable, so Amiable, so Usefull, so Exemplary to all persons of any Worth, Ingenuity and Honesty that came to him, that (in earnest) nothing Ancient or Moderne that ever I knew or read of in these British Churches, or any forreigne Nation, was more August, Venerable, Imitable and Admirable than this *blessed Bishop*; such Candor, yet Power, such Largeness, yet singleness of heart, such Majesty with meekness, appeared in all that he seriously *said* or *did*. I never saw him either morose or reserved, much less sower or supercilious. If he were sad, it made him not silent, but onely more solemn, as night-pieces, which have admirable work of perspective in them, though not so much light with them : if he were chereful, he abhorred not such facetious and ingenious elegancies of discourse as shewed that Rivibility was as proper to Religion as Reason, that Holiness was no enemy to Cheerfulness,

Cheertulness, but great graces might safely smile, and innocent virtues sometimes laugh without offence.

He was indeed (as the Church of *Smyrna* testifies of holy *Poly-carp*, their first Bishop, there placed by St. *John* the Apostle,) a *ἄγιος ὁσίος* & most Apostolick person, a true Divine, a most exemplary Christian, *σωτήρ* & a most Venerable Bishop, equalizing (without doubt) if not exceeding, any one of the ancient famous Bishops and chief Fathers of the Church, not onely in his Primitive Piety, but in his great literature; for he was joyntly excelling in all those things wherein they were severally most commendable: he was, as our Saviour saith of *John Baptist*, a Prophet, yea, greater than an ordinary Prophet; for among the children of men, or children of God and of the true Church, there hath not since the Apostles dayes been born a greater than He. If I, or any man, were able to reach the Height, Length, Depth and Breadth of his Gifts and Graces, his acquired and infused endowments, some taste or essay of which his faithfull friend and servant Dr. *Bernard* (as *Timothy* to this St. *Paul*) hath given, and is daily further imparting to the world, yet no Epitomes or little Volumes are able to containe so ample a subject, nor give that satisfaction to Learned men at home and abroad, as is justly expectable from so copious and complete a theme.

Mat. 11. 11.

Whose humble and holy industry was such, that besides his vast designs for Writing and Printing, he never failed, since he was *Presbyter*, *Prelate* or *Primate*, to preach once every week, if health permitted him, besides many times on the week-day upon occasion; which was so far from being his reproch, as if he made himself too cheap (as some men of more pompous than pious spirits have calumniated,) that, like *Dauids dancing before the Lord*, it turned not to his diminution, but to his great honor among all People, *Presbyters*, *Prelates*, *Peeres* and *Princes*, that had any knowledge what was the true dignity of a Divine, and the commendation of a Christian Bishop: nor was it any great paines to a person of his fulnesse, who did not pump for, but poure out his Sermons like a pregnant spring, with a strange Plenty, Clarity and Vivacity.

Certainly, if all our Bishops had so honored God according to their Places, Parts and Strength, by imitating the best of their Predecessors, yea the Apostles, and our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the greatest Bishop and greatest Preacher, it is very probable, not onely Bishops but Episcopacy had at this day suffered lesse diminution and dishonor: if all Bishops hearts and mouths had been as open as his, sure they had stopped the mouths and silenced the tongues of all their adversaries. But by this and other, either real failings or supposed defects, of some few Bishops (as in Sea-banks where low and weak) the horrid inundation hath broke in upon Episcopacy and all Bishops with such a torrent of violence, that we see the best of them could not keep out nor stand before the impetuosity of the times; which if any Bishops, in any Age or Church, might have merited and hoped to have done, this excellent Primate, and other Bishops then in England and

and Ireland might have done it, who were persons of so great Learning, Piety, Moderation, Humility.

For besides the many other most accomplished *Bishops* then in *England, Scotland and Ireland*, who is so blind as not to see this one illustrious *Bishop*, the Primate of *Armagh*, capable, as to the true cause of *Episcopacy*, to have over-shined, both as to his *Learning, Judgement and Life* (as the Sun in the firmament,) all those *Comets and Meteors*, those blazing and falling Stars, which either then did or since have appeared *eccentrick or opposite to Primitive and Catholick Episcopacy*?

Take them in their *stragling novelties*, or in their *associating confederacies*, or in their *congregationall conventicles*, however they may seem by false glasses, or *grosser mediums*, to be magnified in some mens imaginations, and so set off to vulgar admiration among weak and womanly apprehensions; yet neither for Scripture-proportions, nor for Catholick practise, nor for right reason, nor for true prudence and Christian polity, are they any way to be compared either to the Antiquity or Majesty of true *Episcopacy*: For which the Judgement, Humility, Moderation and Integrity of this excellent *Bishop* is so clearly set forth, both by his constant practise and all his writings, (wherein, for peace sake, he willingly joyned an orderly Presbytery with a Venerable Episcopacy; that neither grave Counsell, nor comely Order, nor just Authority, nor Christian Unity should be wanting in the Churches Government) that it is an error worse than the first, for men not yet to returne from their *Paroxysmes and Transports* against all Presidentiall Episcopacy, or not to close with so great a judgement, so grave an Oracle, as this holy *Bishop* was. Who, however he held a *Fraternal Communion* (as occasion offered) with those Reformed Churches and those Ministers who approved, yea desired, Episcopacy, though they could not enjoy any *Bishops* properly so called after the custome of all ancient Churches; yet, with St. *Cyprian*, he flatly condemned, and branded with the sin and scandal of *Schisme*, all those who wilfully cast off, and unjustly separated from, their lawfull *Bishops*, who professed the same *Orthodox Faith and Reformed Religion*; affirming, as I have been further most credibly informed, that he would not (because with comfort and good conscience he could not) receive the *Sacrament of the Lords Supper* from such Ministers hands, whose Odination he esteemed *irregular and incomplete*, or for their consecration inauthoritative, because partiall, and schismaticall against that *Episcopall power* which ever was, and still might be had, in this Church.

Nor was this his censure heightened or sharpened by any anger or vindicative passion, though he was unhand somely used by some men who heretofore much applauded him: from such distempers his *Mosaick meeknesse* was most remote, especially in cases of Religion and the Churches publick concernments; for the advance of which he could have cheerfully sacrificed all his private interest of

Sine spe sunt,
& perditionem
maximam Dei
indignatione
acquirunt, qui
Schismata se-
runt, & relicto
Episcopo suo,
aliis sibi so-
ras Pseudoepi-
scopum consti-
tuunt.
Cypr. Epist.
61. lib. 1.

of honor or profit, and have been reduced to teach School in a bel-fry, as his phrase was. But he ever held to his pristine and constant judgement in the most prosperous times, which enjoyed him the same as did his adversities; no losses and distresses, to which the Fatality, Fury, Folly or Ingratitude of this Age reduced him, being able to cloud his judgement, or discompose his tranquillity, in any other, or in this sharp controversie touching Episcopacy.

And indeed, to adde to the further *weight* and crown of this excellent *Bishop*, (who deserved to be esteemed one of the *Primates* of all *Learning*, *Piety* and *Vertue* in the Christian world,) he was (by Gods wonderfull dispensations) to be made a *Primate* in *sufferings*, and to be more *illustrious* by those darknings which on all hands were cast upon his person and profession, as a *Preacher* and as a *Prelate*. He lived to see, yea to feel, his *Venerable person* by some men shamefully slighted, (who saw more brightness in a *sharp sword* than in all *Learned vertues*;) his *function*, as a *Bishop*, exautorated, decryed, depressed, despised; his *Revenues* first stopped, then alienated and confiscated; his moderate stock of moveables (all, except his excellent *Librarie*) and at last a reserve of some monies, about 2000. pound, seized and swept away by the *Irish*. The newes of which last (as I was witnessse at the first coming of it,) he received with so no trouble or *emotion*, that it made me see in this holy man, that the patience of *Job* might well be a true *history*, and not a *Tragick parable*.

After this the profits of the *Bishoprick* of *Carlile* (then vacant) being conferred upon him by the late King, for the support of his age and *exile*, even these were taken from him by those that took all Church-revenues from all Bishops: yet, (for shame) a Pension of *four hundred pounds* a year, as his Lordship hath told me, was promised him when he was forced to yield up his Interest in the *Revenues* of *Carlile*; which Pension, after a year or two, was never paid him. At last this great Personage, the *Primate* of *Armagh* (whom *Cardinal Richelieu*, with many other great Princes and States, had invited with very *honorary propositions* to make onely his residence with them, as an honor to their Country) was reduced to a small stipend or salary of about *two hundred pounds* a year, which he was to earn by preaching, as long as his sight and strength served him. These failing him, (and in him all the *learned* and *better world*) he lived upon Gods Providence and the Contributions (for the most part) of some noble Personages, (wherein I was happy to do him some service :) among whom none hath merited, and erected a more lasting Monument of Honour, than the *Countesse* of *Peterborough*, under whose grateful and hospitable roof this *Mortal Angel*, this *incomparable Bishop*, left, as the *English*, so all the *World*, which was not worthy of him, having of later years treated him with so little publick value, that while Merchants, Military men, and mean Mechanicks, either get fair Estates, or have good *pay*, *pensions* and gainful *employments*, while young *Presbyterian* and *Independent Preachers* possess themselves (some by *dispossessing others*) of the best *Living*s they can seize, this aged *Bishop*, this *inestimable*

mable Jewel of men, this brightest Star of the British Churches and Christian World, this Paragon of Prelates, this Glory of Episcopacy was suffered to be so eclipsed, that, with St. Paul, he knew what it was to want as well as to abound. He had not, with our Blessed Saviour, any house to rest his head in, nor a foot of land which he might call his own: He seemed to live, as St. Chrysostom sayes of St. Paul, *γυμνὸς ἰσχυρὸς*, only with a naked soul, or a sublimated Spirit, as much above the glory of the world, as he had been stripped of it and by it, being carefull in nothing save only to discharge a good conscience to God and men, as he did both living and dying, esteeming this the greatest Treasure and Honour to those that are daily dying to the world, even while they live in it. He was equally remote from Lucifer and Mammon, from Haughtinesse as from Covetousnesse: as he complained not of Tenuity, so he owned not that deserved Eminency which he had by any outward token, never appearing of later yeares in any other than a plain Gown and Cassock, as an ordinary Presbyter. A person so rich in all excellencies, and yet so poor, even to an annihilation, in his own Spirit, partakes (no doubt) of that first great Beatitude, The Kingdom of Heaven.

Mat. 5.3.

But, as if all that burthen, while this blessed Bishop lived, had not been sufficient to depress this Atlas, this Job, this Elias, there wanted not some men, (who go for Ministers) who, to shew their despite and insolency against all Bishops and Episcopacy, durst own and declare their scorn and disdain against this excellent Lord Bishop and Primate while he lived, by not vouchsafing to own or call him by any of these most deserved Titles, nor enduring the style of *Armachanus* to be added to his name. O pitiful Parasites! most obsequiously courting other men with the nauseous and repeated *Crambes* of Your Honour, Your Lordship, My good Lord, &c. whose neither place nor personal worth and merit in Church or State, is, or ever can be, (without a miracle) comparable to this renowned Lord and Bishop, if pious Impartiality, and not secular Flattery, might be judge. Ask all the Christian and learned World, what man of any Learning, Honor and Ingenuity, from home or abroad, ever wrote to him, or made mention of his name, without exquisite Prefaces and studied Epithets of signal honor and respect; which attributes of Lordship and Grace given to Bishops are no news, nor any way offensive, save onely to Mechanick Ignorance or Envy; there being nothing in all Antiquity more frequent on all hands, than the honourable compellations and additions of (*Κύριος* and *Τυφωτάτος*) *Domine*, and *Multum venerande*, of *Dominatio*, *Dignitas* and *Paternitas*, of Honourable Lord and Venerable Father ascribed to worthy Bishops: Among whom none was more worthy of all Attributes fit to be given to a mortal man than this Bishop; whose greatest diminutions (like the seeming Eclipses of the Sun) did not lessen his light, but onely hide him more from the World. He was as truly worthy to be Honoured, Emulated, Admired, Magnified and Imitated of all good men in all Ages, as any one person that ever I knew in all my life; which (as Plato said of *Socrates*) I think much the more blessed of God, because I lived in those dayes which gave me

the opportunity, honor and happiness both to know and be known to this great Exemplar of all learned worth, this grand pattern of Bishops, Preachers, Scholars and Christians.

Nor was it the least cordial I had in the difficulties and horrors of later years, to remember that I was not far from such an open Sanctuary, that I might have frequent recourse to such a full and free Magazin of all Christian Graces and Gifts : nor did I think we could be completely miserable and utterly desolated, as to the Church, while this great Genius was yet alive and in England; in whom, by a rare and wonderful conjunction, such high abilities were mixed with unparallel'd humility, such Candor and Gentleness did temper his Gravity, and such Serenity did sweeten the severer Sanctity of his life, that he seemed to me not so much a man, as a kind of miracle or prodigy of humane perfections : especially when I remember, not long before his death, those unfeigned tears which I saw, and those humble complaints which I heard, not for his losses, but for his sins and omissions, earnestly deprecating Gods displeasure, and dreading his exact Tribunal. Who will not fear and tremble, who will not wax wan and discoloured, when he sees a Rubie of so great price and orient lustre contract pallor and amazement ?

As for the many sufferings or indignities he had sustained, I never perceived the least regret or sigh, much lesse any bitter and revengfull replies. A very great sense indeed he expressed, and very often with sadness and compassion, for the distractions of this Church, the deformities of our Religion, and the feared future desolations, which he oft and earnestly seemed to presage as neer at hand, alwaies jealous that our Religious fends and factions would at last end in Papall Superstition and mutuall oppressions : Against both which this good Bishop, and so many, yea most, of his Brethren, were, I believe, as much enemies, and as far removed, both in their judgements and endeavours, as the most Antiepiscopeall Presbyter or Independent in the world ; being much better able to give a reason of his distance from them, than they can for their defiance of him and all Bishops.

Against the deluge of whose partiality and passion I have thus opposed the Barricado or Peire, this one great instance of a most unblameable Bishop, purposely to vindicate, against all mens impudence, ignorance or malice, the consistence of Episcopacy with Piety, and the vast distance between Primitive Prelacy and after-Popery. Truly, in my judgement, this one Bishop out-weighs all that ever was or can be alledged against Episcopacy ; who not onely while he lived mightily justified the function, but before he died his earnest desire was, that such a due succession of Episcopall Authority might be regularly preserved in England, as might keep up the completenessse and validity of Ecclesiasticall and Catholick Ordination, first against the Calumnies of Papists, who infinitely joy in the advantages they have got of such a Schismatick reproch upon us ; next, against the rage and impertinencies of other factions, who will in time bring all Reformed and Christian Religion to a con-

sumption, if they either quite obstruct, or utterly destroy Primitive and Apostolick Episcopacy, which that great *Bishop* esteemed as (*vena porta*,) the great veine, which hath from the *Apostles* conveyed, in all Ages, all *Ecclesiasticall* Order, Power, Authority and Jurisdiction. Which undoubted ly was the judgement of all Antiquity; otherwise all *Churches* would not have been so impatient of being without *their Bishops* at any time, nor would *Bishops* have been so carefull, in the times of persecution, to propagate an holy *succession* of *Bishops*, without any remarkable or long interruption, never failing in any Church till this last Age, nor in *England* till of late yeares: *Primitive Bishops* not considering the pleasures or displeasures of men, great or small, in so grand a concern as what they believed was pleasing to God, profitable for the Church, and necessary for *Ecclesiasticall Authority*; which they thought could no more stand without *Episcopacy*, than a body can without its leggs. Nor did Antiquity either use, or know, or want the late *Crutches* of *Presbytery*, or the stilts of *Independency*, which, to make themselves seem usefull, have sought to cut off the native pillars and proper supports of this Church to the very stumps, not without infinite paine to some parts, and those principal ones too, of the Body, besides constant diminution and deformity to the whole.

Which will, in my judgement, which willingly followes so great a guide as the Lord *Primate*, never in *England* be well at its ease, or in any posture of Stability, Unity, Beauty and Honor, untill *Episcopacy* be beheld and embraced in its native lustre and Primitive posture: First, as designed by the Orderly Power and Wisdome of God; Secondly, as instituted and actuated by the Spirit of Christ and his *Apostles*; Thirdly, as received and used without any scruple in all Primitive Churches, when once they were fully planted and established in *Ecclesiasticall* Polities or Spirituall Corporations; not one *Church*, in all Ages, either denying, or doubting, or disputing the Catholick Authority of *Bishops*; Fourthly, which they saw every way most agreeable, as to the nature of *mankind*, so to the different *stations* of *Christians*, and to that necessary order which ought to be among Ministers as well as other people; Fifthly, and to none more than to the *English Nation*, where the blessings by *Episcopacy* are now the more remembred and remarkable, by the Miseries, Disorders, Divisions, Insolencies, Horrors and Confusions which have befallen us since we took away the chief *buttresses* and *pillars* of the Church, as if they were burthensome and superfluous, when indeed they were not lesse ornamentall, than usefull and necessary to the well-being of it at least, if not to the very being of it in its *integrality* and *completeness*.

I am sure, the *ejection* of *Episcopacy*, like the banishment of St. *Chrysostom* out of *Constantinople*, hath hitherto been attended and followed in *England* with great *Earthquakes* and terrible shakings of other mens Palaces and Houses as well as those of *Bishops*, whose turning out of the *House of Lords* by the Vote of about twenty *Lords*,

Lords, made so wide a doore and breach to *that House*, that none of those Peeres (who were more impatient to sit with such Learned and grave men under the same roof, than St. *John* was to be in the same bath with *Cerintus*) could long stay within those walls; the justice of Heaven (as some conjecture) so far *retaliating* mens passions with speed upon their own heads: the Divine wisdom (I doubt not) seeing and approving as much of Beauty, Order, Prudence, Unity and Stability in true *Episcopacy*, as he sees, and abhors, much of Novelty, Weaknesse, Fatuity, Partiality, Deformity and Confusion in any other waies of *Church Government*, which cannot but be as *defective* and *dubious*, as they are novel and partiall, no way conform to the Catholick Custome of the Churches of Christ, nor any way either invented, approved or authorized by the sociall wisdom and joynt consent of all those in this *Church and State*, who were concerned as highly in all *changings* of *Government*, as any of those men are who have been most forward to make strange alterations, and to remove the *ancient Land-marks*.

CHAP. XXV.

BUt it is high time to take my last *Farewel* of this long and oft-debated Cause of *Primitive* and *Catholick Episcopacy*; which truly I think in my Conscience to be the Cause, First, of God, as he is the God of Order and Wisdom, and not of Folly or Confusion; Secondly, the Cause of Jesus Christ our blessed Saviour, whose Spirit constituted & guided the Apostles, with all their *holy Successors*, in this Method of *Ecclesiastical Communion* and *Subordination*; Thirdly, the Cause of Christs *Catholick Church*, which we ought not, in *modesty* or *charity*, so highly to reproch, as to impute ignorance or perverseness to it, that either it knew not the way of Christ at first, or it wilfully and presently forsook it by an *universal Apostasie*, to gratifie some few *mens ambition*. Fourthly, I esteem it the *special Cause* of this *Church and Nation*: first, because it was never blessed with any *Church government* but that by Bishops; secondly, it hath been, and is, miserably shattered and abased by the casting off and want of *Episcopacy*; and thirdly, for the *native temper of the people*, who are not apt to be governed by any men not duely invested with the *Majesty* of some *eminent Worth*, adorned with special Power, Honor and Estates, which together give Authority. Fifthly, I think it the *Cause* of all good *Ministers*, that desire to keep themselves in a true *Church-Order* and *Catholick Communion*; who will find themselves, and leave their Posterity, at a *great losse*, (as to the Honor, Setledness and Safety of the Christian and Reformed Religion) unless they be restored to some such *uniform way* of publick *Subordination* and *Unity*, as hath most *safety, consistency* and *authority* in it self, also most satisfaction to all learned, wise and honest men. All which

Commending
this Church
of England,
with the Re-
formed Reli-
gion, to the
Piety and
Wisdom of all
Persons of
Honour and
Honesty.

things are no where (that I see) to be found but in a regular and primitive *Episcopacy*; which owes its late total ruine and shipwreck in *England*, not to its own age and leakinesse, (as if it sunk of it self) nor to the general dislike and weariness of it, as if the wisdom and power of the Nation, Prince and People, of all estates, had, upon serious, free and impartial advice, concluded to sink it, having provided a better Vessel: but its ruine is the effect of a terrible and fatal storm, which came first out of the North upon us; this ran *Episcopacy* so a-ground, that many despairing of her ever coming off with any intireness, betook themselves to the Cock-bote of Presbytery and the Skiff of Independency; when yet, I conceive, it were no hard matter to recover *Episcopacy*, as to the primitive structure of it, although much of its Ornaments and Gallantry be lost.

Certainly, the Restitution of primitive *Episcopacy*, for the Unity, Honor and Happiness of the Nation as well as of all the Clergy, seemeth a Work, as of far more prudence, justice and piety, so of much less charge and trouble than the Ruine of it hath cost us all: nor can it be strange to see some men change their minds in religious concerns, who we see have soon done it in our civil settlements.

This and other Blessings of Church-order and Unity will easily flow in upon us, by a kind of Tide or Reciprocation of providence, beyond expectation, when once the God and Saviour, the King and Bishop, the great Protector and President of his Church, shall please to breath a spirit truly Evangelical and Christian upon this Nation; when all of us accepting of our punishment, and repenting of our sinful follies and presumptions, the Lord will also repent of the evil which he hath brought upon us all, and think thoughts of Mercy toward this languishing, afflicted, divided and deformed Church, whose Order, Peace, Honor, Unity and Happiness, some of us weakly, others wantonly, and not a few of us wickedly, have sinned away, to a state (in point of Ecclesiastical Government) deplorable enough, and almost irreparable. For it is not new Associations, or Confessions of Faith, or pretty Paraphrases on the Heads of Religion, which do salve our sore; blessed be God, the Church of *England* needed not these Crambes: It is onely the God of Love and Father of Mercies who can allay the spirits of Men, and bring them out of those contentious and cruel dispositions which are divisive, and so destructive to each other. True, we have been three dayes dead and buried, yet no Corruption, no Dissolution, no Dissipation can hinder the hand of omnipotent Goodnesse, when he shall please to command a Resurrection, even to dry bones and scattered dust. Then may we hope that this salvation of the most High draweth neer to us, when those that are in highest place for power and Counsell, shall by impartiall advise, both of States-men and Church-men, in Synods as well as Parliaments, deliberate and determine such things as shall gratifie no one or more Factions or Parties, but the community or publick; with regard not so much to the present pregnant and pugnacious interests,

rerests, (which are not without passion prosecuted and urged) as chiefly to the future blessings of their Country and Posterity; which no Government, as to the civil State, will make long happy or peacefull, unlesse they be combined in religious regards as Christians, no lesse than as men: For though Christians properly do not fight and contend, yet the men and beasts will, if their hearts and hands be not bound with mutuall Charity and Religious Harmony; which are the surest bonds of Unity, Perfection and Peace.

To let the *concernments of this Church* and the state of the *Reformed Religion alone*, to leave them as now they stand (or fall rather into daily Decaies, Divisions, Distractions, mutuall animosities & abhorrencies between Ministers and other Christians,) to let them take their course, and work out themselves by an irreligious *tolerancy* and imprudent *indifferency*, is (as St. Basil the Great observes) like the leaving of a desperate *Consumption*, or a spreading *Cancer*, or a venomous *Gangrene*, or a contagious *Plague*, to the cure of good nature and providence, expecting what *Time* will do; (which is indeed a *Catholicon* that either *cures* or *consumes*, *mends* or *ends*, all things.) A method far short of that Prudence and Conscience which ought studiously and industriously to apply all those seasonable and apt meanes, which both Reason and Religion, Piety, Charity, Policy, and Humanity do dictate to us, and require of us; which being in the power of our hands, not to use them, must needs be such a *supine negligence* and *sottish laziness*, as neither becomes wise men nor good Christians; favouring more of an earthy *dulnesse* and an *Atheisticall* indifferency, than of any quick *sense* of *Honor* or Conscience in behalf of our God, our Saviour, our Religion, our own or other mens soules. In all which to be carelesse and stupid, is the lesse veniall in us as men, because in other things, like *spiders*, we have a *very quick sense* and most *acute resentment* of any thing that in the least kind toucheth or threatneth our civil, worldly, and momentany concernments, for Estate, Honor or safety: here we are vigilant to prevent, speedy to consult, diligent to endeavour, desperate to adventure. Which high activity in matters *Momentany*, renders our coldnesse and lukewarmnesse in Religion most *unexcusable* before God and man; being more afraid of an *Enemy* than an *Heresie*, of civil *Sedition* than of Ecclesiastick *Schisms*, of a sharp *Sword* than a *damnable error*; more solicitous to save our *Carcases* than our *soules*, and to sleep in whole *skins*, than to keep good *Consciences*; pretending (as some do) that nothing is more *Religious*, than to urge, injoyne and require *nothing* in Religion, that the highest *Christian Liberty* is an *Indifferency* or toleration left to all men toward all Religions, especially if they do but pretend to any smack of *Christianity*.

I know that this *indulging* of an *equall toleration* to all parties and Sects in Christian Religion, (by which, as *Cocks* in a *pit*, they may fight it out till they have got the *Mastery* of each other) hath a popular shew of *Equanimity* and tenderneffe; being much applauded by those

φοβητέον μὴ
κατὰ μικρὸν,
τῆς ἀδιαφο-
ρίας τούτης
ὁδοποιήσης,
εἰς παντελὴ
σύγχυσιν
ἔλθῃ τὰ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
πρόγμματα.
Basil. Atur-
bio, ep. 181.

those that have had of late yeares the reall *benefit* of it, though they are the most supercilious and severe suppressors of others, who do but crave an equall and inoffensive *share* of freedom, as to their Judgements, Consciences and Religion: yet if we look to the bottome of such *indulgences* as gratifie mens endlesse Novelties, Varieties, Vanities and Extravagancies in Religion, we shall find they have little of true Charity, lesse of true Piety, and least of all of true Policy, either in Magistrates or Ministers; whose duty (I humbly conceive) is not so much to build their own severall nests, and to feather them with their private fancies, where to lay and hatch up their various opinions; but they should all agree to build Gods house, to advance that common salvation, according to the Catholick Order and Example of Christs Church. They should speedily, faithfully and impartially set themselves to settle and maintaine, by all fit *meanes*, such a way of true *Religion*, as to its publick Profession, solemn Ministration, and paternall Government, as shall be found, by the joynt Wisdom and Piety of the Nation, in Learned Synods impartially convened; and in free Parlements peaceably disposed, to be most consonant to *Gods word* as to the substance of duties, and to *Primitive Custome* as to the manner or Circumstances of them.

A work certainly not more *necessary* than easie, if mens hearts were as upright as they are able, with Gods blessing, to attaine so good a designe. Nor would men faile to be warme and diligent in it, if they had a true perception either of the great advantages which attend the *Unity of any Nation* in Religion, or of the mischiefs, publick and private, which follow their distractions, while every one, out of a childish and inordinate delectation, is indulging their own private humors and opinions, to the injury and neglect of the publick.

I see that in *Terrors* of fire, shipwreck or *inundation*, even devout people will fly from their *Prayers, Sermons* and *Sacraments*, to secure themselves or their neighbours: with how much more zeal and earnestness should wise men dispense a little with their private interests, secular Counsells and civil agitations, and sometimes apply to the relieves and securities of Religion, if they did apprehend and lay to heart the pernicious consequences which are inseparable from the Divisions and Distractions of Religion: whereof I have given in the Second Book so many and so miserable instances.

If the work were but once well begun, it would be half done: *lesser disputes* would fall of themselves, if once, as to the maine of *Doctrine, Worship, Discipline* and *Church-Government*, sober men were agreed: if the maine sores of Pride, Passion, Prejudice and Presumption were well searched and clensed, Charity, like a precious balsame, would soon work out, close and heale all *uncomfortable* jealousies and distances among good Christians.

However, some publick standard owned & established for the settled *Truth* and Order of the Reformed Religion on all sides, would (by casting *Anchor* as it were) give some good stay at present, beyond
what

what the particular Confessions of several parties are like to do, such as I see both Presbyterian Associations and Independent Congregations daily bring forth; and so will every new form do, till we all agree in something uniform, as to the maine Rule, End and Order of Religion. This once done, however there might still be some *tosings* and *dis-satisfactions* as to private mens opinions; yet, as to the maine *interests* of Religion as Christian and Reformed, also as to the *grand concernments* of this Church, in its Unity, Honor, Purity and just Priviledges, these would by such Ligatures and limits of Truth and Love be much preserved from running into endlesse factions and *sacrilegious confusions*, which cannot but tend to *civil combustions*, and end at last in the *Romish usurpation*, which, as the *Dam of Romulus*, never failes to make its prey of any Churches that are divided, and any Christians that are scattered, *dis-satisfied* or *scandalized* with their Religion; by which meanes either our *Thames* will run to *Iber*, or *Tiber* will come to our *Thames*. This will be the last result, these the dregs and bottom of our *Religious distractions* and unsetlednesse, if they be not wisely remedied.

Mean time, for want of some such sober *fixation* and equall standard of Religion in its publick profession, to which both Prince and people of all sorts might both wisely consent and conform; First, there cannot be that mutual Christian Charity and neighbourly Communion among subjects; Next, there cannot be that kindness or correspondence, that Love and Fidelity between *Prince* and *people*, which would be if they did say *Amen* to the *same prayers*, and serve the same God in the same manner. Civil disaffections do infallibly follow between *Soveraignes* and *Subjects* upon any Diversity in Religion; as is evident not onely in *Germany*, *Poland*, *France*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*, (where the greatest popular dis-satisfactions and asperities against their Princes were still raised by the *jealousies* which some people had of their Religion) but also in *England*, while Subjects suspected as if their Governors in Church and State did daily warp from that Religion which was Reformed, and established in the *Church of England*: from which, at last, it appeares none varied lesse than those that have been most destroyed, none more than those whose *jealousies* and passions for *Reformation* have over-born them and this Church to as great deformities as there are novelties, and to as many distractions as there are divisions; which in Religion, as wounds, do not onely divide, but deface the beauty of any body *Naturall*, *Civil* and *Ecclesiastick*. Nor can there be any publick *discrepancies* of Religion between *Prince* and *people*, but either the Prince cries out of *Faction*, *Sedition* and *Rebellion*, against his subjects; or subjects complain of *Tyranny* and *Persecution*, as to their *Princes* injunctions, at least of superstition, as to his profession, if it be with more ceremony or lesse solemnity than they fancy, or are wonted to. Yea, we find by some mens interpretation of their Covenant, the clause for allegiance thus limited in the *preservation of true Religion*, that is, say some, as far as we think the King preserves what

what seemes to us true Religion, so far we will be faithfull to him; if he varies from that, we may fall from him.

Besides these mischiefs, which are either imminent or incumbent, and indeed unavoidable, where Prince and People are still left to chuse their severall Religions amidst the Varieties and Uncertainties of different Modes and Forms, of opposite Preachers, Parties, Professions and Churches, (such as now divide not onely *England*, but all *Christendom*) in time the *Prince* or *chief Magistrate* here in *England*, or any Christian and Reformed Church, may be either an *Atheist*, as unsetled in any Religion, because he sees so many; or else he may be an *Idolater*, an *Arrian*, a *Socinian*, a *Papist*, an *Anabaptist*, a *Famelist*, a *Seeker*, a *Quaker*, any thing or nothing, as well as a *Protestant*, or *Professor* of the true *Reformed Religion*, which is never well Reformed, if it be not well united and established, no more than a diseased body is well cured or purged, which is daily breaking out in boyles and botches.

And since experience shews us in *England*, that many Subjects, by the scandal of our Divisions, are turned *Atheists*, *Papists*, *Socinians*, *Anabaptists*, *Famelists*, *Seekers*, *Ranters*, *Quakers*, any thing, yea nothing, as to true Religion, which consists in Piety, Equanimity, Charity, the Love of God and our Neighbour; what shall hinder those that hereafter may be in *sovereign* power, and exposed to many temptations, to take the same *freedom* when they list, and to profess *Popery* or any thing, when Religion is left to their choice and Indifference? there being no publick Worship, Catechize, Articles or Canons to which all agree as the *Card* and *Compass* of Religion, by which both *Prince* and *People* may safely and unanimously steer their course towards Heaven, in a Christian consent and harmony, much more punctual and explicit than that is of owning onely one God, (which the *Turks* do) and one Lord Jesus Christ, (which all Hereticks and Schismatics do.)

Which sad fate of a Prince and People who are every day to seek and chuse, or change their Religion, cannot befall *England* without fore conflicts and many bloody bickerings; the temper of the *English* being not so dull and flegmatick, and over-awed, as that which possesseth some *Dutch-men* and *Almaines*, whose zeal for *trade* and *gain* (besides their *social drinking*, which begins and ends all their differences) makes them more capable to endure different professions of Religion among them, so far as they do not endanger the civil peace, nor obstruct their blessed commerce: yet even these Churches and States have some settled form and profession of Religion, in Doctrine, worship and discipline: yea, they in the *Netherlands* have a very handsom *Liturgy*, and other publick boundaries or *Symbols* of their Religion, from which when once their *Magistrates* perceived such variations to grow, by the *Remonstrants* party, as might shake their civil peace and the stability of their Church, they did, to their no small cost and pains, stop the breach, both by the *Synod of Dort* and the power of the Sword, not permitting those whom the publick sense counted

counted *Innovators in Religion*, to enjoy any such *freedom or toleration* as might endanger any publick perturbations, which would have grown easily from such *parties* as wanted not Learning, Wit and Pretensions of Piety, on each side, to carry on their Opinions as far as their passions and interests listed, which is to have Empire and Dominion, not onely over all mens bodies, but their souls too, either by fair or foul means: for no *Opinion* or *Sett* is content with the Trundle-bed or Footstool, but affects the Throne and Scepter, of State and of Religion, that it may have a complete *soveraignty* over *men*; which is never well managed by private mens petty activities, and therefore best prevented by the publick Wisdom, Moderation and Setledness, which ought to be in every Nation, State, Kingdom or Commonwealth that owns it self as a Church of Christ, who is but one Lord, and hath taught all his Disciples but one Religion.

All sober and honest men (whose *fishing* and *harvest* lyes not in our troubles) do sufficiently see that *Religion*, as *Christian* and *Reformed*, hath suffered very much in *England*, when it was best settled: we have upon us the *wounds* both of peace and war. As our former long peace and undeserved *prosperity* treasured up much *morbifick matter*, so the *civil war*, by mutual chafings and exasperatings, did breed higher *inflammations* and *festering*; yea, and our late *truce*, rather than *tranquillity*, hath been so far from a serious consideration and well-advised settling of our distractions in *Religion*, that many men have had but more leisure and *liberty* to scratch their own and other mens *scabious itchings*, and to make wider the *gaping corifices* of our *religious Ulcers*. Indeed, private hands can do no other, who besides their petulant passions, being under no publick restraint and modesty, have infinite *partialities*, both as to self flatteries and designs. It must be the Gravity and Majesty, the Nobleness and Ampleness of *publick Wisdom* and *Authority*, which must by prudence and impartiality, both in counsels and actions, reach the depth, and equal the proportions either of our *maladies* or our *remedies*: to which if wise and worthy men do not in time contribute their counsels, prayers and endeavours, for the help and healing of our Religious Affairs, doubtless the disorders and sinister policies of either weak or wicked men will utterly ruine the very *remains* and *ruines* of this Church. Nor can the *Civil State* be ever steady or permanent, where *Prince* and *Subjects*, *Preachers* and *People* are so divided, (in their principles and practises of Religion, both as to their Ministry and Ministration, as to the *original* and *exercise* of all Ecclesiastical Authority and Communion) that they still think it a great part of their Religion either to reform or ruine each other.

It is observed to be one main pillar of the *Turkish Polity, Peace* and *Empire*, which is so vast and diffused, yet generally so peaceable and unanimous, that their *Religion* or *Holy Law* (as they call it) being once settled, is never permitted by any man to be shaken or disputed, much less altered or innovated in the least kind. I know it is not fit for *Christians* to follow all *Mahometan* rigors and severities,

no more than their *follies* and *simplicities*; yet, if the *setledness* of so wild a *Rhapsody* of Religion as the *Alcoran* contains, (which is made up of *Truth* and *Falshood*, of *Fables* and *Fancies*, of *Dreams* and *Dota-ges*) be of so great moment to preserve their *civil peace*, where no wise man can be much concerned what is *believed* or *disbelieved* by him, or any man, in such a meer *Romance* of Religion, of how much more consequence and conscience would it be to all Christians, in any *Polity* or *Nation*, to have their Religion well fixed and setled, which is so Ancient, so Holy, so True, so Venerable, so Divine, so in its Nature, Centre and Circumference but one, so deserving to be most United and Uniform, both as to its Doctrine and Profession? It is a *shame* to see *Mahometans* wiser in their generation than *Christians*, who are, or ought to be, the children of that Wisdom and that Light which shines upon them all by the *Scriptures*, as the *Beams* of the *Sun* of *Righteousness*. It is *childish* for us, who are cunning & careful enough to preserve *civil peace*, to be so careless of religious Unity and Harmony, as to be *tossed to and fro* with every wind of *Doctrine*, according to the *sleight* of men, who lye in wait to deceive the hearts of the simple, serving not the Lord, but their own bellies. We should rather study to be rooted and grounded in the *Catholick Truth*, which is according to *Holiness*, *Justice*, *Order* and *Charity*, after the primitive pattern and constant practise of all true Churches, *Preachers* and *Professors*; whose Authority and Reverence ought to sway more with us, than any new and private mens *Inventions*, which no man will admire that well understands the old, which were so founded upon Verity, so fortified by Charity, so edified in Unity, so reverend for Antiquity, so permanent in their Constancy, according to the particular constitutions of every Church, which still kept the great and *Catholick Communion*, as to the main, amidst some little varieties of outward profession, not as to substance, but onely in *Circumstances* or *Ceremony*: For, as to the main, every Christian, *Layical* or *Clerical*, *Catechumens*, *Penitents* and *Communicants*, *Deacons* and *Presbyters*, kept the *stations* in which God and the Church had set them.

Every member kept to its *Congregation*, every *Congregation* to its ordained *Presbyter* or lawfull *Minister*, every *Presbyter* to his own *Bishop*, every *Bishop* to his *Metropolitane*, every *Metropolitane* to his *Patriarch*, every *Patriarch* (not to the *Pope*, but) to the *Generall Councils*, and every *Generall Council* to the *Scriptures*, and those *Apostolick Traditions* which were *Catholick*, and so agreeable to them. All which orderly gradations were, certainly, in the *Catholick Church* as lawfull as those which the policy of *Presbytery* hath invented, for *Congregationall*, *Classicall*, *Provinciall* and *Nationall* *Consistories*: I am sure they were much more usefull. For those of old preserved every private Christian, every Family, every City, every Country, every Province, every Nation that was Christian, not onely in a Church-way or Ecclesiasticall Communion and Correspondency, as to their particular bounds and neerer relations in every Parish, or Congregation, or City, or Country; but as to that

Catholick

Rom. 16. 18.

Catholick bond of Charity which binds up all Christians in all the world in one fellowship of one body, and one Church, whose head is Christ; to whom every true believer and visible Professor in the whole latitude of the Church being, by the Word and Spirit of Christ, *sistly joyned together and compacted by that which every joynt supplyeth*, according to the effectually working in the measure of every part, doth both edifie and increase it self and others in Truth and Love, without which all Churches, all Religion and all Reformation are but like parts or members separate from their body, not without flesh, sinewes, substance or bones, but yet without blood and *Spirits, Life and Soul*.

For, as the particular parts and members of the naturall body do not live, thrive and move, onely by that particular substance, spirit, life and aptitude which is (apart) in them, but by a concurrence with, an influence from, and a participation of, that common Spirit, Life & Virtue which they have from the whole, while they are in Communion with it: so is it with Christians, singly and severally considered their virtue is small, and separated none at all, because they want so much of Authority and Validity, as they want of Catholick Unity and Ecclesiasticall harmony, which keep Christians and Churches intire to Christ and to each other, by that one and common spirit, which runs through all true Christians; by virtue of which, and not of any private spirit, all publick transactions, which concern any nobler part or portion of Christs Church, are to be carried on, and anciently were in all orderly Churches as branches of the Catholick.

This, this great and publick Communion in the same Faith, Spirit, Power and Authority, was it that made the just and valid sentence of *Excommunication* in Primitive times so terrible, and that of absolution so comfortable, to all good Christians, even as the sentence of *Iesus Christ* at the last day; which *Te-tullian*, *Cyprian*, the first Council of Nice, and others tel us of: Because it was no private spirit of any Christian, or Congregation, or Church, or Presbyter, or Bishop, or Metropolitane, or Patriarch, that properly did excommunicate, but it was the Spirit, Power and Authority of *Iesus Christ*, given to, diffused among, and shed abroad in, his whole body of the Catholick Church, and in that name dispensed by the particular Bishops and Pastors of it in their severall Stations or Places; as the visible and audible powers or faculties which are in the soul are exerted and exercised onely by the Eyes and Eares. Hence was it that whoever was by any one Catholick Bishop with his Presbyters and his people excommunicated, was thereby cast out of that and all other Churches Communion in all the world; nor was it lawfull, as the Nicene Council and African Canons tell us, for any Bishop, Presbyter, or Christian people, to receive into Church-fellowship or to the holy Communion of the Eucharist any one that was thus secluded.

Then did this great and weighty Thunderbolt of Excommunication seemingly lose its Primitive virtue and value, (not really, for it holds

That all right Excommunication is by the Authority, and out of the Communion of the true Catholick Church.

Council. Nic.
Canon 5.
De Communione
privatis, si-
ve ex clero, si-
ve laico O-
ne, ab Episcopo
per unam-
quamque Pro-
vinciam.

ὑπὸ τῶν καθ'
ἐκείνην ἐπαρ-
χίαν ἐπισκό-
πων.

Council. Nic.
Canon 5.
πρὸς τῶν ἀ-
κοινωνούντων
ἐκκ.

κατατίλω ἡ
γνώμη, τὸς
ὕψ' ἐτέρων
ἀποβληθέν-
τας ὕψ' ἐτέ-
ρων μὴ προσ-
έσθαι.

good still, according to the *Original Commission*, when lawfully executed in *binding or loosing*, in *opening or shutting*, as Christ deposited it with his Apostles and their successors) when *Factions* or *Schismes* being risen in the Church, *contrary sentences of Excommunication* were on all sides passionately *bandied* against each other; not from that *unity of the Spirit*, which kept the bond of Truth and Love, but from the private *Passions, Presumptions, Prejudices* and *Opinions* of such as either openly *deserted*, or occasionally declined from, that *Catholick Community* and *Unity* of one Faith, one Lord, one Baptisme, one Spirit, for gifts and graces, for the Authority and Efficacy of Christs holy Ministry.

After these preposterous and partiall methods, not onely many particular Christians, but some *Presbyters* and *Bishops*, yea whole *Synods* and *Councils*, have sometimes passed the *sentences of Excommunication*, both as to declaring the *guilt* and *merit* of it, also to the act and execution of it, very *precipitantly, partially, passionately* and *uncharitably*; even against such *Doctrines, Practises* and *Persons*, as were orthodox and peaceable, really in *Communion* with Christ and with the Catholick Church: of which one early, great and sad instance was that in the second Century, of *Victor Bishop of Rome*, who in the case of *Easter* grew so zealously exasperated against the *Greek and Eastern Churches*, as *Quartadecimans*, that he thought them worthy to be *excommunicated* in the name of all the *Latine Churches*; notwithstanding that many grave and *Learned Bishops*, with their Churches, testified, that in observing the fourteenth day of the month they followed the Primitive Custome and pattern delivered by the Apostles to them; wherein *St. Irenaeus* (according to his name) with greater *Moderation* and *Charity* sought not onely to *appease*, but to *represe* the inordinate heats of that *Pope* and his adherents, who had a zeal, but not according to *Charity*, breaking *Christian Communion* while he urged too much conformity in all outward things, beyond the liberty which was granted, and had been long used in the Church: concluding, that difference of times or daies (not divinely determined) in the observation of the same duty, ought not to make any breach of *Catholick Unity & Christian Charity*, but rather assert & exercise that *Christian Liberty* which may, in *Circumstantialls* as to outward Rites, be in the *severall parts of Christs Church*, untill all think fit to agree in that *circumstance of time*, as well as they did in the substance of the duty, which was the *Eucharisticall Celebration* of *Christs Blessed Resurrections* which was the reviving of the *Christian faith and hope*. After this example did *St. Cyprian* in *Africa*, excommunicate those that would not rebaptize, or did communicate with, such as *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* baptized; herein being contrary to the sense of the Catholick Church.

At length these and the like *passions* or *surprises* even of some *Orthodox Bishops*, were made patterns and encouragements to any *pragmatick Hereticks* and *arrogant Schismatics*: These, as they grew to any bulk and number, (like *Snow-balls* by rouling) ventured to handle

handle this hot *Thunderbolt* of Excommunication, when they had most cause to fear it; because their *Petulancy*, *Obstinacy* and *Contumacy* against the true and *Catholick Churches Judgement* and *Communion* most deserved it, if their first error did not. Hence Excommunication was at last every where reduced and debased to private spirits, full of *pride*, *revenge* and *partiality*; the *Catharists* or *Novatians*, the *Donatists* and *Arrians* feared not, by their *Pseudoeiscopal* *Conventicles* and *Schismatical Assemblies*, to denounce these *Terrors* and *Anathemas*, and to use the sharp sword of spiritual *curses* against the soundest parts of the Church; as some dared to do against *Athanasius*, and all the *Orthodox*, both *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *People*.

This made in after-times all *Excommunication* very much slighted and despised, while it either served to little other use than to execute the *Popes* wrath, for many hundred years of great *Darkness* and *blind Devotion*, or afterward, in times of more *Light* and *Heat*, it was used as *Squibs* are, rather to scare and smut, than much to burn or blast, those who either used it or abused it rather to gratifie their own private spirits, than to execute that *publick power* and *Authority* which *Jesus Christ* hath committed, with his *Spirit* and *Word*, to his Church and the *Rulers* of it; by which who so was justly cut off, cast out, and given over to *Satan*, was looked upon as *separate* from the *comfort of Communion* with *Jesus Christ* and the true *God*, as well as the *true Church* in all the *World*.

Nor was this onely a declarative act, as to the merit of that fearful *doome* and *state*, confirmed by the consonant suffrage of all the Church as damnable without *Repentance* and *Reconciliation*, (of which every private Christian might easily make a verbal report and oral denunciation;) but it was an *authoritative* and *effectual act*, *executive* of the just and deserved judgement of *God*, so as to be ratified in *Heaven*, according to the original tenor and validity of *Christs Word* and *Commission*, without *Repentance*: just as what is by virtue of their *Office* done by any *publick Judge*, *Notarie* or *Herald*, is not onely *declarative*, but also *executive* of the *Will* and command of the *Prince*, specified in the *authentick Commission* or mandate under the *Broad seal*, which is not onely the *voice* of the *King* and his *Council*, but of the *Law* and *publick Justice* it self, yea of the whole *Republick* or *Community*; as every man lawfully condemned by any *Judge*, or cast by any *Fury*, is virtually cast and condemned by the *Will*, *suffrage* and *consent* of the *Body politic*, who are all consenting to the *Law*, and concerned that justice be duely executed on some evil *Members* for the good of the *whole*. So that the *several degrees* and *subordinations* in the ancient Church of *Christ*, even long before the first *Nicene Council* (as there is expressed) among *Churchmen* and *Bishops*, (against which some have made so loud and ridiculous clamors) were chiefly for this end, as *Mr. Calvin* and others have as ingenuously as truly observed, that the holy *correspondency* of all *Christians* and all *Churches* in one *Faith* and *Truth*, in one *Spirit* and *Power*, might not onely be most evident to the world, but most aply carried

Canon 6.

ried on and preserved against all *Factions, Variations and Divisions*, that they might by these means be known to be of *one heart and mind in the Lord*, that they might all *speake the same things*, and walk in the same steps; that what one *condemne* dall might in the same spirit condemn, what one *forgave* all might forgive; that none might, upon any private passions, either excommunicate others by *injurious abscission*, or themselves by *voluntary separation*, or make new confederacies and associations with those who are either deserters of the Catholick Communion, or justly excommunicated from it: which distempers of Ignorance, and Impatience, and Imprudence among Christians have brought, as we see, this great *power of the Keyes*, and this *exercise of Christian Discipline*, so far into contempt, that no man almost regards it from any hand; every one daring to make what *retortions* they please, and to *excommunicate* any one or more, yea and whole Churches, that do excommunicate them for any the most notorious errors and insolencies. Thus, as the *Popes of Rome* heretofore, so the people now in many places challenge to themselves this *power* against their Neighbours and Brethren, yea against their Preachers and Bishops, against the Fathers that begat them, and the Mother-Church which did bear them.

So that, I confesse, there is not so much cause of *terror* as of *pitty* in most *Excommunications*, as they are now managed by *private* and *unauthoritative* spirits. O what sorrow, what shame is it to see so Sacred, so Solemn, so Divine, so Dreadfull an *Institution*, vilified and nullified, which was designed for the health and welfare of the Church of Christ, by just and necessary severities, when it was, as it ought to be, soberly applied by wise, holy, and impartiall *Governours* of the Church in the name of Christ, & in the Catholick Spirit or consent of all *Orthodox Bishops, Presbyters and people*, which was able to shake Heaven and Hel, to open and shut the Everlasting doores of Salvation or Damnation, according as the penitency or impenitency of offenders did appeare! To see this flaming sword, which was put by Christ into the *Cherubims* hand (those that were the Angels of his Church) to keep the way of the tree of life, to see this made the *scare-crow* and *scorne* of vile men, the sport of *petulant* and *peevish* Spirits; who neither fear to inflict *Excommunication* upon whom they list, as much as lies in their *impotent malice*, nor yet to suffer it from the most *Just, Impartiall and Authoritative* hands in the world; from whom being once proudly separated, they fancy they are (*ἔξω βλάται*) out of the reach and danger of this just terror, and the others true Authority, as lawfull Bishops or Governours of the Church! whose heavy sentence if I should incurre so far, that any one true Bishop with his Clergy should passe it against me, upon just grounds of my scandalous and obstinate sinning against God and his Church, (according to the ancient, rightfull and lawfull way of such proceedings in the Name and Spirit of *Iesus Christ*, to which all true Christians in this Church and in all the world do submit and assent,) I confesse I should much more fear, living and dying, to lye under such a *cen-sure*

sure and sentence, than to be condemned in my *Estate*, *Liberty* or *Life*, by any Court of *humane Justice*, which reacheth not to the *Souls eternal estate*, as *Excommunication* rightly managed doth; it being a most undoubted *Oracle* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, that *whose sins the Apostles*, and their lawful *successors*, as *Rulers of the Church*, do bind on *Earth*, they are bound in *Heaven*.

Who their *lawful* and *authoritative successors* have been, are, and ought to be, in all *Ages* and *places* of the *Church*, is evident to all that have any *fear of God*, or *reverence of his Catholick Churches Testimony*. This is certain, as *Excommunication* carries with it the joyned spirit and suffrage of the *whole Church*, and every true *Member* of it, either explicitly or implicitly; so the regular and authoritative managing of it was ever from the respective *Bishops Authority* and *Order*, as chief *Pastors* in every *Church*, to whose *fatherly care* and *Inspection*, with the counsel of their *Presbyters*, the *Flock of Christ* is committed; especially as to the discreet use of such *Discipline* as highly concerns the *salvation* or *damnation*, the *hopes* or *despair*, the *binding* or *loosing*, the *abscision* or *restoration* of any part: which ought not to be judged, determined and executed by every private spirit of *Minister* or *people*, but by such venerable *Bishops* and their *Presbyters*, as have the authentick transmission of the *Apostles* ordinary governing power delivered to them as from *Christ*; being in this like the *Judges* in commission for *Life* and *Death*: though the *Sentence* be the *Laws*, and the power the *chief Magistrates*, and the *transaction* or *publication* in the *Face* of the *County*, to which all the *Bench of Justices*, the *Jury* and other honest *Men* do tacitly give their votes and assent; yet is the *Cognizance* and *Examination* of the merits of the *Cause*, and the *judicial solemn Declaration* of the *Sentence*, committed specially to the *Judge*, both in respect of his learned *Abilities* and known *Integrity*, also for the *Honor* and *Order* which are necessary to be observed in proceedings of so great concernment to *Mankind* as are matters of *Life* and *Death*. Such is the power, such ought to be the *procedure* of all due *Excommunication*; such they were in the purest and primitive times, when all *Christians*, all *Congregations*, all *Presbyters*, all *Bishops*, all particular *Churches*, were so united, that, as many *Spokes* make but one *Wheel*, and many *Stones* one *Building*, and many *Members* one *Body*, so these made but one *Church*, in the same *Faith*, the same *Baptism*, the same *Ministry*, the same *Spirit*, the same *Order*, the same *Power*, the same *Lord* and *Saviour Jesus Christ*.

From which Blessed Harmony and Spirituall Communion if any *Christian*, or any particular *Congregation*, or any part of the *Church*, (as those of the *Donatistick* party and the *Novatians* in *Africa*, with others) either proudly, passionately and peevishly did separate themselves, or were deservedly separated by the just *censure* of any part of the *true Church*, and thenceforth falling to mangling of all by mutuall *Excommunications*, so as to fly in the faces of their lawfull *Bishops* and *Pastors*, or else turne their backs on them and their
Communion,

Communion ; certainly there could nothing hence be expected but such sad effects as alwaies follow the dividing of any part from the whole, whose integrity is the common Safety, Beauty and honor. All breakings, severings and dissociatings among any Christians, or in any Church, are the fatall fore-runners of much misery, decay and death, as to that Truth and Love which are the life and vigor of all Christian societies.

And such, I feare, in time will be the state of this languishing and lamenting, this broken and *bleeding Church of England*, where every mans hand of late yeares hath been and still is lifted up against *his brother*, and the Sons against their Fathers, wounding and tearing, destroying and devouring one another ; where none are afraid either to Excommunicate themselves, or others whom they list, or to deserve any the justest sentence of *Excommunication* from any others in whom the true power and judgement under Christ resides. This, this seemes to be the state of the *Church of England*, which heretofore was ever justly esteemed as a Noble, Ancient, Renowned and Principall part of the *Catholick, Militant and visible Church of Christ*, untill it came to be thus *torne and mangled* into many Churches, thus wounded and divided by uncharitable factions, thus swoln and inflamed by proud and passionate separations, thus deformed and dying by continued and uncured Distractions ; which will destroy the whole, as to all Honor, Beauty, Unity, Integrity and Authority, while men study to foment and advance their private and severall parties, contrary to the reall and publick interests of the whole *Church of England*, both as Nationall and as a Member of the *Catholick*.

In whose behalf I know not how to expresse (*before I dye*) a greater zeal for Gods glory, or love to my Redeemer, or Charity to my Country, than by thus recommending to your Pious, Princely and Generous care (*O my Worthy and Honored Countrymen,*) the state of the *Church of England* and of the *Reformed Religion*, sometime so professed in her, that she was the Glory, Crown, Rejoycing and Triumph of all Christian and Reformed Churches.

CHAP. XXVI.

Beseeching You again and again, as persons of Wisdom and Power, of Piety and Honor, of Grandeur and Candor, first by all meanes to redeem the *Interests of this Reformed Church, of true Religion* and its true Ministers, from those *undeserved diminutions* and *sacrilegious depredations*, to which they are still exposed by the Envy, Malice, Injurioufnesse, Presumption and unsatiable Covetousnesse of many men of later yeares grown up in *England*. Alas, poor and despicable men will as certainly make *poor Ministers*, as leane *hackneys* in long travelling will tire; you may as soon mix Oyle and Water, Clay and Gold, as fix any Honor or Regard upon that *Ministry* or *Clergy* which is depressed, in these last and worst, these *brasse* and *iron* times, to popular dependence, and its necessary consequents, *Poverty*, or, which is worse, *Flattery*. Such as make no scruple to take away from Ministers, even from the best and chiefeft of them, one part of their *double Honor*, a settled, competent and *honourable maintenance*, will never make conscience to deprive them of the other part, which is *civill respect* and *verball value*, which are but the shels and shadowes of Honor, men will make no bones to take away *fleece* and *all*, who will venture to steal the carcase of the sheep.

A further Caution against Sacriledge, upon the occasion of D. B his Case lately published, about purchasing Bishops Lands.

You cannot but (with me) see that there are many men of a *new light*, and *sight too*, who look upon nothing which hath been given to the Church, either for its *Instruction* or *Government*, for its *Ministers Education* or *Entertainment*, for Charity or Hospitality, for Decency or Honor, under any notion, I do not say of *sacred*, as devoted to our *God* and *saviour*, (alas! this is blasted for *superstitious* and *superfluous*, as neither needfull nor acceptable to *God*;) but not so much as just, in any civil Right or common Equity, so far as the *proprietors* have the use and possession of them, according to as good law as any man hath his *Lands* and *Goods*; of which they cannot in justice be disseised, unlesse they are convicted by law to have forfeited them, by *Felony* or *Treason*, or such Misdemeanour as the law thinks fit to punish by such deprivation.

Who almost is there of these *new Illuminates* that makes any scruple or conscience to shirk, to defraud, to detaine, to delay, to deny any thing that belongeth to the *Clergy* or *Ministry*, comply they never so much with the populacy? Either what they require as their Right, by Law as well as Custom, is *Jewish*, or *Superstitious*, or *Popish*, or *Pompous*, or *superfluous*, or *Undeserved*, or *Abused*, and so may better be turned to other uses, or enjoyed by other men of civil Trades and Professions, who are more necessary to the Common-wealth than any Ministers can be. Thus *Sacriledge* is in every corner, yea and in *Market-places*, and on *house-tops*, yea oft in Churches and Pulpits; *Murmuring*, *Cavilling*, *Repining*, *Coveting* and *Plotting* how to

eate up, not onely all the Houses of God in the *Land*, but all his chief servants, the Rulers and Ministers of his *Son Jesus Christ*, the Pastors and Teachers of his Church.

We have already seen, if some men like to have no *Bishops*, as chief *Fathers*, *Presidents* and *Governours*, nor any *Deanes* and *Chapters*, as their constant *Presbyteries* and Counsell, (which all Reason and Religion, all Policy and Order, all Practise and Custome of the Church of God, old and new, all Wisdome, Divine and Humane, either commands or commends in all Politie, Societies and Fraternities of men,) presently away with all these *Amalekites*, their Revenues, Houses and Honors must be sold and converted to other uses.

If others, or the same genius, like to have no *Presbyters* or Ministers, as set apart and ordained for that Office and Calling, will not, nay do not, their *Teeth* ake, and *fingers itch*, to take away all Glebes and Tithes from all Ministers, though never so industrious and deserving, and by Law invested in them, as to all civil Right? Would not some men either have *Ministers* fall to Spinning and Carding, to Thrashing and Digging, to Begging and Stealing, to Starving or Hanging, as well as to Preaching? or else they will bring *Diggers* and *Thatchers*, *Combers* and *Weavers*, with other Godly Mechanicks, who will *preach all things*, and demand nothing as due, however no *Tithes*; which are to some as abominable as *feeding upon Mice and Rats*.

So, if others like to have no *Scholars* bred to Humane Learning, (which, they say, doth but *obstruct the teachings of Gods spirit*, and puffe up *Ministers* with the *leaven of Philosophy*, Arts and Sciences, above the *simplicity* of the Gospel, and above the Plowes, Carts and High-shoes of their *silly neighbours*) O how do they grieve and pine away day by day, (as *Amnon* did for love of *Tamar*, or as *Ahab* did for *Naboths Vineyard*) that they might once seize upon the Lands and Colledges of *both Universities*, and all *Free-Schools* which go beyond *Writing*, *Reading* and *Cyphering*? O what fine Estates, what pretty Dwellings might be picked out of those needlesse seminaries of *Scholars*, *Priests* and *Preachers*?

If others like no *locall Churches*, as Superstitious, Popish, Jewish, Heathenish, who had all such like grosse and materiall *Temples*, which are needlesse to those that are themselves living *Temples of the holy spirit*, and need not that any men should teach them in *Piles of Wood and Stone*, or out of *Desks and Pulpits*; down down even to the ground with these *Steeple-Houses*, these *Hornets* and *Wasps* nests: the rubbish, if it will not sell, will at least mend the high-waies to *Markets*, and spare the Town or Country Charges of *digging gravel*; the *Bels*, *Stones* and *Timber* will turne to good money, the Common-wealth may need them, they will save taxes a while. Thus will some men boldly dare, if they might have their will, to take away both the *Foal* and the *Ass*, with (*Dominus opus habet*), or rather (*Dominus opus non habet*) the Lord of Heaven needs not these things,

things, so much as some that long to be our *Lords on Earth*.

Last of all, (that I may search this *Fistula* to the bottoome,) if any that are young and lusty, full-fed and frolick, shall dislike to have any *lazy poor people* to be maintained as *Moths* and *Leeches*, *Teeks* or *Vermine*, *gratis*, upon the publick *Almes* and *Charitable Foundations*, presently (as if they quite forgot that themselves might be so *Aged*, *Poor* and *Feeble*, that they might be glad of such *constant relief*; or as if they did not remember how many of their *Fathers* and *Mothers*, their *Grandfathers* and *Grandames*, have lived and dyed, either in some such *Almes-House* and *Hospitall*, or have been kept at the *Town Charges*,) away with all the *Lands* and *Houses* of *Almes-Houses* and *Hospitals*, those *drones nests*, where they neither have dayly service of God, nor frequent *Prayers*, *Sermons* and *Sacraments*, as *Cathedral Churches* had; which either are most-what demolished, or in a faire way to drop down and be destroyed.

Whither, I beseech you, will not this *Gangrene* of *covetous* and *sacrilegious* Humor spread? Who will give any thing, living or dying, to any good work of durable *Piety* or *Charity*, when he shall see nothing is like to be secure? Were it not high time to examine what the Sin of *Sacriledge* is? whether there be any such Sin, since so many holy and learned men affirm it in word, and yet so many others of godly pretentions in deed own no such thing? If it be found to be a Sin, it must needs be a dreadful Monster, like *Python* or *Hydra*, with a very great *paunch*, and many wide *mouths*; a *Gigantick* Sin, that *fights against God*, *defies Heaven*, *devours things sacred*, dares to *rob the Poors bellies*, and *starve their souls*.

It is not to be checked or stopped, but by some publick Censure, Decree and Detestation, declaring it to be a Sin *injurious to God*, *reprochful to any Religion*, as *Heathenish*, *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Reformed*, *dishonourable to any Nation*, *desolating to the Church*, *destructive to Ministers and people*, to *Piety*, *Charity*, *Learning* and *Industry*. No *Bank* or *Rampart* is sufficient to keep out this *black and dead sea*, when once it hath undermined the common principles of *Gratitude*, *Reverence* and *Worship* toward God, of *Justice* and *Righteousnesse* toward Men; which it is very like to do, when I find *D. B.* a man of my own Coat and Calling, a *professed Presbyter* or *Minister* heretofore according to the *Ordination* of the *Church of England*, who hath the character of *holy Orders* by *Bishops hands* still upon him unrenounced, when (I say) such men come to be *proctors* and *promoters*, *patrones*, *pleaders* and *solicitors* (in any case) for *alienating* of those *Church-lands* which belonged to the *Bishops*, *Deans* and *Chapters*: the issue indeed of difficult, distressed and turbulent times, which, it may be, Necessity rather than choise drove some men to; yet this in cool blood must be applauded by a grave O, that so he, a late purchaser, may have part of that *bl ssed Corban*, which, he knows, did sometime belong to his *Mother* this *Church*, and to his *Fathers* the *Bishops* of it: whose right to keep what they had by Law was, I suppose, once undoubtedly as good as any that this or any man can

plead, for what it seems he never yet had possession of. Sure it was as just for those to have *kept* their Estates, as it can be for him to *get* part of it: he cannot strengthen his own private and purchased *Title*, but he must justify theirs more, who had received and enjoyed them as publick *Ministers, Governours* and *Officers* of the Church, upon a publick, both civil and sacred, *Title*; First, from the *pious Donors*, who doubtless had, as *St. Peter* tells *Ananias*, a power to give what was their own, as they did to *God* and his *Church*, by valid *Acts* in Law, and such *deeds* as exprest their last *Will* and *Testament*, which, *St. Paul* tells us, *no man ought to disannull*; Secondly, especially considering, in the next place, that what was so given, was no way to the prejudice of the publick; Thirdly, yea by publick *Permission, Approbation, Confirmation* and *Acceptance*; Fourthly, wherein the *whole Nation, Church* and *State*, hath a publick right and common interest, as things given for the good Order and Honor of the Nation as it is Christian: Fifthly and lastly, adde to the *personal right* of the *Donors* and *Possessors*, also to the *publick right* of the *whole Nation*, that *highest right* (paramount) which all learned and impartial men have ever judged to be in *God*; either in such things as he is pleased precisely to demand of us, as he did the *First-born*, the *First-fruits*, many *Sacrifices* and *Oblations*, besides the *Tithes* of all, and some *Cities* with their *Suburbs* for his *Ministers* of old; or in those things which he hath left in our *free Will* and *Gratitude* to *Vow, Offer, Give & Dedicate* to his Service, or to his *Son Jesus Christ*, (as the wise men at first did their *Myrrh, Gold* and *Frankincense*, which certainly no men would have taken from that holy *Babe*, who would not, with *Herod*, have taken away his life.) By which holy *Liberalities* we Christians may honor our *God* and *Saviour* with our substance, and not serve them only with that which *costs us nothing*: nor is *God* in these to be mocked; if once we have vowed and devoted them to him, as we ought to pay our *Vowes*, so we ought not to break and frustrate either our own or others *Dedications* to *God*, who is (*ἀσυλος*) the great *Asylum* of all, not to be violated in the least kind. Who ever doubted but that *God* accepted and owned as his *peculiar*, those things which any men consecrated as *means* fitting to advance the good ends of his *Glory* and publick Service in the right *Teaching, Ordering* and *Governing* of his Church, in *instituting* and *supporting* his Ministry, and in *relieving* his Poor? All which being so very necessary for the Church, and so agreeable to the Word of *God*, they must needs be strangely *avaritious* who think it *superstitious* for any man to give of his *Lands* or other Estate to these Uses, and to invest in *Gods name* his Church or *Ministers*, as a *holy Corporation*, in such a right, as is hard to imagine how it can be ever justly alienated, till the free consent of all parties concerned be had and declared. First, the present *possessors*, they must freely resign their personal and temporary Right, which they had no way forfeited. Secondly, next, the *whole Nation*, as Church and State in Parliament and Convocation, Prince, Peers, Clergy and Commons, for themselves, their Heirs and Successors, must

must fully and freely remit their *publick Interest*. Thirdly and lastly, *Gods Mind* must be known, that he is willing to be deprived either of that Service and Honor he and his Son Jesus Christ had, or of those means for the Maintenance of it which were devoted to him. Nor can any power (that I know) but onely Gods *Omnipotence*, absolve the *living* and *survivors* from that right which the *Donors* had when yet *living*, and that *Bond* which from them, though *dead*, yet still lies on the Consciences of those *survivors*, who for ever stand bound to discharge their trust, by observing as sacred the *Will of the Dead*, which, if once lawful, is not to be made void wilfully and presumptuously. If at any time publick *necessities* do drive men to some temporary dispensations and seitures, yet these must be so *recompensed* afterward in quiet times, as may keep them from being made, beyond inconveniences, intentional and eternal Injuries to God and his Church, that it may be but a Borrowing, and not a Robbing of God or his Church.

If neither the Ministers of *Christ*, nor his Church, nor the State, nor God, nor the Dead, nor the Living, have any *right, claim* or *Interest* in such things, whose they either once were, or at present are, as to the Possession, Property, Use and Enjoyment, which way can any men that are meer strangers to them and had no special right in them, make such claim and power to them, as to dispose of them? unless they were things so *relinquished* as none owned them, or had never been in any mans rightful *possession*, and so fell to those (*jure occupantis*) who first could seize on them, without dispossessing any of them who had a right to them, and challenged that right in Gods, the Churches, and their own name, as by legal possession: which, under favour, is not the case whence this *great pleader* either draws his Title, or their supreme and superdivine *right*, who undertook to *alienate Bishops* and other *Church-lands*, which were neither relinquished, nor resigned, nor forfeited by God or Man.

Doubtless those *supreme Disposers* of that part of the publick *Patrimony*, had either some other *principles*, or higher *dictates* and *dispensations*, than this *Advocate* either understands or can bring forth, or else they will have much *adoe* to answer the *Dead* or the *Living*, the *Church* or the *State*, *God* or their own *Consciences*, the present *Age* or *Posterity*. For to pretend that *Bishops* and *Episcopacy* were but a superfluous and superstitious *superstructure* added to the government of Christs Church, raised by Ambition and Superstition, is not onely *very untrue*, but *very immodest*, considering the purity and sanctity of those *primitive* and *catholick Churches*, which (he knows) had *Bishops* even from the *Apostles* dayes, for the well-being of all Churches: To alledge that their *Estates* and *Lordships* were *superfluous*, ill bestowed and ill used, is to calumniate or envy so many worthy persons (every way his equals at least) that were *Bishops*, *Deans* and *Prebends* in *England*; who, without peradventure, were every way as Learned, as Liberal, as Unspotted, as Useful, as Beloved of God and man, as Deserving their *Estates* and *Preerments*, as ever this
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pleader (without disparagement) was or is, by any men on any side, thought to deserve his *Doctorship*, or *Watford*, or *St. Magnus*, or *Pauls Lecture*, or any part and portion of *Bishops Lands*, or *Deans and Prebends Houses*.

If this complaining *Champion* bring not forth greater *speares* and *shields* to defend that from *Sacriledge*, which some men have not only suspected in all Ages, but shrewdly charged, *actum est*, this *Goliath* will be overthrown by every *little David* that can but distinguish his right hand from his left, or knowes what belongs to *meum* and *tuum*, to the *doing to others as you would have done to your self*, agreeable to *Lawes* in force and principles of common justice.

If his weak and impotent *allegations* may go for current, contrary to the sense of *Jew* and *Gentile*, of *Law* and *Gospel*, of the greatest *Divines* and ablest *Lawyers*, of the wisest *Princes* and soberest *Parliaments* that ever were, besides all *Synods* and *Councils* of the Church, (which he may suspect as partiall to their own interest;) if the little *wax* and small *shot* which this pleader claps to the *bowl* may *over-bias* the case against all those so many ponderous *prejudices* which have on all sides been alledged to secure Gods right and Religions interests, *actum est de Ecclesia*: such popular (that I say not *parasitick*) *Pleas* will in time so spread among the heady, easie and greedy sort of *common people*, that we may bid farewell to all things given for publick *encouragement* and reward, to Learning and Religion, to Preaching or Ruling *Ministers*, yea to relieve the poor and Aged: all these things will seem loose and free hereafter, whenever any men that have a mind to it shall have it in their power or pleasure, to take away all as superstitious or superfluous, and to apply them to *civil* or *secular uses*. A work (to speak freely) fitter for *Mahometans* than any *Christians*, for the Ruiners rather than *Reformers* of Religion.

I wonder that this Pleader, who is thought so great a Politician, doth not see that his *Estate* as a *Presbyter* is no lesse *maligned* and quarrelled at by many, than the *Bishops* were and are by him. Such as have seen the *Masters Cabin* made *prize*, will they spare the *Masters mate*? A small Prophet may, without any great *inspiration*, foresee and foretell, that if some mens *Spirits* were left to their own sway, they would not onely buy and sell, or pull down, *Bishops Palaces*, *Deanes* and *Prebends Houses*, and *Cathedrall Churches*, but all *Chancels*, and *Churches*, and *Steeple*s, all *Parsonage* and *Vicariage-Houses*, in fine, all settled maintenance would be stripped, and Religion, with its Ministry, exposed to its *Primitive nakednesse*: which were no shame, if it were attended with the *Primitive innocency*, liberality, gratitude, love and charity which were in the *first Christians*, who differed as much from the modern temper, as giving all to, and taking all from, the Apostles, the Governours and Ministers of Christs Church.

If the Plea be good in conscience before God and good men, that whatever any men shall think given *superfluously* or *superstitiously*
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to any pious or publick use, may be honestly alienated, farewell all, when every party in England hath acted its part according to its principles, whereto the stimulations of this Pleader may contribute much with vulgar and Mammonitish minds: nothing will be left in a few yeares, unlesse some potent stop be put to the progresse of *Sacrilegious impulses*, by some publick *Anathema* of utter detestation, grounded upon principles of most evident justice, divine and humane, to be declared against all such *Alienations* for the future as the Wisdom, Piety and Honor of the Nation shall think to be *sacrilegious, unlawfull and abominable* to God and good men. Possibly such *Parlamentary terrors* may work more upon this and other mens purchasing consciences, than all those *ancient execrations*, which were not, as he fancies, causeless, but *deserved, curses*; not rashly *imprecated*, but justly denounced, against all unjust *Violators* of such *Donors Wills*, who knowing (that *Auri sacra fames*,) the audaciousnesse of covetousnesse, even against God as well as man, in all Ages, sought piously and prudently, as much as in them lay, to fortifie and defend their *Just, Religious and Charitable* gifts to God, his Church, or his poor, as it were with *Thunder and Lightning*, with *Flaming Swords* and *Hell-fire*, upon which they thought none would adventure but such as were either very blind or very *fool-hardy*; since their righteous Deed and *Invocation* being allowed and recorded in the Court of Heaven (as much, no doubt, as the charge of the Father of the *Rechabites* upon his children,) the Estate and Gift seemes so inseparably intailed together with the Curse, that they *certainly concluded*, the God who graciously accepted the one would also ratifie the other, and infallibly execute his wrath and vengeance upon those who should break this *strong bar*, set against all alienation as an odious (*τυβεσυχία*) violation of the dead, who are under Gods more immediate custody and protection.

It were very good therefore that we might at length know the publick sense in the case of the *remaining Church-Lands* and *Revenues*, especially of such men who are no *purchasers*, nor like to be, of any *Church-Lands*: because I now find not onely some great examples of *Lay-men*, but even of *Clergy-men*, (sometime very conformable ones,) who once professed to me their utter dislike against *exirpating* of *Episcopacy*; yet such an one I find teaching men his rare *Art*, how to crack such *Thunderbolts* like *nuts*, how to make mince-meat or *wholsome pottage* of those curses which others count as *Colloquintida* or deadly bitterness in the Prophets as well as the peoples pot: but he, like *Leviathan*, scornes those speares like bulrushes; like the *Italian Lithophagus*, he can feed upon *stones*, and without a *miracle* answer *Satans* demand of turning them into *bread*; yea more, he can turne darknesse into light, and *cursing* into *blessing*, making that a step to *Heaven* and *Reformation*, which was judged (heretofore) by many Learned and Godly men, as the very *gate of Hell* and high way to most sure *Damnation*, without repentance and restitution to a *Satisfaction*.

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Whether this party weare a *Crown* of *Imperiall* bayes, or have some other *charme* which is capable to disarme any such *Thunderbolts*, I know not: But I find him (while I was even now concluding my last request for the *Church of England*,) boldly and openly justifying from all *suspicion of sacriledg* the late taking away of all their Revenues, Lands, Houses and Dignities from *Bishops*, *Deanes* and *Prebends*; of which fact, I believe, few knowing men that Voted and Acted in it, but had at first some scruples & secret grief for the tyranny of the necessity urging them to act against many of their jealousies and scruples of conscience, till they were, it may be, *salved* and *solved*, but by better *solutions* (I suppose) than this Pleader produceth, onely to make way for his own *Title*, and to corroborate his new *purchase*.

But doth any wise man think that this Pleader for his own Title, and *absolver* of all mens consciences, would have been of the *same mind*, and have judged such *alienation* to have had no *tincture* or *smell* either of *sacriledge* or *injustice* to God or man, if himself had been a *Bishop*, a *Dean* or a *Prebend*? Were not the Ecclesiasticall estates which those worthy persons had, as lawfully theirs as two good *Living*s could be his, or the way-bit of a *morning-Lecture*, greater in *Salary* than *Auditory*, at *Pauls*? Were not these as much and as superfluous as some *Bishopricks* and *Deaneries*? If he had been deprived of these, when once lawfully possessed of them, and having no way forfeited them, onely by will and power, would he not have been very impatient, and as studious of either *recovery* or *revenge* as *Sampson* was for the losse of his two eyes? Yet not content with these, I have heard from a person of *Honor* and *Valour*, that a *D.* whose name began with *B.* offered at least a *thousand marks* for another *Living* which was better than either of those. Certainly *Simony* will seem but a *mote* where the mountaine of *sacriledg* shrinks to a mole-hill; which if it be a sin, must needs be of a very *high nature*, and so may (as the highest stars or planets) seem but litle to some eyes on earth, however they are very great in themselves.

If this great *Casuis*t have no sense of other mens rights to their Estates as *Clergy-men*, how comes he to take it so ill that himself, in a *Lay-capacity*, as a Purchaser, cannot get quiet possession of what he fancies to be his by purchase, yet not so much of choice (belike) as of Necessity, nor as an *emption* (forsooth) so much as a *redemption*? For he needlessly deprecates the *Odium* and *Envy* of being forward in giving the *Handsel*, unless he had at first some *grumbings* and cold qualms about his heart, as either unsatisfied of the Lawfulness, or fearing that *Bishops* might recover their places and Estates again: till he thought them as good as *dead*, and past recovery, (as the *Amalekite* that dispatcht *King Saul*) he would not put forth his hand against them, or the spoils of them; but being (it seems) imbarqued in a fair adventure of some *thousands of pounds* (at 8. per cent. I suppose) in the safe *Castor* and *Pollux* of the *publick faith*, (for which the honor of the two Houses of Parliament was engaged) he was loth to perish with

with his money, *principal* and *interest* too; or to be *saved* without it, as many an honest man is fain to be.

Alas (good man) his *Charity*, it seems, hath great *sympathies* for himself and his own *concerns*, but little for others: if others lose all, (which was once theirs by as good *right* as what he seeks most to secure as his) he cries, *Euge, factum bene*; if he be in danger to lose, not all, but some, not of what he ever had, but onely *hoped* for, how doth he bestir himself? *Flectere si nequeat superos, &c.*

O what a *vociferation* and out-cry would he make to all the *English world*, which he now doth, (as if all men were mightily concerned in so eminent and leading a *case* of a rich *Presbyter* purchasing *Bishops* and other *Church-lands*) if what he now *presumes* he hath purchased of *Bishops Lands* should by any *Act of peremptory* and *powerful. resumption* be taken from him, not as forfeited or evicted by *Law*, but *ex mero placito*, out of *Will* and *pleasure*, to relieve some publick necessities, or to advance some godly *design*? Would not he lift up his voice like a *Trumpet*, beyond any *Stentor*, against *Parlaments*, *House* or *Houses*, and *Committees*, seem they never so zealous and reforming, as very unjust, unreasonable and injurious to him, his *Family* & *children*, no less than now he *inveighs* against the *Town* or *City* (whether *Town* or *City* it is dubious now they have no *Bishop*, whose seat of old made a *City*, however an ancient *Corporation*) for not letting him have quiet *possession* of his precious *Purchase*? In which, it seems, they are not satisfied of his right, no more than I or any man can believe that he hath better *cards* now to shew for this *Estate*, than the *Bishops* had in *Law*, *Conscience* and *Merit*, when they were deprived of them: yet they are and have been long silent, they make no publick *complaints* or *proclamations*, which are a kind of *alarme* to parties to divide *mens judgements*, and to *provoke to war*, (all suits of *Law* being but *civiller warrings*, and must at last be executed by the *posse comitatus*, by open force, if the *sentence* given be obstructed.)

Which publick *Motion* and *Commotion* against a whole *City* or *Town*, is more than ever the *Bishops* jointly or severally did, as to begin that which he calls, by a vulgar mistake and calumny, *Bellum Episcopale*: which if it were onely *se defendendo*, in order to defend themselves, not from any judicature or just punishment for their faults, but onely to preserve what they had honestly gotten, and lawfully enjoyed for some years, and never forfeited any more than their pious Predecessors, who many hundred of years had them in quiet possession; possibly it might have seemed to some men as *lawful* a *War* in *Bishops*, under lawful authority, as any *Presbyterian War* could be to dispossess them of their *legal rights*, as *unforfeited enjoyments*; of which this *plaintiff* having purchased a good *buccoon*, and craving formore, we see makes so loud and great a noise, as if the *Earth* must be moved out of its place, and *Jupiter* might not take his rest in *Heaven*, till this complainant have right done him according to his mind, who seeks to retain even whole *Parlaments*, *three Nations*, and all *Mankind* to be his *Counsel* or his *Advocates*: yet would he be

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most impatient not presently to stop the mouth of any *Bishop, Dean* or *Prebend*, if, as *St. Paul*, they should begin to plead, yea but to peep, or mutter their losses and indignities; which they must not call injuries, but publick justice done upon them before they had sinned, as *Sacrifices propitiatory* to appease some angry *Presbyterian* brethren, and to make way for this Purchaser.

οὐ τὴν ἀπάθειαν, οὐ τὴν φιλαυλίαν, οὐ τὴν ἀσπλαγχνίαν. *Quis cælum terra non misceat, & mare cælo? Clamet Melicerta perisse Frontem de rebus---* No *Satyrick* cento's are sufficient to perstringe so great partialities. I see some men are so black that they cannot blush. Are not those Ministers justly ensnared in the briars and thorns of secular Conflicts and Law-suits, who dare to entangle themselves, yea and to justify that as done to others (every way their betters) which they cannot endure should be done in the least measure to themselves? May I not call *God* and *Man* to be *Judges*, and *Heaven* and *Earth* to be *Witnesses* in the case? Hath *D. B.* a better title to a part, than *L. B.* had to the whole? Is money and purchase a better title and surer tenure, than merit and publick gift, as a reward of Learning and Worth? Had *L. B.* possession by fraud or force any more than *D. B.* or had *L. B.* any more forfeited his Estate then *D. B.* hath? unless long and undoubted succession, and present lawful possession were crimes deserving *Confiscation*. Were not those *Laws* which were heretofore made, and for many *Centuries* confirmed, in the most serene and peaceable times, by *unanimous* Princes, Peers and people, (*nemine absente aut contradicente*) as just, valid and complete, in point of right, as any new Acts or Ordinances could be, which were made, as all the world knows, in *broken* and *bleeding* times, and to which the *supreme Magistrate* (as the *Plaintiffe* very well knows) never gave his *consent*, first or last, because in conscience (as he told them) he could not; fearing, it seems, the *sin* of *sacredge*, yea and of *Perjury*, having sworn at his *Coronation* to preserve the Rights and Liberties of the *Church* and his *Clergy* as much as any mens? What pity it was this *Casulist* had not in time been the last poor Kings *Confessor*? How blest, large and benign a soul hath this *pleader*, that can presently resolve all conscience into power, and right into might? whose rule seems to be, not the Word of *God*, or the *Laws* of men, but the Will of those that have the strongest sword; upon which presumption, no doubt, he went, when he so eloquently and effectually declaimed against *Deans* and *Chapters*.

I know his *grand Asylum* is the *Plenipotency*, if not *Omnipotency*, as he supposeth, of the *two Houses of Parliament*, guided by the honesty and integrity of their intentions. I will with him presume that they did intend all things for the best; that finding the *North wind* had raised a great storm, they thought it necessary to lighten the Ship of what they thought might best be spared, in order to the publick peace, and that which they counted the *Supreme Law*, *Salus publica*: And being all *Lay-men*, much acted at that time by *Presbyterian Influences* and *Interest*, who promised to steer the Ship much better and with
more

more right from God than any *Prelates* had done, they cast *Bishops*, *Deans*, *Prebends* and *Chaplers*, &c. with their *Houses*, *Lands* and *Revenues over-board*, in the present distress and tempest, not for that they disliked them so much, as because they could not safely keep them, and carry on *their other interest* of publick safety. These and the like *reasons of state* may possibly be alledged in behalf of those *Lay-men*, who had then work enough upon their hands, and who were to get *wages* to pay their *Workmen* with the least grievance to the publick.

But this *plaintiffe*, as a Learned Doctor & Grave Divine, *must passe a stricter scrutiny* & finer sieve. There is usually made a great difference between such as take interest, and those that are necessitated to give it; so there may be between these *sellers* and this *purchaser*, who makes himself so *peremptory* a Casuist in so great and disputed a Case, concerning the *Rights of God*, his Church and his Ministers; towards whom all men should have alwayes a most tender regard, and Clergy-men chiefly, so as to do Gods Prophets, and their Brethren or Fathers, no harme, since their *injuries* do more immediately redound to the reproch of their *profession*, their *Saviour*, and their God. As in all cases of common justice, so specially in the *Rights of Church-men*, (who are alwaies as pupills and minors in the world, Gods, the Kings and the States Wards, as Sir *Edward Cook* calls them) power never so prevalent ought to be either *limited* by present *Laws* in force, or by *common principles* of equity and *righteousness*, which are set down in Gods word, and written in all *mens hearts*: which is, *To do as they would be done unto*; *Not to be punished further than they have offended*; *To be heard and fairly tried before they be condemned and executed*. These *limits* ought to be observed by all men in their greatest power and passion, so far as no one man may be *notably injured*, to gratifie many (without any after-amends;) nor may *Paul* be exposed to present death or danger, in order to appease *the furious multitude of the Jewes*.

Let this *great pleader* and *plaintiffe* answer, Are they not poor and pittifull Gods, who in their supposed supremacy of power may sin, must dye, and be judged by the most high God? may not many men sin as well as few? and wise men as well as simple? and choise *Lay-men* as well as all the chiefeest Clergy-men in *England*? (which they must all be supposed to have done in a very high nature, to be justly and so grievously punished.) Have not all men cause to be jealous of their own hearts, lest at any time, and in any case, they offend God or man? Ought any *Prince* or *Parlaments*, whatever they be, forget they are but men, or be flattered by themselves or others that they cannot erre or be deceived? Have we not read of *Parlaments*, though *great ships*, yet tossed to and fro in a few yeares with severall winds of Doctrine? one while to renounce and cast off the *Popes yoke*; a little after, as *Camels* on their knees, to stoop down and receive that burthen again, as in *Queen Marys daies*, with the lesse scruple (as one notably observes) because the *Legat Cardinal*

Pool made no mention or demand of restoring the *Abby-lands*? Though *Parlaments* should be as the *Assemblies of the Son of God*, may not *Satan* come in among them? May not *Parlaments* as well repent before God, as oft revoke before men, what they Vote and Enact? Doth any thing betray wise men more than to have too great confidence of themselves? If Ecclesiastick Synods and *Councils* (except perhaps such as are truly *Catholick* and free) may be subject to erre, and have erred, why not civil *Senates* and *Parlaments*? Have they any porter that can keep sin out of their doores? or any walls that keep out infirmities from surprizing them, which they carry alwaies not so much about them as within them?

But what if there be such a sin as *Sacriedge*, yea and in the case which the *D.* puts it? (which his equals, and far his betters in all respects, have earnestly affirmed, and the more impartially, because long before this particular case of the *Bishops of England* was put,) may not many men, yea whole Nations, be guilty of this sin, and infected as with an *Epidemick plague*, so far as they act, abet, approve or applaud? Doth not God himself (when the *Priests* and *Levites* were over-awed, and durst not complaine against the generall vogue) charge the whole Nation of the *Jewes* with robbing him, and denounceth by his Prophet an heavy curse against them for robbing God? Although they reply with great confidence, (as commonly there is least brow where most guilt) wherein have we robbed thee? God answers them, in *Tithes* and offerings. Was the detaining, or denying, of these from the *Priests* and *Levites* a robbing of God? and had it been no such matter, if every Tribe had taken away those Houses and Lands, those *Cities* and *Suburbs*, which God had appointed them by the ancient distribution, not onely for a bare and necessitous subsistence, like *Micahs Levite*, but for such an honorable entertainment as became that Tribe, and that service they did to the God of *Israel*?

If it be a mocking of God as well as man for any man to keep back, or to resume what once he hath by a valid and declared Act given to any pious and charitable use, or to any one poor man as an *Almes*, how dangerous is it in publick cases to be done, without very cleare and sure grounds? No wise men are so vain as to think themselves in any capacity inerrable and infallible: nor may any good man fancy, that at any time, or in any case, he hath Gods dispensation to commit, no nor to permit, if he can hinder, the least sin, much lesse so great an one as *Sacriedge* is esteemed by many men who are no children in understanding. Let this pleader ask *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, old and new Testament, *Papinian* and *Plowden*, *Justinians Institutes* and *Justice Cooks*, *Canon* and *Civil*, *Imperiall* and *Municipall Lawes*: yea he cannot be ignorant what the great Reformers, *Luther* and *Melancthon*, with the *Augustane Protestants*, say, what the grand Masters for *Presbytery* (whom I suppose he hath not of late believed in that point) *Calvin*, *Zanchy*, *Bucer*, *Knox*, *Cartwright* and others, did they not first or last suspect, condemn and cry down as sin and *Sacriedge*, the

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Vide Mr. Baxter
his excellent
treatise a-
gainst Sacri-
edg.

Confiscation or Alienation of such Lands as were properly Church-lands, (for the maintaining the Ministry, Order, Government and Honour of the Church, to a Charitable, Hospitable, and Honorable ampleness?) Their Testimonies are every where extant, diligently collected, easily perused: and possibly they would have been more speedy and severe in their censure of it, if they had seen it done against any Bishops and Clergy-men who sincerely professed, diligently preached, and mightily maintained the Reformed Religion against the Romane Superstition; which they were loth to nourish with such full breasts of Plenty and Honor. But sure, they would never have envied or denied them to so Learned and Godly Bishops, with other Church-men, as were here in England; whom Mr. Calvin would have much honored, as he professeth so earnestly, that he Anathematizeth all that would not; who might easilier have been Reformed, and it may be at a cheaper rate to the publick, than by being so terribly fleeced and flayed, as they were, of all their Ecclesiasticall dignities and revenues belonging to them.

I will put a Case or Quere to this great Vindicator; what he would have thought of those men who Voted or Created themselves a Parliament, that is, the Supreme Power as Deputies or Representative of the English People, (though not chosen by the people, nor any way such an one as some men had so zealously covenanted to maintain in their Freedom and Priviledg,) if these Grandees had gone on (for they were as neer it as two Groats are to nine pence) and had peremptorily Voted this good D. with all other Beneficed Ministers in England and Wales out of their beloved Glebes, Tithes and Mansion-Houses, (after the Precedents which they had lately seen acted against green Trees, the Learned Bishops, Deanes and Prebends, as to all their Ecclesiastick Revenues annexed to their dignities;) who would have cried Sacriledg with greater contention of Voice and Lungs, than this Venerable resolver of No Sacriledg in selling Bishops Lands?

O! but this he tels us freely, and with some earnestnesse (as concerned) had been horrid sacriledg, because of those he hath a good share, those he hopes to enjoy together with his Bishops Lands. Thus this irrefragable D. resolves, that to rob the lesser Gods is Sacriledg, but not to rob the greater. Bishops were but Egyptians, whom the Presbyterians, as true Israelites, might strip and spoyle. So it were a sin to take any thing from an ordinary Citizen and common souldier, but not from an Alderman or a Colonel. It is lawfull to deprive Governours in Church or State of what they have, but not the Governed. Presbyters must (jure divino) have meat and drink and clothes to maintaine them, that they may eate and preach; but they need no Over-seers or Church-Governours to take care they preach no strange Doctrine, nor live scandalously: They must have vittuals as beasts, but they need no Government as Men, Christians and Ministers. O thrifty project! O Blessed Paradox! If it hold in all societies, Civil and Military as well as Ecclesiastick, it will spare the

the State many thousands of pounds upon the Civil account, as it hath got it many upon the Church-account, by taking away Bishops and their Revenues, there being no need of such Governours and such Maintenance of Honor in the Church; no more will there need any Judges in the Law, nor Captaines and Colonels in the Army; their places, their pensions, their pay may be spared: if these be necessary, why were not Bishops so, for Order, and Honor, and Government, and Judgement among the Clergy?

But he fancies that himself and other doughty Presbyters can do the work, and govern without Bishops. Possibly he may do it the better, not onely for his grave carriage and reverend fashion of Living, for his moderate, meek and quiet spirit, for his great Learning and rare Endowments, for the high Esteem that is had of him, but especially because he is rich, and hath a good part of the old Bishops Lands; it may be a Spirit of government may go with them, as a Spirit of prophesie did with the High-priests Office in Caiaphas: but as for other poorer Presbyters and petty Rulers of his brethren the Antiepiscope Ministers, how fit they will be to govern in common, & how well they have managed Phœbus his Chariot since they undertook to drive it, I leave to all wise and sober men to judge.

But it may be this purchaser is not against Bishops, but against landed and Lorded Bishops; he would have primitive and Apostolick Bishops, which had no Revenues, or Lordships, or Lands, or Palaces. How sad is it that so good a man should have so evil an eye against the good hand of God, and the bounty of good Christians, onely as to their munificence to the Bishops and chief Pastors of Christs Church? But why so blind and partial against Bishops, when it is as primitive and Apostolical for Presbyters to have no Tithes, or Glebes, or Livings? These were the sealed blessings of the Church after the glory of Constantines time, whom the Revelation seems so much to set forth, to the Beauty, Rest and Honor of the Church. If this Pleader will be honest and impartial, let him conform himself a Prebyter, as well as Bishops, to the primitive pattern. They have not left, but forcibly lost all: let Presbyters leave also their Livings; let this great Example begin, let him turn sportulary Prebyter, as well as he would have beggarly Bishops; let him and others depend upon the Basket of Charity, and the Bishops Distribution, as was of old, both for occasional contributions of Decimal Oblations and Imperial pensions, of which Presbyters at first had no parochial portion or right, which now this Pleader so much challengeth, as if it had been his purchase or penny-worth, and not the Alms of the Nation, excited hereto chiefly by the piety of primitive Bishops and other Ministers, in imitation of Gods ancient portion, which they thought still the right of Jesus Christ, Lord of all, as to his merit and priestly portion, to be kept in his Churches possession for his Ministers enjoyment, especially since it hath, by the devotion of the Nation, been legally dedicated to his service, and the support of his Servants: which may be as well said of Bishops and other Church-lands, as of Presbyters little Livings; unless this Pleader

der think that those were too much for Christ and any of his chief *Ministers* to enjoy; or that there was less of Law and publick consent, as well as of private gift, in them than other Donations; or lastly, unless he fancy there is not as much need of *Government, Order and Discipline*, and consequently of *meet Bishops*, as chief Pastors or Shepherds for Christs flock, as there is of *pasture*. It seems he is more for the *Bag, Scrip and Wallet*, than for *Crozier, Crook or Shepherds staff*.

O! but his *blissed Tithes*, his *rich Glebe*, his *fat Parsonage*, these, these he challenges as his right in Gods name, as (*patrimonium Crucifixi*) Christs *patrimony*, the Presbyterian Churches *Dowry*, the Priests *portion*, the Levites *wages*, the Labourers *hire*, the *most holy* things, and *utterly unalienable*: even *Impropriations* seem to him *sacrilegious Alienations*, derived from no other title than the *Popes Usurpation*, annexing them to *Monasteries*, and by a continued *succession* of *Sacrilege* given to the *Crown*, and so at last become *Lay-fees*. Thus he seems to make *Princes and Parlements* guilty at the second hand of this foul sin of *Sacriledg*; which onely lies against *Tithes, Glebes and Parsonage-Houses*, the onely preferment it seemes that this *plaintiffe* hath been capable of, or *now aspires to*.

O how far is reason from some *mens Religion*, and justice from their *Consciences*? And what (I beseech all wise, sober and upright men) were *Bishops Houses and Revenues*, but greater *Glebes and Livings*, given to men of the same calling, for the same *holy and good ends*, for the service of God and the *Church*, though to some *higher degree of Duty and Dignity, of Office and Authority*? not onely to *preach the Gospel*, and *administer the holy Sacraments* in common with *Presbyters*, but further to preserve a *right succession* of *Ministers*, and to *dispense* the power of *holy Orders* by a *Catholick Ordination*, (which ever was *Episcopall*:) also to manage duly that *Ecclesiasticall Discipline and Government*, which ought to be carried on, as by men of greater *Age, Gravity, Ability and Authority* than ordinary *Presbyters* use to be, so with a proportionable *conspicuity* for *Honor and Estate*, for *Hospitality and Charity*; all which are as *lawfull, just, and becoming* a *Bishop or chief Governour among the Fraternities of Ministers*, as a greater *pay or Salary* is to *Judges, Colonels and Captaines*; not for their doing more drudging work and duty than common men or souldiers may do, but for that *eminent worth, and prudence*; and *sufficiency* which they are presumed to have in order to *Rule and Command* others, who are men equall as themselves, and possibly as *Valiant, Pious and Morall*: yet *Wisdom* being the highest humane endowment, and *politick or gubernative prudence* being the *noblest exercise of wisdom* in this world, for the publick and *common good of mankind*, (few of whom are fit to governe themselves or others) it is but fit that greater publick *incouragements* and preferments of *Honor and Estate* should be given to these, than onely to *strength*, which alone is but brutall, the *endowment of a body*, which men have common with beasts; but the other is proper to our *reasonable* soules,

soules, by which we are not far *from Angels*, and *neer of kin* to God.

In which *excellencies* since some *Ministers* may and do exceed others, (which makes these want *Governours*, and the others fit to govern,) what is there of Humane or Divine Law that can be against so *prudent*, so *necessary* an Order and Polity in the Church as *Bishops* are and ever have been? Whose so envied Estates and Dignities were still no more than that *double honour* which the Apostle challengeth from all Christians as due to those *that rule well*, and *labour in the Word and Doctrine*, not onely by teaching and writing themselves, but by taking care that others do so too, within the limits of *sober Life* and *sound Doctrine*; which works many, yea most, I hope, of our Bishops did, and all might, yea should have done, since the *Reformation*, with as much paines, and to as much publick good, as this or any other *Antiprelatist* can pretend to.

So far was the *case* of Bishops and Deanes and Prebends different from that of *Monks* and *Abbots*, which this *great D.* seeks to parallel, as equally needlesse, idle, odious and pittilesse; when he cannot be ignorant, that Bishops being immediate Successors to the Apostles, with whom were anciently resident in Cities the Venerable Colledges of Presbyters, which were Deanes and Prebends, as their ordinary Counsel, these must needs be much elder than any Monastick Orders; unlesse he think *Fo. Baptist* began those. Bishops were, as placed by the Apostles, ever owned in all Ages and Places, and revered by all *orderly Presbyters* and *Christian people*, yea and by all Christian Princes; by whose pious munificence they were endowed with Revenues and Honors long before ever Presbyters had their Glebes apart, and Tithes appropriate to them: yet were these Bishops and the Colledges of Presbyters more severely used than the Monks and Abbots, who had pensions for life allowed them if they staid in *England*.

I appeale to all that are not *Levellers* in Church or State, Is not *Government*, good order and comely *subordination* as necessary in the Church, among all men, both of the *Laitie* and *Clergy*, as the *family of Christ*, the *Household of faith*, and an *holy Polity*, *City* or *Common-wealth*, as it is in all civil Fraternities Companies and Communities, or in this *patntiffs family*? Where, besides food and other necessaries which he provides for himself in common with his *Servants* and *Children*, yet (doubtless) he still reserves for himself a *Benjamins portion*, as to the eminency of his *Estate* and *Authority* above them as a Father and Governour. Were it robbery and violence to take away any thing unjustly *from his children*, and not so to take all *from him as a Father*?

Let this great *advocate* (who pleads, I suppose, without his fee, uncalled and unhired, against the poor Bishops) let him freely declare next bout to all the world, whether if he had been a Bishop (which honor few men are of the Heresie to think he would have refused; being a double-Beneficed and very Conformable man) he would

would have been content that measure should have been offered to him, which he thus justifies and triumphs in as offered to his Fathers the Bishops, men much his betters every way; some of whose *shoe-latchets* he was not worthy to unloose, unless he have more worth in him than ever yet he discovered to the world, whose agitations have (yet) been as various, as many, and as importune to and fro as any *Presbyters* in England. Besides that, he endeavours for ever to obstruct any *generous return* of this Nation to put the Church and Clergy into any Estate of Order, Honor and Estate, worthy of such *Learned* and *Worthy men* as might be bred up, if such publick encouragements were not wanting.

I do in no sort doubt of his Tendernefs, Touchinefs and Impatience if the case had been his own: I find how he is netled for a little portion of *Bishops Lands*, to which he pretends a right of *purchase*: I have ever heard this character of this plaintiff, that he was *adrem satis intentus*, nor was he among *Pharaohs lean Kine*, that needed to have fed upon the *fatter*. *Quo teneam modo?* How partial are the principles of some *Protestant Preachers*, of some *Quodlibetick Presbyters*! They may well be *ἑαυτοῖς τιμωροὶ* who are to far *ἑαυτοῖς ἀνέμοι*, *self-tormenting* who are *self-condemned*, who seek to *ingratiate* and *corroborate with men of power*, by an absolute commending of that for lawful, just and good, without any *peradventure*, which hath alwaies been a case scarce *disputable* among *Learned* and *Godly men* in all Ages; so much did they ever not onely incline, but generally resolve the case, quite contrary to this great *Casuit*. However, it is the safer side (no doubt) not to alienate any Church-lands, and in dubious cases a Divine, yea a Doctor, and a great one, that undertakes to be Confessor and Absolver to Parl. and people, he should rather advise *in tutiorem partem*, to the safer side, than adventure upon, or encourage to that which hath any thing *dubious* or *dangerous* in it as to sin; yea and a sin of an *high nature*, as *Sacriledge* is esteemed by all Nations, by all Christians that have not buried *Christianity* and *Christ* in the *Mount Calvary* of covetous hearts, the *Golgotha's* or places of skulls, where no *Helena* will ever look for the *Crosse* of *Christ*, in hope to find it. They are far enough from being true Christians, who dare Crucifie the Pastors, Preachers and Ministers of this Crucified Saviour.

O how glorious and gracious an example to all sorts of men, in the present and after-Ages, hath this *Rabbi*, this great Master now in our *Israel* given! *Prima est hac ulio, quod se judice, &c.* May not all men hereafter venture, in any case, never so doubted, to follow this one Doctors opinion, if any way plausible or probable, against the generall streame and current of all *Learned men*? (A latitude which of late I find some Jesuits have allowed in cases of conscience.) Truly, it might seem veniall for *secular* and *military men*, in cases of civil urgencies, and, as they imagined, necessities, of self-preservation, to seize upon the *shew bread*, the *Priests portion*, and *Goliaths sword* too, as *David* and his men did by the good leave of the

In the Mystery
of Jesuitism.

Priests : but it had become a Clergy-man and an eminent one, who still ownes I think his *Academick degrees* as deserved, and his Ecclesiastick Orders, which sure were from the *Bishops hands and Authority*, as holy and valid (else the Tithes, and Glebes, and Spirituall Livings cannot be so sacred and inviolable in his use and possession, as he affirms them to be) I say, it had become such an one at least to have been silent, who is too rich and knowing to be a *Leveller*, or an *Anabaptist*, or a *Quaker*, or a disowner of all Order and Office Ministeriall. He should not have cast oyle, by his eminent example and eloquent plea, on that fire which he sees is ready to consume even all Presbyters as well as Bishops settled maintenance. However if he could not avoid this rock of purchasing Bishops Lands, his modesty had been some expiation, and his silence a great abatement of the scandall; he might have swallowed those holy (but now desecrated) morsells in secret, and not have proclaimed on the house-top to all the world, the roast-meat he hath gotten, the Venison (or part at least) which he hath taken, together with his great appetite and good digestion. The world is not much concerned to know all these things, nor much pleased at his swallowing down without chewing any bit of Bishops Lands or Deanes Houles, or a whole Colledg or a Cathedrall Church, if he can compassse them by his purse or policy; for where a crum of this kind goes easily down, in time a loaden cart with six horses may follow.

Were there not others, *states-men*, *Lay-men* and *Military-men* enough to have bought those Bishops and Church-lands, if they must needs have been sold? They might possibly have some Reasons of State, and solutions of deeply Learned Lawyers, which such an one as I and other simple Divines know not of, and therefore may not censure: But as to the principles of Schollars, and the conscience of all Church-men generally, we resolve, that if it be but a disputable case where sin lies at the door, if there be but any notable appearance of evil, we are (above all men) to abstaine from it. If it may be veniall in others pleading their ignorance or urgent occasions, yet it must needs seem a most uncircumcized act for a grave Minister, and of the Church of England, a great Doctor and a Reverend Divine. Church-men ought in any things of pregnant scandall to be most circumspect and cautious, because their example is most contagious, allowing, as it were of course, many graines of further liberty to Lay-men, who never think that their girdles ought to be so strait as Ministers; if ours be loose, theirs will be unbuckled, and at last quite thrown off. Hence many of our Domestick and new-started Presbyterians, whom I well knew, Mr. C. Mr. W. Mr. S. and others, with all the Smeectymnuan Legion, who were earnest enough at first for the pruning of the over-grown, or seare, or too much over-dropping boughs of Episcopacy, and afterward they so far served the times and their Lords, as to conspire to the felling down of those ancient and stately Standards in the Church; yet I well know, they never intended that Lay-men should have gone away with the Bark, Tops, Timber, Bodies, Chips and all: no, they

In aliis vitio,
in sacerdotibus
sunt sacrilegia.
Chrysost. de
Ebrietate.

they (good men) intended very *honestly* and *zealously*, that these superfluities of Bishops and Deanes Estates, &c. should have been applied to *buy in all Impropriations*, to augment poor Livings, to put Presbyters generally into so good a plight and habit for *back and belly*, that they might be fit to rule in common, and have some Majesty (as Aldermen of Cities and Burgeses of Townes usually have) in their Cheeks and on their Backs; for *starveling* and *shred-bare Governours*, like *Consumptionary Physitians*, discredit their profession and deprecate their dignity. We other poor Ministers, who follow the sense of all the ancient Fathers and Councils, of the Canon and Civil Lawes, of School-men and Casuists, of Reformed and not Reformed Churches, both *Greek* and *Latine*, we wonder what *Angel from Heaven* hath whispered to this *purchaser* and *pleader*, to tell him of Gods non-acceptance of Bishops lands, Persons or Profession, of which he was pleased to make so much and so good use, to his glory and his Churches good, both in *England* and all the Christian world for a thousand yeares, yet now he is content (it seemes) they should all be Alienated, Extirpated, Destroyed, Possessions, Persons and Function of Bishops, as unnecessary, yea pernicious to the Church and Ministry, in Honour, Order, Government, Charity and Hospitality; all which are better Reformed to Parity, Popularity and Poverty. This he reports as from the Cabinet-Counsell or Committee of Heaven, where it seemes he hath been since he purchased Bishops lands. Truly, if an *Angel from Heaven* had told some Divines and other Gentlemen thus much, they would not have believed him, because they are perswaded so much of the *Evangelicall Order*, the *Apostolick Authority*, and the *Catholick Succession*, the prudent necessity, the honorable decency of Bishops in the Church of Christ; upon which presumptions (if not sure perswasions) they conceive it had been a modesty in all *Learned* and *weighty Ministers*, who had received their *Ordination* from *Godly, Orthodox* and *Reformed Bishops*, (such as *Calvin*, and *Beza*, and *Vedelius* would have *honored* and *submitted* unto, without any envy or diminishing of their Estates and Honors,) not to have *touched* so much as a *shoe-latchet* of what by Right, Law and Merit had been theirs; that it might at least have been upon *Record* to after-Ages, for the Honour of the *English Reformed Clergy* in their lowest ebb and depression, *Ecclesia & Episcoporum bona inter Presbyteros Ecclesiasticos non invenerunt emptorem*. There is no doubt there would have been buyers enough beside, men of larger Estates, yet not of *stricter consciences*: even this great and *glorious purchaser*, (who though he hath paid his mony, yet hath not so put off his *Armour* hitherto as to have any *great cause to boast*,) seemed not at first so satisfied as to be forward, (not coming at the *beginning of the Faire*, when sure the best peny-worths, for example sake, would have been sold to so eminent a *D.* the better to decoy on other purchasers;) but alas, he seems (*oborto collo & renitente Minerva*,) against his genius to be drawn in, driven and necessitated at the *fag end of the Market*, to take

ſuch eggs for his money as had been ſate upon by a Biſhop ſo many hundred of yeares, and may (as it ſeems) be either addle, or eggs of contention to this purchaſer, now ſo reſolved and triumphing in his conſcientious freedom, to buy and ſell in the Temple; when other poor Scholars are ſtill wind-bound and narrow-ſoled, as imagining that Chriſt long agoe drove all ſuch kind of Merchandize out of the Church, as ill becoming Chriſtians as it did the Jewes; yea and St. Paul teacheth Believers equally to abhorre Sacriledge as Idols.

To conclude this long digreſſion, (whoſe ſcandalous occaſion lay ſo high in my way that I could not avoid it) this one great inſtance telling to all the world what this purchaſer hath ſwallowed, and how well he hath digeſted theſe Biſhops Lands, (which now ſeem as a Lay fee to nourish the Beaſt and Man, not the Preſbyter, Miniſter or Biſhop as him) will give the world cauſe in after-Ages to look as narrowly to him and his poſterity how they thrive, as the Roman Souldiers did to the Jews Guts and Excrements, when they ſearched for the Gold which they had ſwallowed, as Joſephus tells us. Some are ſo ſuperſtitious as to imagine that Biſhops and all Church-lands or Revenues, properly ſuch, (as pertaining to the ſupport of that Order, Government, Authority, Miniſtry, Charity and Hoſpitality, which ought to be in Clergy-men) are like Iriſh wood to Spiders and venomous beaſts, prone to burſt them, ſo that *vix gaudet tertius hares*; nay, though they poſſeſſe them, yet they do not enjoy them, for nothing temporal can be enjoyed without a ſerene Mind, an unſpotted Fame, and an unſcrupulous Conſcience: all which if this gallant purchaſer enjoys, together with his Biſhops Lands, and other fine things which he hath bought, truly he is an object of moſt unſeigned Envy; where I leave him and his Vindication. This I am ſure, ſome men, Miniſters and others, are ſo ſcrupulous in ſuch a caſe, that they never think a good penny-worth can be had of Biſhops or Church-lands; nay, they would not have them gratis, to ſtuff their Feather-beds fuller, leſt they ſhould lye and ſleep leſſe at their eaſe, highly magnifying that one thing recorded as commendable among the Jews in their greateſt Hard-heartedneſſe, Madneſſe and Sedition, that during the ſiege, ſtraitneſſe and famine of Jeruſalem under Titus Veſpasian, yet they were not wanting to furniſh the Temple, Priests and Altar of God with that (*juge ſacrificium*) daily ſacrifice, Morning and Evening, which God had once required, till the great ſacrifice of Meſſias had finiſhed all by his once Oblation of himſelf; which their blindneſſe and unbelief would not underſtand. Nothing can be too much for his Service who is the Giver of all. But I return whence I was forced to digreſſe.

Joſephus de
Excid. Hiero.

Vide uſſerij
Annal. Chronol.

C H A P. XXVII.



Befides the Preservation of the *Churches* patrimony and *Ministers* maintenance, which needs more an honourable *Augmentation* than any sordid *Diminution*: there is in the second place great need (*O my worthy and honoured Countrymen*) of your redeeming this *Church*, its Reformed Religion and its worthy Ministers, from *plebeian Arrogancies* and *Mechanick Insolencies*, from *private Usurpations* and *popular Intrusions*, whereto both some Peoples Petulancies and some Preachers Pragmaticalness or Easiness are prone to betray them, to the utter dissipation and destruction of that Order, Honor, Power and Authority of Religion, which ought by wise men to be preserved as much as in them lyes.

Further commending the Unity, Honor and Support of the Religion and Ministry of this Church.

It is certain that the Ministers of the *Church of Christ*, (which are made up of *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* duely ordained and united in an orderly Subordination) are as the *Arteries* of the Body politick in any Nation, State or Kingdom which is Christian: these carry from the *Head, which is Jesus Christ*, the vital and best (that is, the *Religious*) spirits to all the parts; as good Laws do in respect of civil Justice and Commerce, like veins, convey the animal Spirits, with the blood and grosser nourishment, from the Heart or Supreme Power. Once check, abate or exhaust those *vital Conduits* of Piety and true Religion, all parts of *Church* and *State*, both noble and ignoble, will soon be enfeebled, abased, mortified; neither *Common-people*, nor *Yeomen*, nor *Gentlemen*, nor *Noblemen*, nor *Princes*, neither *Governours* nor *Governed* will ever have either that Esteem, Love and Honor for Religion which becomes it and them, nor will they receive that Vigour, Influence and Efficacy from it which is necessary for them; while in the general Levelling, Impoverishing, Shrinking and Debasing of Scholars and Clergy-men, none shall have either discreet *Tutors* for their Children, or learned *Chaplains* for their Families, or able *Preachers* for their Livings, or grave *Reprovers* for their Faults, or prudent *Confessors* for their Souls relief, or reverend *Governours* to restrain them, or spiritual *Fathers* to comfort them: for none of their petty Pastors, Preachers or Ministers, will appear to them much beyond the proportions of *Country-pedants*, not under any such character of eminent worth, either for their personal Abilities, or any such beam of publick Dignity and Conspicuity, as may either deserve or bear the love, respect and value of either *Nobility*, *Gentry* or *Communalty* in *England*, which are all high-spirited enough. Not onely the civil and visible Complexion, but the inward Genius and religious Constitution of this Nation, will extremely alter in a few years, (as it is already much abated and abased) by reducing all *Scholars* that are of the Clergy or Ministry to a kind of publick *Servility*, *Tenuity* and *Obscurity*, beyond any men of any *ingenious profession*: none of whom are so excluded,

but

but that, by their industry and Gods blessing, they may attain such eminence and encouragements, as may make them most useful both to *Church and State*, both in Policy and Piety : neither of which can thrive or flourish to any Respect, Power or Splendour of Religion in any Nation, where the Clergy are made the onely Underlings and Shrubs, condemned everlastingly to the basest kind of Villenage, which is a sneaking and flattering Dependence : which posture not onely streightens and shrinks, but aviles and embaseth the *spirits* of any men ; there being nothing left them as to publick Favour, Employment or Reward, under any notion of hope, which might *heighten* their parts, or *quicken* their spirits to any such *generous industry*, as might at least seek to merit them, though they never attained them : for still the Publick will hereby have the benefit of Ministers improved abilities, however few Ministers obtain the deserved eminency, the merit and capacity of which is many times better than the real enjoyment.

Having thus commended to you the publick interest of Church and State, as they are very much depending upon the Honor and Happines of *your Clergy*, in the last place I beseech all persons of sober sense and judgement, not to suffer themselves to be so far scandalized against the *true Reformed Religion*, or this *Church of England*, by its present distempers and sufferings, as to abate of your *former value and esteem of Her*, or of your *present pity for Her*, nor yet of your *prayers and endeavours to repair Her*. O give not such advantages to your own innate *corruptions*, or to other mens fond *Innovations*, or to the *Papists Triumphs*, or every Jesuits *Machination*, or the Devils *Temptations*, as either to discountenance, or desert, or decry, or distrust the former excellent *Constitution and Reformation* of true Religion in the *Church of England* ; in which I am fully perswaded in my conscience there was nothing wanting to the being and well-being of a *true Church and true Christians*.

The first (your own *inordinate Lusts*) will be well enough content with *no Religion*, or at least such an one as shall most find fault with the *Church of England* and all its Religion : For I have found by experience that no men have proved more *factions, affected and fanatick*, than those men and women who have been most conscious to their youthful *Enormities*. They presently apply to the gentlest Confessors and easiest Repentance ; which is rather to quarrel with and forsake the Religion they have most violated, than seriously to repent and amend : without which severities *Papists* and *Separatists* think their Converts sufficient, if they do but turn to their side and party. The second (*Novellers*) will be content with any meer fancies or factions in Religion. The third (the Jesuited *Papists*) with no pure, united and well-reformed Religion among us. And the fourth (the *Devil*) will be content with any Religion that is called Catholick, Reformed and Christian, so it be not true, or not pure, or not well-reformed, or not orderly settled and uniform, or not charitably united, or not authoritatively managed and governed : Any of which will

will in time very much unchristen any Christians, and unchurch any Church, by deforming and dividing them from the Beauty and Communion of the Church Catholick.

Take heed of betraying your selves and your posterity to *Atheisticall, licentious, immorall and irreligious courses*, by your *Apostasies* from and *despiciencies* of the Learning and Piety, Gifts and Graces, Ministry and Ministrations, Order and Government, which were happily settled in the *Church of England*. Go over all the world, search all successions of the Church from the *Apostles* to our daies, you shall not find any thing more worthy your Love and Esteem, your *Veneration* and *addiction*. Have you found any thing comparable to it in all the new vapours and flourishes of Reformations, in any new Inventions, Conventions, Associations, Separations, Distractions, Distortions, Confusions? Which may make you giddy by turning you round, but they will never make you any progresse in *Wisdome*, or *Piety*, or *Charity*.

The Church of *England* was a most rare and *Paragon Jewel*, shining with admirable lustre on all sides. First, in its *Doctrine*, or Articles of Religion, which were few, cleare and sound. Secondly, in its *Sermons* or *Homilies*, which were learnedly plain, pious and practicall. Thirdly, in its *Liturgy* or Devotions, which were easie to be understood, very apt, *pathetick* and *complete*. Fourthly, in its paucity and decency of *ceremonies*, which adorned, not incumbred Religion, or over-laid the Modesty and Majesty of a comely Reformation. Fifthly, in the Sanctity and Solemnity of its *publick duties*, which were neither excessive nor defective. Sixthly, in its *Ministry*, which had good Abilities, due Ordination and divine Authority. Seventhly, in its good *Government* and Ecclesiasticall Discipline, where good *Presbyters* and good *Bishops* had leave and courage to do their duties and discharge their *consciencies*, whose *Fatherly Inspection*, *Catholick Ordination* and *Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction*, being wisely managed by worthy men in their severall stations, did justly deserve the name of an *Hierarchy*, an holy Regiment or happy Government, when it was exercised with that Authority, yet Charity and discretion, which were ever intended by the *Church* for the common good of all those Christians that were within her *bosoms* and kept her Communion.

If others do forget *her*, through fatuity or faction, covetousnesse or ambition, pride or petulancy, as undutifull and ungratefull children, yet you may not, you will not, you cannot so far neglect your own and your posterities *happinesse*, or forfeit your own honor, or violate your consciences, as to neglect the relief and recovery of your *Spirituall Mother*: But if you of the better sort of men and Christians, from whom all good men expect all good things, should flight and neglect *Her* after the vulgar rate (which God forbid) yet must I never so far comply with you or all the world, as to call her former light darknesse, or her present darknesse light. Pretious with me must the name of the *Church of England* ever be, whose record

is in Heaven, and in all gracious hearts, who were *Born and Baptized, Instructed, Sanctified and Saved in her.*

To this Church of *England*, as I owe, (with many thousands) so I returne (with some few) the *Charity of a Christian*, as to all Christian Churches; the *duty of a Son*, as to a deserving parent; the order of a *part or member*, as united and devoted to the whole; the *obedience* of an Inferiour, as to a Superiour; the gratitude of acknowledging Her Worth and Merit, the love of *adhering* to her unity, the candor of approving and conforming to her decent ceremonies, the *modesty* of preferring her Wisdome before my own or any other mens understanding, the *Humility* of submitting to her Spirituall *Authority* and Governours, the Piety and Prudence of relieving and restoring (as much as lies in me,) Her Catholick Order, Polity, Peace and Government: all which I believe were allowed of God, and I am sure have been approved by as Learned, Wise and Holy men as the world affords.

I am deeply sensible of the many and great *obligations* which I have to this *Nationall Church*, and to its *Ministers* and *Bishops*, for my *Baptisme, Instruction, Confirmation, Communion* and *Ordination*, not onely as a *Member*, but as a *Minister*; which I account my greatest Honour, notwithstanding the great *depression* of the times in which I have late ward lived.

I am ambitious to do not onely what becomes my *private Station*, but to preserve and expresse the publick respects which are due to this Church; whose *Despisers* and *Destroyers* have never appeared to me with any *Remarques of Beauty or Honour* for *Learning or Grace*, for *Modesty or Charity*, for *Prudence or Policy*, comparable to those that were the first Founders, Reformers, Defenders and Preservers of this Church. I must ever professe that I find nothing like her Adversaries, nor any thing exceeding her *friends*, in all that was commendable in Catholick and true Antiquity.

In behalf of this Church having offered many things to the consideration of all *good Christians* which are my worthy Countrymen, I hope, as my *infirmities* may exercise their Charity, so my *integrity* may expiate my *infirmities*, if I have in any thing expressed my self lesse becoming the honest and holy designe which I undertook, and have now by Gods help finished; which was to set forth, First, the *Teares and Sighs* of the *Church of England*; Secondly, the originall of her *Disorders and Distractions*; Thirdly, the *dangers and distresses*, if not remedied; Fourthly, the probable waies of cure and recovery, by Gods blessing, to such Order, Honour, Unity, Purity and Peace as becomes so famous a Church and so renowned a Nation, whose greatest Crown was Christianity.

I know there will be many who cannot well beare that freedom of sobernesse and Truth which either my self or others may use in speaking or writing for the *Church of England*, and its pristine Honour, Order and Government, (although themselves use never so great Liberties, Reproches and Injuries, in Speaking, Writing and
Acting

Acting against them.) For my part, I appeare in this onely as wrapt my self in my *Scholastick* and *Ecclesiastick Gown*; I meddle not with any civil affaires, or *Military transactions*, properly such: Those are of an *other sphere*, and of other principles, which I neither censure, nor, it may be, understand. I quarrell with no particular mens persons; I encounter onely that colluvies of factions, parties and novel principles, which, like the sewers collected from many sinks and kennells, have met together to besmeare or over-beare the *Church of England*. I despise no mans Religion, so far as it is Religion, deserving that holy name in any Catholick and Christian sense: But I abhorre an unreasonable, immodest, unjust and licentious way in any. I esteem and embrace with all Charity whatever of Gods Spirit, of Christs Truth, of Grace and Vertue, of Gifts and Parts, of Morall Honesty and Humanity I find in any men of any side: But I am too old and serious to be abused with vaporings, with affectations, with popular pretentions, with rude and rash Reformati- ons; I am for solid, sober, orderly, humble constitutions, or restitutions rather, of Order, Honor and publick encouragement to Religion, the Church and Clergy. No man hath juttled or offended me in all these turbulent times worth owning, nor have I an evil eye or an ill will against any man: What I write as to my Ecclesiastick Calling, Honor, and the *Church of Englands* common concerns, may (possibly) have something of *salt*, but nothing of *gall*; there may be some corrosive to mortifie and meet with the diseased and proud flesh, but no venome to poyson or hurt either the diseased or the whole parts. It extremely grieves me to see how far the *contagion* of Ignorance, Impudence, Profanenesse, Irreligion, Faction, Division, Levity, Popularity, Disorder and Uncharitableness hath spread among some of my brethren of the Ministry and many of my Countrymen, without any present advance, that I can see, or future hopes, (I say not as to their own Honour or Profit, but) as to Gods glory, or the *publick interests* of the true Christian and Reformed Religion, or the good of mens soules, or the improvement of any grace and vertue. What any side offers as really good or convenient I allow; what they partially cry down, and causelessly condemn or change, that I defend upon the account of this and all Churches Wisdome, Honour and Happinesse. If what I have written may do any good to the present or after-Ages, I have my designe; if not, I shall, by Gods help, hereafter redeem this waste of time and labour, by applying to studies more suitable to my Genius, Spirit and Age, which may more improve those graces which are least in dispute among good Christians: yet in this I have not wholly lost my labour, because I have hereby further discharged my own *soul*; my *conscience* and *reputation*, from any *approbation* of what I judge to be either the *sins* or *imprudencies*, the *wickednesse* or *weaknesse* of this Age, in which I do not so much live as *dye daily*, weary that my soul finds so little hope of an happy rest or composure, unity or harmony in our Church; which I had rather see and enjoy before I dye, than to

T t t t

have

have the greatest preferment in the world. I envy no men that have wrapped up their worldly interests in their religious policies, and daily gaine by the shrines of godlinesse they have made. I do indeed boldly rise their godly principles and pretensions, as to their *novelties*; for I see no reason as yet to yield to any of them, no not for an hour, though they seem never such pillars, while they import as if the Church of England had heretofore consisted of a company of *silly people* and *silly Priests*, whose either ignorance, or superstition, or fortifinesse, or basenesse, had hidden the *beauties* and *blessings* of true Religion from all peoples eyes, so that neither *Bishops*, nor *Presbyters*, nor *Princes*, nor *Parlaments*, nor *Convocations*, ever till now saw what was fit to know and do in Church-matters, which are now to be taught and brought to light by the new methods of *Presbytery* and *Independency*, or by *Anabaptism*, *Quakerism*, and other rarities of Religion, untried and untamed *Novelties*, every way as short of the *Piety*, *Prudence*, *Unity* and *Majesty* of the Religion and Church of England heretofore, as they are wide of or beyond the true ancient bounds and Catholick grounds of *Order*, *Government*, *Unity* and due *Authority*, I may add, and of the *Blessings* or *Prosperities*, *internal* or *external*, *spiritual* and *temporal*, which attended Episcopal Order and Paternal Presidency; which I profess to value, as now it is in its *rags* and *ruines*, far beyond the others in their *silks* and *sprucenesses*.

Episcopacy is now far from being the object of any sober mens *Flattery* or *Ambition*; yet I cannot but look upon it with such an eye of *piety* and *reverence*, as primitive Christians were wont to do upon their *Bishops*, such as *Polycarpus*, *Ignatius*, *Irenaeus*, *Cyprian*, and other *Martyrs*, when they saw them *imprisoned*, *beaten*, *tormented*, *destroyed*.

I know, yet I plead for those men and for that cause, which was once *strong*, but now is *weak*, was *honourable*, and is now *despised*; was *favoured*, but is now *frowned upon* by many (yea, I fear, most) men of ordinary spirits: yet I plead for that *reverend Order*, and those *reverend persons*, who have been made a *spectacle* to *Angels* and *Men*, such as to this present hour *suffer both hunger and thirst*, are *naked* and *buffeted*, having no certain dwelling-place; which being *reviled* do *blesse*, being *persecuted* have *suffered with patience*, being *defamed* do *intreat*, and being the *Glory* of all Churches, as to *Order*, *Unity* and *Government* in all Ages, are now looked upon by many as the *filth* and *off scouring* of all things: yet am I one of those *Angels* which attend *Lazarus* on his *Dunghil*; I have chosen to follow the *clear*, though now more exhausted, *stream of Antiquity*, rather than the troubled *torrents* of any *Novelites*, which may be as *short-lived* as they have been *suddenly started*. I have looked upon all mens principles and pretensions, as to *Ecclesiastick* affairs, with what *Candor*, *Equanimity* and *Sincerity* I could. If in any thing I was inclinable to be *partial*, it was neither for *Presbytery* nor *Independency*, I confess, which I never was *teachized* in, nor *accustomed* to, nor *convinced* of, as to any such *Piety* or *Policy*, *Wisdom* or *Worth* in them, which might

might make me see cause to desire or esteem them ; but I was sway-
ed against some things, not in the *constitution* so much as some
mens *administration* of Episcopacy. I was originally principled to no
small jealousies of *Bishops actions*, when they were in their greatest
glory and power ; nor do I yet think but that some *Bishops* might
have been greater *Masters* of pious Arts than they have proved : yet I
find now that in many things people were more afraid than
hurt. For the main I conclude, no Ministers or Governours, no Su-
perintendencies or Presbyteries, in any *Reformed* way, exceeded the
Usefulness, Merit and Excellency of our English Bishops and Pres-
byters ; nor is any thing as to Church-government comparable to
a *primitive Episcopacy*, which includes the just *Rights, Liberties* or
Priviledges both of Presbyters and People. I neither dispute nor
deny any mens *Morals, Intellectuals, Devotionals* or *Spirituals*, fur-
ther than they seem much *warped* and *eclipsed* by their over-eager
Heats and injurious Prosecutions against their Antagonists the *Epis-
copal Clergy* and *Church of England* : but I absolutely blame those
Ministers want of *politicks* and *prudentials*, who by their *Antiepiscopal*
transports have so far diminished not onely themselves and their
Order as Ministers, but the whole state of this Church, as to its *Har-
mony* and *Honour*, its *Peace* and *Plenty*, its *Unity* and *Authority*.

In whose behalf since all wise and worthy men are highly con-
cerned, I cannot conclude with words of greater warmth and weight,
than those of the blessed *Apostle St. Paul*, who was not more sollici-
tous to plant Churches in *truth* and *purity*, than to settle and preserve
them in *Order* and *Unity* : If there be therefore any consolation in
Christ, if any comfort of *Love*, if any fellowship of the *Spirit*, if any bow-
els of *Mercy* ; Let us all fulfill the *Apostles* joy, this Churches joy, the *An-
gels* joy, yea *Christs* joy ; in being like-minded and of one accord ; in ha-
ving the same *Love* ; in doing nothing through strife or vain-glory, but
in lowliness and meekness, looking every man not onely to his own things
but also to the things of others ; that the same mind may be in us which was
also in our Lord *Jesus Christ*. That in the expectation and experience
of holy, wise and united hearts and hands on all sides, the Church of
England (from whose head the Crown is fallen, from whose eyes Ri-
vers of teares do flow, while she lies weeping under the *Crosse*)
may take up the words of *Zion* in the *Prophet*,

Ph 1.2.12

Therefore will I look to the Lord, I will wait for the God of my salva-
tion: my God will hear me.

Micah 7

7.

Rejoyce not against me O mine Enemy : when I fall, I shall rise ; when
I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me.

8.

I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against
him, untill he plead my cause, and execute judgement for me : he will
bring forth my light, and I shall behold his righteousness.

9.

To the King Immortal, the onely wise and blessed God,
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be all Glory for ever, Amen.

In Oratione Constantini Magni ad Concilium Nicenum.

Ἐμοίγε πάντες πολέμῳ καὶ μάχῃ δυνήϊ χαλεπότερον ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
ὅς δι' ἐμφύλιον τριβασαί εἰσι, καὶ μᾶλλον τὰυτὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν λυπηρὰ κατα-
φαίνεσθαι.

*Mihi quidem omni bello pugnare gravior atque acerbior videtur
intestina in Dei Ecclesiâ seditio, qua plus doloris quam externa
omnia mala secum affert.*

THE END.

*The Names of Books written by Dr. Gauden, and printed for Andrew
Crook, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard.*

HIERASPISTES.

1. A Defence of the Ministry and Ministers of the Church of Eng-
land, in Quarto.

2. The Case of the Ministers maintenance by Tithes, in Quarto.

3. The Sermons preached on publick occasions, in Quarto.

4. Funeralls made Cordialls, in a Sermon prepared and in part
Preached at the solema interment of the Right Honorable Robert
Rich, heire apparent to the Earldom of Warwick, in Quarto new.

A CATALOGUE OF THE NAMES
Of all the ARCH-BISHOPS and BISHOPS
of *England* and *Wales*, ever since the first planting
of Christian Religion in this Nation, unto these later
Times: With the year of our Lord in which the several
Bishops of each Diocese were Consecrated.

CANTERBURY,

Arch-Bishops.

	A. D.
A UGUSTINE the Monk.	596
2 Laurence.	611
3 Melirus.	619
4 Justus.	624
5 Honorius.	634
6 Adeodatus or Deus de- dit.	655
<i>The Sea vacant 4. yeares.</i>	

7 Theodor.	668
8 Brithwald.	692
9 Tatwin.	731
10 Nothelm.	736
11 Guthbert.	742
12 Bregwin.	759
13 Lambert.	764
14 Athelward.	793
15 Wulfred.	807
16 Theogild.	832
17 Celnoth.	
18 Atheldred.	871
19 Plegmund.	889
20 Athelm.	915
21 Wulfelm.	924
22 St. Odo Severus.	934
23 St. Dunstan.	961
24 Ethelgar.	988
25 Siricius.	989
26 Alfric or Aluric.	993

	A. D.
27 St. Elphage.	1006
28 Living or Leoving.	1013
29 Agelnoth, <i>alias</i> Æ- thelnot.	1020
30 St. Eadlin.	1038
31 Robert Gemeticensis.	1050
32 Stigand.	1052
33 St. Lanfranck.	1070
<i>The Sea vacant 4. yeares.</i>	

34 St. Anselm.	1093
35 Rodolph.	1114
36 William Corbell, <i>al.</i> Corbois.	1122
37 Theobald.	1138
38 St. Tho. Becker.	1162
39 Richard the Monke.	1171
40 Baldwin.	1184
41 Reginald Firz-Joce- lin.	1191
42 Hubert Walter.	1193
33 Steph. Langton Card.	1206
44 Ri: Wethershed.	1229
45 St. Edmond.	1234
46 Boniface of Savoy.	1244
47 Robert Kilwarby Ca.	1272

	A. D.
48 John Peckham.	1278
49 Ro: Winchelsey.	1294
50 Walt. Reynolds.	1313
51 Simon Mephram.	1327
52 John Stratford.	1333
53 Th: Bradwardin.	1348
54 Simon Illip.	1349
55 Si: Langham C.	1366
56 Will: Wittlesey.	1367
57 Simon Sudbury.	1379
58 Will: Courtney.	1381
59 Tho. Arundell.	1396
60 Hen: Chicheley Car.	1414
61 Jo: Stafford Car.	1443
62 Joh: Kemp Car.	1452
63 Tho: Bourcheir.	1454
64 John Moorton Card.	1486
65 Henry Deane.	1502
66 Will: Warham.	1504
67 Tho: Cranmer.	1533
68 Reginald Poole Car.	1555
69 Matth: Parker.	1559
70 Edm: Gryndall.	1575
71 John Whitgift.	1583
72 Rich: Bancroft.	1604
73 George Abbor.	1610
74 William Laud.	1633
<i>Beheaded on Tower-hill, Jan. 10. 1644.</i>	

St.

S. ASAPH.		A. D.			A. D.			A. D.
1	Kentigern.	560	35	Richard Parry.	1604	35	Thomas Skevington.	
2	Saint Asaph, and after him many hundred yeares		36	John Hammer.	1622			1505
3	Geffrey of Monmouth.	1151	37	John Owen.	1629	36	John Capon <i>alias</i> Salcot.	1534
4	Adam a Welshman.		BANGOR.			37	John Bird Bishop of Offory.	1539
5	Reiner.	1186	1	St. Daniell.	516	38	Arthur Bulkley.	1541
6	Abraham.	1220		<i>many hundred yeares after.</i>		39	William Glyn.	1555
7	Howel ap Edneuet.	1235	2	Hervæus.	1109	40	Rowl: Merrick.	1559
8	Anianus I.	1248	3	David.	1120	41	Nic: Robinson.	1566
	<i>The See vacant 2 yeares.</i>		4	Maurice.	1139	42	Hugh Bellor.	1585
9	Anianus II. of Schonaw.	1268	5	William.		43	Rich: Vaughan.	1595
10	Lewellin of Bromfeild.	1293	6	Guye.		44	Hen: Rowlands.	1598
11	David ap Blethin.	1319	7	Alban.	1195	45	Lewis Baylye.	1616
12	Ephraim.		8	Rob: de Salopia.	1197	46	David Dolbyn.	1631
13	Henry.		9	Caducan I.	1215	47	Edm: Griffith.	1633
14	John Trevaux I.		10	Howell I.	1236	48	Will: Roberts.	1637
15	Lewellin ap Madoc ap Elis.	1357	11	Richard.	1250	BATH & WELLS.		
16	Will. of Spridlington.	1373	12	Anianus.	1267	<i>The Bishops of this Diocese were first Bishops of Wells, and afterward of Bath and Wells, as followeth.</i>		
17	Laurence Child.	1382	13	Caducan II.	1306	<i>Bishops of Wells.</i>		
18	Alexander Bach.	1390	14	Griffith.	1306	1	Adelm.	905
19	John Trevaux II.	1395	15	Lewis.	1320	2	Wulfelm I.	
20	Robert.	1411	16	Matthew.	1334	3	Elphege or Alphege.	
21	John Low.	1493	17	Thom. of Ringstead.	1358	4	Wulfelm II.	
22	Regin. Peacock.	1444	18	Gerv. de Castro.	1367	5	Brithelm.	955
23	Thomas.	1450	19	Howell II.	1370	6	Kineward or Kinewald.	973
24	Rich: Redman.	1484	20	John Gilbert.	1374	7	Sigar.	985
25	Dav: ap Owen.	1503	21	John Bishop of Clone in Ireland.	1376	8	Alwyn or Ealfwyn.	995
26	Edm: Birkhead.	1513	22	John Swaffam.		9	Burwold.	
27	Henry Standish.	1519	23	Rich: Young.	1400	10	Leoning.	1002
28	Will: Barlow.	1535	24	Lewis II.		11	Ethelwin.	
29	Robert Parfew <i>alias</i> Warton.	1536	25	Benedict Nicols.	1408	12	Brithwin.	
30	Thio: Goldwell.	1555	26	Will: Barrow.	1418	13	Merewith.	
31	Richard Davies.	1559	27	Nich: or John Canon of Chichester.		14	Dudoco <i>alias</i> Bodeta.	1031
32	Thom: Davies.	1561	28	Thomas Cheriton.	1436	15	Gifo.	1059
33	Will: Hughes.	1573	29	John Stanbery.	1448	<i>Bishops</i>		
34	Will: Morgan.	1601	30	James Bishop of Achaden in Ireland.				
			31	Thom: Ednam.	1464			
			32	Henry Deane.	1496			
			33	Thomas Pigot.	1500			
			34	John Penny.	1504			

	A. D.
<i>Bishops of Bath and Wells.</i>	
1 John de Villula.	1088
2 Godfrey.	1123
3 Robert of Lewes.	1136
4 Reg. Fitz-Jocelin.	1174
5 Sauric.	1192
6 Jocelin of Wells.	1205
7 Roger.	1224
8 William Bitton, <i>alias</i> Button I.	1247
9 Walter Giffard.	1264
10 William Bitton, <i>alias</i> Button II.	1267
11 Robert Burnell.	1274
12 William de Marchia.	1292
13 Walt: Heselshaw.	1302
14 Jo: Drokensford.	1310
15 Ralph of Shrewsbury.	1329
16 John Barnet.	1336
17 John Harewell.	1366
18 Walter Skirlaw.	1386
19 Ralph Erghum.	1388
20 Henry Bower.	1401
21 Nic: Bubwith.	1408
22 John Stafford.	1425
23 Tho: Bekinton.	1443
24 Rob: Stillington.	1465
25 Richard Fox.	1491
26 Oliver King.	1495
27 Adr: de Castello.	1505
28 Tho: Wolsey.	1518
29 John Clerk.	1523
30 Will: Knight.	1541
31 Will: Barlow.	1549
32 Gilbert Bourn.	1554
33 Gilbert Barkley.	1559
34 Tho: Godwin.	1584
35 John Still.	1592
36 Jam: Mountagu.	1608
37 Arthur Lake.	1616
38 William Laud.	1626
39 Leonard Mawe.	1628
40 Walter Curle.	1629
41 William Peirs.	1632

BRISTOL.

*One of the 6. new Bishop-
ricks erected by K. Hen. 8.*

	A. D.
1 Paul Bush.	1542
2 John Holyman.	1554
3 Richard Cheney.	1562
4 John Bullingham.	1580
5 Richard Fletcher.	1589
6 John Thornborough.	1603
7 Nicholas Felton.	1617
8 John Scarchfield.	1619
9 Robert Wright.	1622
10 George Cook.	1632
11 Rob: Skynner.	1636

CHICHESTER.

*The Bishops of this Dio-
cese were first Bishops of
Selfey, and then of Chi-
chester, as followeth.*

Bishops of Selfey.

	A. D.
1 Wilfrid.	711
2 Eadbert.	711
3 Eolla.	
4 Sigelm, Sigfrid or Sig- ga.	733
5 Alubrieth.	
6 Osa, <i>alias</i> Bosa.	790
7 Giselfhor.	
8 Tota.	
9 Wighthun.	
10 Ethelulph.	
11 Beornege.	906
12 Coenred.	
13 Gothard.	960
14 Alfred.	970
15 Eadelm.	970
16 Ethelgar.	980
17 Ordbright.	988
18 Elmor.	1019

	A. D.
19 Ethelrick or Agilred.	1019
20 Grinketell.	1039
21 Heca.	1047
22 Agelrike.	1057

Bishops of Chichester.

	A. D.
1 Stigand.	1070
2 William.	
3 Ralph.	
4 Seffrid I.	1125
5 Halary.	
6 Jo: of Greenford.	1174
7 Seffrid II.	1187
8 Simon of Wells.	1199
9 Nic: of Aquila.	1209
10 Richard Poor.	1215
11 Ralph of Warham.	1217
12 Ralph de Nevil.	1223
13 Richard de la Wiche.	1245
14 John Clipping.	1253
15 Stephen de Berksted.	1261
16 Gilbert de S. Leofan- do.	1288
17 John de Langton.	
18 Robert Stratford.	
19 William de Lenne, <i>a- lias</i> Lulimore.	1362
20 William Read.	1369
21 Tho: Rushock.	1385
22 Richard Miford.	
23 Robert Welby.	1395
24 Robert Read.	1396
25 Stephen Patrington.	1417
26 Henry Ware.	1418
27 John Kemp.	1421
28 Tho: Poldon.	1423
29 Jo: Rickingale.	1428
30 Sim: Sidenham.	1430
31 Richard Praty.	
32 Adam Molyns.	1445
33 Regin: Peacock.	1450
34 John	

	A. D.		A. D.		A. D.
34 John Arundell.	1458	13 Berthum.		10 Leofwin.	1054
35 Edward Story.	1477	14 Sigbert <i>alias</i> Higbert		11 Peter removed the	
36 Ric: Fitz-James.	1504	I.	785	See to Chester.	1067
37 Rob: Sherborn.	1508	15 Aldulph was Arch-		<i>Bishops of Coventry and</i>	
38 Rich: Sampson.	1536	bishop of Litchfield.		Litchfield.	
39 George Day.	1543		793	1 Robert de Limesey.	
40 John Scory.	1551	16 Humbert I.		removed the See to Co-	
41 John Christopheron.	1557	17 Herewin.		ventry.	
42 Will: Barlow.	1559	18 Higbert II.			1088
43 Rich: Curteis.	1570	19 Ethelwold.		2 Robert Peche <i>alias</i>	
44 Thom: Bickley.	1585	20 Humbert II.	857	Peccam.	1117
45 Antho: Watson.	1596	21 Kinebert <i>alias</i> Ken-		3 Roger de Clinton.	1119
46 Lancelot Andrews.	1605	ferth.	864	4 Walter Durdent.	1149
47 Samuel Harsnet.	1609	22 S. Cumbert or Cym-		5 Richard Peche.	1161
48 Georg: arleton.	1619	bert.	872	6 Gerard Puella <i>alias</i> la	
49 Ric: Mountagu.	1628	23 Tunbright <i>ali.</i> Bum-		Pucelle.	1182
50 Brian Duppa.	1638	frith.	928	7 Hugh de Novant <i>alias</i>	
51 Henry King.	1641	Florent. Wigorn. <i>hath this</i>		Nunant.	1186
		<i>order of succession from</i>		8 Geffrey de Muschamp.	
		Berthun to Tunbright, as			1191
		<i>followeth.</i>		9 Walter de Gray.	1210
COVENTRY and		1 Berthun.		10 William de Cornhull.	
LITCHFIELD.		2 Higbert.	785		1215
<i>The Bishops of this Dio-</i>		3 Aldulf.	793	11 Alexan. de Savensby	
<i>cese were first Bishops of</i>		4 Herewin.		<i>alias</i> Wendock.	1220
<i>Litchfield, and then of Co-</i>		5 Ethelwald.		12 Hugh Patehull.	1240
<i>ventry and Litchfield.</i>		6 Humberht.	857	13 Roger de Welfham.	
<i>Bishops of Litchfield.</i>		7 Cineforth.	864		1245
		8 Tunbright.	928	14 Roger de Longespe	
				<i>alias</i> de Molend.	1257
1 Dwyna.	656	Bishop Godwin <i>followes</i>		15 Walter de Langton.	
2 Cellach.		<i>the order set down by Mat-</i>			1295
3 Trumhere.		thew Westminster <i>from</i>		16 Roger Northborough	
4 Jarumannus.		Tunbright, <i>thus,</i>		<i>alias</i> Northbrook.	1322
5 St. Chad or Cedda.	669	1 Ella.	928	17 Rob: Stretton.	1360
6 Winifrid.	672	2 Alfgar.	928	18 Walter Skirlaw.	1385
7 S. Sexulf or Saxulf.	672	3 Kinsy.		19 Rich Scroope.	1396
8 Headda <i>alias</i> Eathed.	692	4 Winsy.		20 John Burghill.	1399
9 Aldwyn <i>alias</i> Wor.	721	5 Elphege <i>alias</i> Eal-		21 John Keterich.	1415
10 Wirt.	733	phege.		22 James Cary.	1419
11 Hemel.		6 Godwin.		23 Wil: Heyworth.	1420
12 Cuthfrid.	764	7 Leofgar.		24 William Booth.	1447
		8 Brithman.		25 Nicholas Clofe.	1452
		9 Wulfius.	1039	26 Roger Butler.	1453
				27 Jo: Halse <i>alias</i> Haies.	
					1459
				28 Wil-	

	A. D.
28 William Smith.	1492
29 John Arundell.	1496
30 Geoffrey Blyth.	1503
31 Roland Lee.	1524
32 Rich: Sampson.	1543
33 Ralph Bayn.	1555
34 Thom: Bentham.	1559
35 Will: Overton.	1578
36 George Abbot.	1609
37 Rich: Neile.	1610
38 John Overall.	1614
39 Thom Morton.	1618
40 Robert Wright.	1632
41 Accepted Frewen.	1644

S. DAVIDS.

Dubritius Arch-bishop
of Carleon in Wales re-
signed his Arch-bishoprick
to S. David, who removed
his see to S. Davids A. D.
519. who was the first
Arch-bishop of S. David,
the rest follow.

Archbishops of S. Davids
according to Giraldus
Cambrensis.

1 S. David.	519
2 Conauc.	
3 Eliud or Teilon.	
4 Ceneu.	
5 Morwall.	
6 Haerunen or Haermurier.	
7 Elwaed.	
8 Gurnuen.	
9 Lendivord.	
10 Gorwyft.	
11 Gorgan.	
12 Eluoed.	
13 Anian.	
14 Eluoed.	
15 Ethelmon.	

	A. D.
16 Elanc.	
17 Molscoed.	
18 Sadermen.	
19 Catellus.	
20 Sulhaithnay.	
21 Nonis.	
22 Etwall.	
23 Affer.	
24 Arthuael.	

Another Catalogue of the
Archbishops of S. Davids,
different from Gyraldus,
taken out of an Antiquity
belonging to the Church of
S. David.

1 S. David.	519
2 Eliud.	
3 Thelias.	
4 Kenea.	
5 Moruael.	
6 Haermurier.	
7 Eluaeth.	
8 Gurnell.	
9 Lendymyth.	
10 Gorwist.	
11 Gorgan.	
12 Cledanc.	
13 Eynaen.	
14 Eludgeth.	
15 Eldunen.	
16 Elnaoth.	
17 Maelschwynth.	
18 Madenew.	
19 Catalus.	
20 Sylvay.	
21 Namys.	
22 Sathuency.	
23 Doyth wall.	
24 Affer.	
25 Athuael.	906
26 Sampson.	

Bishops of S. Davids u-
sing Archiepiscopall power.
U u u u

	A. D.
1 Ruclinus.	
2 Elgum.	
3 Lunuere ali. Lyward.	
4 Norgu alias Vergu.	
5 Sulhider alias Hubert.	
6 Eneuris alias Eueras.	
7 Morgena.	
8 Roderic.	
9 Nathan.	961
10 Jevan.	
11 Argustel.	
12 Morgenueth ali. Ur- geney.	
13 Eruen alias Hurnun.	998
14 Tramorin alias Car- merin.	1038
15 Joseph.	1055
16 Blethied.	
17 Sulheim.	1070
18 Abraham.	1076
19 Rythmarch.	
20 Wilfrid alias Griffri.	
21 Bernard.	1115

Bishops of S. Davids af-
ter Bernard, Suffragans to
the see of Canterbury.

1 David Fit. Gerald.	1148
2 Petrus or Piers.	1176
3 Geffrey.	
4 Sylvester Gyraldus or Gyrald. Cambrensis.	1198
5 Jorworth or Edward.	1215
6 Alfelmus.	1228
7 Tho. Wallensis.	1247
8 Thomas Carren.	1255
9 Thomas Beck.	1280
10 David de S. Edmun- do.	1293
11 David Martin.	1320
12 Henry Gower.	1328
13 John Thorisby.	1347
14 Reginald Brian.	1349
15 Tho.	

A. D.		A. D.		A. D.	
15	Thomas Fastolf. 1353	2	Nigellus. 1133	<i>two Bishopricks, viz. Cornwall and Devon, and afterwards united into one, viz. Exeter.</i>	
16	Adam Houghton. 1361	3	Galfridus Rydall. 1174		
17	John Gilbert. 1369	4	William Longechamp. 1189	<i>Bishops of Cornwall.</i>	
<i>The See void 4. yeares.</i>		5	Eustachius. 1198		
18	Guy de Mona <i>alias</i> Mohun. 1401	6	Jo: de Fontibus. 1219	1	Athelstan I. 905
19	Hen. Chicheley. 1409	7	Galfr: de Burgo. 1225	2	Conan.
20	John Keterich or Cataricus. 1414	8	Hugh Norwold. 1229	3	Ruydocus.
21	Stephen Patrington. 1415	9	Wil: of Kilkenny. 1255	4	Aldred.
22	Benet Nicolls. 1417	10	Hugh Balsam. 1257	5	Britwyn.
23	Thomas Rodburn. 1424	11	John de Kirkby. 1286	6	Athelstan II.
24	Will: Lynwood. 1435	12	Will: de Luda. 1290	7	VVolfi.
25	John Langton. 1446	13	Ralph Walpool. 1299	8	Woronus.
26	John Delabere. 1447	14	Robert Orford. 1302	9	Wolocus.
27	Robert Tully.	15	John de Keeton. 1310	10	Stidio.
28	Richard Martin. 1482	16	John Horham. 1316	11	Adelred.
29	Thom: Langton. 1483	17	Sim: Mountacut. 1336	12	Burwald.
30	Hugh Pavy. 1485	18	Thomas Lyde. 1344	<i>Bishops of Devon.</i>	
31	John Morgan <i>alias</i> Yong. 1503	19	Sim: Langham. 1361		
32	Rob: Sherborn. 1504	20	John Barnet. 1366	1	Werstan or Edulph. 905
33	Edw: Vaughan. 1509	21	Tho: Arundell. 1375	2	Putta. 906
34	Rich: Rawlyns. 1523	22	John Fordham. 1388	3	Eadulph II. 910
35	Will: Barlow. 1536	23	Philip Morgan. 1425	4	Ethelgarus. 932
36	Robert Ferrar. 1549	24	Lewis Luthbrough. 1435	5	Algar. 942
37	Henry Morgan. 1554	25	Tho: Bouchier. 1443	6	Alfwold. 952
38	Thomas Young. 1559	26	William Gray. 1454	7	Alwolf I. 972
39	Richard Davies. 1561	27	John Moorton. 1478	8	Sideman. 981
40	Marmaduke Middleton. 1567	28	John Alcock. 1486	9	Alfred <i>ab.</i> Alfric. 990
<i>The See vacant 4. yeares.</i>		29	Rich: Redman. 1501	10	Alwolf II or Alfwold. 999
41	Anthony Rudd. 1594	30	James Stanley. 1506	11	Eadnothus. 1014
42	Rich: Milborn. 1615	31	Nich: West. 1515	12	Livingus. 1032
43	William Laud. 1621	32	Tho: Goodrich. 1534	<i>This Livingus after the Death of Burwald Bishop of Cornwall, united the two Bishopricks of Cornwall and Devon into one Bishoprick, removed by his successor to Exeter.</i>	
44	Theophi: Field. 1627	33	Tho: Thirlby. 1554		
45	Roger Manwaring. 1635	34	Richard Cox. 1559	<i>Bishops of Exeter.</i>	
<i>The See vacant 20 yeares.</i>		35	Martin Heton. 1599		
		36	Lancelot Andrewes. 1609	1	Leofric removed the See to Exeter. 1049
		37	Nich: Felton. 1618	2	Osbert or Osbern. 1079
		38	Jo: Buckeridg. 1628	3 VVil-	
		39	Franc: White. 1631		
		40	Matthew Wren. 1638		

E L Y E.

1 Heryaus Bishop of Bangor. 1109

EXETER.

This Diocese was at first in

A. D.		A. D.		A. D.	
3	Will: VVarewast. 1107	GLOUCESTER.		25	Ethelstan. 1053
4	Rob: Chichester. 1122	<i>One of the 6. new Bishop-</i>		26	Leovegard. 1055
5	Rob: VVarwast <i>alias</i>	<i>ricks erected by K. Hen.8.</i>		<i>The See vacant 4. yeares.</i>	
	VVarwast. 1150	1	Jo: VVakeman. 1541	27	Walter. 1060
6	Barth: Ifanus. 1159	2	John Hooper. 1550	28	Rob: Lozinga. 1079
7	Jo: the Chaunter. 1186	3	James Brookes. 1555	29	Gerard.
8	Henry Marshall. 1191	<i>The See vacant 3 years.</i>		30	Raynelm. 1107
9	Simon de Apulia. 1206	4	Rich: Cheney. 1562	31	Geffr: de Cliva. 1115
10	VVill: Brewer. 1224	<i>The See void three years.</i>		32	Richard Clerk of the
11	Rich: Blondy. 1245	5	Jo: Bullingham. 1581	Seal. 1120	
12	VValt: Bronefcomb. 1257	6	Godf: Goldsborough. 1598	33	Rob: de Betune. 1131
13	Peter Quivill. 1280	7	Thomas Ravis. 1604	34	Gilb: de Foliot. 1149
14	Thomas Button. 1293	8	Henry Parry. 1607	35	Rob: de Melun. 1162
15	VVal: Stapleton. 1307	9	Giles Tompson. 1611	36	Robert Foliot. 1174
16	James Barkley. 1326	10	Miles Smith. 1612	37	Will: le Vere. 1186
17	Jo: Grandison. 1327	11	Godfrey Goodman. 1624	38	Giles de Bruse. 1200
18	Thom: Brentingham. 1370			39	Hugh de Mapenore. 1216
19	Edm: Stafford. 1395	HEREFORD.		40	Hugh Foliot. 1219
20	John Ketterich. 1419	1	Putra. 680	41	Ralph de Maidston. 1234
21	John Cary. 1419	2	Tirtell.	42	Peter de Egueblank. 1239
22	Edmond Lacy. 1420	3	Torteras.	43	John Breton the fa-
23	George Nevill. 1455	4	VValstold <i>alias</i> VVal-	mous Lawyer. 1260	
24	John Booth. 1466	stod.		44	Tho: Cantilupe. 1275
25	Peter Courtney. 1477	5	Cuthbert. 740	45	Richard de Swinfeild. 1282
26	Richard Fox. 1486	6	Podda.	46	Adam de Orleton. 1317
27	Oliver King. 1492	7	Eccla.	47	Tho: Charlton. 1327
28	Robert Redman. 1495	8	Cedda.	48	John Trilloek. 1344
29	Jo: Arundell. 1501	9	Albert. 857	49	Lewis Charlton. 1361
30	Hugh Oldham. 1504	10	Efna.	50	Will: Courtney. 1369
31	John Voisei <i>alias</i> Har-	11	Celmund. 885	51	John Gilbert. 1376
man. 1519		12	Utellus.	52	John Trenevant <i>al.</i>
32	Miles Coverdale. 1551	13	Wlfhard.	Trefnant. 1389	
33	James Turbervil. 1556	14	Benna.	53	Robert Mascall. 1405
34	VVilliam Alley. 1560	15	Edulf.	54	Edmond Lacy. 1417
35	VVil: Bradbridg. 1570	16	Cuthwulf.	55	Thomas Polton. 1420
36	John VVoolton. 1579	17	Mucel.	56	Tho: Stofford. 1422
37	Gervase Babington. 1594	18	Doorlas.	57	Richard Beauchamp. 1448
38	VVill: Cotton. 1598	19	Cunemund.	58	Regin: Butler. 1450
39	Valemine Cary. 1621	20	Edgar.	59	John Stanbery. 1453
40	Joseph Hall. 1627	21	Tidhemi.	60	Tho: Myllyng. 1474
41	Ralph Brownrigge. 1641	22	VVulfhelm.	61	Edm: Audley. 1492
		23	Alfrike.	62	Adrian
		24	Athulf.		

A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
62 Adrian de Castello. 1502	22 Cimeliauc.	61 George de Athequa & Spaniard. 1516
63 Richard Mayo. 1504	23 Libian.	62 Robert Holgate. 1537
64 Charles Booth. 1516	24 Marchluith.	63 Anthony Kitchin <i>ali.</i> Dunstan. 1545
65 Edward Fox. 1535	25 Pater.	<i>The See void 3. yeares.</i>
66 Edm. Bonner. 1538	26 Gucanor <i>alias</i> Gogwan. 982	64 Hugh Jones. 1566
67 John Skyppe. 1539	27 Bledri. 993	65 VVill. Blethin. 1575
68 John Harley. 1553	28 Joseph. 1022	66 Gervase Babington. 1591
69 Robert Parfew <i>alias</i> Warton. 1554	29 Herewald. 1056	67 Will. Morgan. 1595
70 John Scory. 1559	30 Urban. 1107	68 Franc. Godwyn. 1601
71 Herbert Westfaling. 1585	<i>The See vacant 6. yeares.</i>	69 Geo. Carleton. 1618
72 Robert Bennet. 1602	31 Uthrid. 1139	70 Theoph. Field. 1619
73 Franc. Godwin. 1617	32 Geffrey. 1148	71 VVill. Murray. 1627
74 Augustin Lyndiell. 1633	33 Nic:ap Gurgant. 1153	72 Morgan Owen. 1639
75 Matth. Wren. 1634	34 William de Salfo Marisco. 1183	
76 Theoph. Field. 1635	35 Henry.	
77 George Cook. 1636	36 William. 1219	

LANDAFF.

- 1 Dubritius.
- 2 St. Telian *alias* Eliud. 522
- 3 St. Oudoceus.
- 4 Ubilwynus.
- 5 Aidanus.
- 6 Elgistill.
- 7 Lunapeius.
- 8 Comegern.
- 9 Argwistill.
- 10 Gurvan.
- 11 Guodloiu.
- 12 Edilbinus.
- 13 Grecielus.
- 14 Berthygwn.
- 15 Trychan.
- 16 Elvogus.
- 17 Catgwaret.
- 18 Cerenhir.
- 19 Nobis.
- 20 Gulfridus.
- 21 Nudd.

- 37 Elias de Radnor. 1229
- 38 Will:de Burgo. 1244
- 39 Jo:de la Ware. 1253
- 40 Will:de Radnor. 1256
- 41 Will:de Brews. 1265
- The See vacant 9 yeares.*
- 42 John de Monmouth. 1296
- 43 Jo:de Eglefcliff. 1323
- 44 John Pascall. 1347
- 45 Rog: Cradock. 1362
- 46 Tho: Rushook. 1383
- 47 William de Bottletham. 1385
- 48 Edmond de Bromfield. 1389
- 49 Tydeman. 1391
- 50 Andrew Barret. 1395
- 51 John Burghill.
- 52 Tho: Peverell. 1399
- 53 John la Zouch. 1408
- 54 John Wells. 1423
- 55 Nich. Ashby. 1441
- 56 John Hunden. 1458
- 57 John Smith.
- 58 John Marshall. 1478
- 59 John Ingleby.
- 60 Miles Saley. 1504

LINCOLN.

This Diocese at first contained two Bishopricks, Dorchester and Sidnacester, which were afterwards united into one Bishoprick of Lincoln.

Dorchester Bishops.

This Dorchester is about 7. miles from Oxford, out of which was taken the Bishoprick of VVinchester, by Kenwalchus King of the West Saxons.

- 1 Birinus. 635
- 2 Agilbertus. 650
- The See vacant a long time.*
- 3 Tota.
- 4 Edbert. 764
- 5 VVerenbert.
- 6 Unwora. 768
- 7 Rethunus. 816
- 8 Aldred. 851
- 9 Ceolred. 873
- 10 Halard.

11 Ceolulph

[illegible]

A. D.		A. D.		A. D.	
3	Cadar.	23	Theodred the Good.	56	Ralph Stratford.
4	Obinus.		898	57	Michael Northbrook.
5	Conan.	24	VVulfstan I.		1355
6	Palladius.	25	Brichelmus.	58	Simon Sudbury <i>alias</i>
7	Stephen.	26	Dunstan.		1361
8	Itur.	27	Alfstān.	59	VVil: Courtney.
9	Theodwyn <i>al. Dedwyn.</i>	28	VVulfstan II.		1375
10	Theodred.	29	Alhun.	60	Rob: Braybrook.
11	Hilary.	30	Alwy.		1381
12	Restitutus.	31	Elfward <i>alias</i> Alword.	61	Rog: VValden.
13	Guithelnus.	32	Robert.		1404
14	Fastidius.	33	VVilliam <i>the Norman.</i>	62	Nic: Bubwith.
15	Vodinus.		1050		1406
16	Theonus.	34	Hugh de Orival.	63	Rich: Clifford.
	366		1070		1407
		35	Mauritius.	64	John Kempe.
			1087		1421
		36	Richard Beaumes <i>ali-</i>	65	VVilliam Gray.
			<i>as</i> Rufus I.		1426
		37	Gilbert Univerfalis.	66	Robert Fitz- Hugh.
			1128		1431
			<i>The See void 7 yeares.</i>	67	Robert Gilbert.
		38	Rob: de Sigillo.		1435
			1140	68	Thomas Kemp.
		39	Richard Beaumes <i>ali-</i>		1449
			<i>as</i> Beauvys II.		John Marshall <i>mistaken</i>
		40	Gilbert Foliot.		<i>for Landaff.</i>
			1161	69	Richard Hill.
		41	Rich: Nigellus.		1489
			1189	70	Thom: Savage.
		42	VVilliam de Sancta		1497
			Maria.	71	Will: Warham.
			1199		1500
		43	Eustachius de Fau-	72	Will: Barnes.
			conbridg.		1505
			1222	73	Richard Fitz- James.
		44	Roger Niger.		1506
			1229	74	Cuth: Tonstall.
		45	Fulk Bassett.		1522
			1244	75	Jo: Stokefley.
		46	Henry de VVingham.		1530
			1259	76	Edm: Bonner.
		47	Richard Talbot.		1540
			1261	77	Nich: Ridley.
		48	Henry de Sandwich.		1549
			1263	78	Edm: Gryndall.
		49	Jo: de Chifal.		1559
			1247	79	Edwyn Sands.
		50	Richard de Gravef-		1570
			end.	80	John Elmer.
			1280		1576
		51	Ralph de Baldock.	81	Rich: Fletcher.
			1305		1594
		52	Gilb: Segrave.	82	Rich: Bancroft.
			1313		1597
		53	Rich: Newport.	83	Rich: Vaughan.
			1317		1604
		54	Step: Gravefend.	84	Thomas Ravis.
			1318		1607
		55	Richard Bentworth	85	Georg Abbot.
			<i>al. VVentworth.</i>		1609
			1338	86	John King.
					1611
				87	Geo: Mountain.
					1621
				88	William Laud.
					1628
				89	William Juxon.
					1633

*After the Archbishops
succeeded the Bishops of
London following.*

Bishops of London.

1	Melitus, placed by Au-	
	gustin the Monk.	608
2	Ceadda.	654
3	VVina.	666
4	Erkenwald.	675
5	VValdher.	
6	Ingwald.	
7	Egwolf.	
8	VVighed.	
9	Eadbright.	
10	Eadgar.	
11	Kenwalch.	
12	Eadbald.	
13	Hecbert or Heathu-	
	bert.	
14	Osmund <i>alias</i> Ofwyn.	
		801
15	Ethelnot.	833
16	Ceolbert.	
17	Renulph <i>al. Ceorulf.</i>	
18	Swithulf.	
19	Eadstan.	851
20	VVulfius.	860
21	Ethelward.	
22	Elstan.	

NORWICH.

*This Diocese originally
was the Bishoprick of the
East.*

A. D.

East-Angles, which was afterwards divided into two Bishopricks, Elmham and Dunwich: this of Dunwich being extinct, that of Elmham in Norfolk continued till Herfastus removed his See to Thetford, and Herbert Lofinga afterwards removed his See from Thetford to Norwich, where it hath since continued.

Bishops of East-Angles.

- 1 S. Fælix a Burgundian. 630
 - 2 Tho: Diaconus. 647
 - 3 Bregilfus Bonifacius. 652
 - 4 Bifus. 665
- This Bifus divided the Bishoprick of East-Angles into Elmham and Dunwich.

Bishops of Elmham after the division.

- 1 Bedwin.
- 2 Northbertus.
- 3 Heaulacus.
- 4 Edilfridus.
- 5 Lanferthus.
- 6 Athelwolpus.
- 7 Alcarus.
- 8 Sibba.
- 9 Alherdus.
- 10 Humbertus al. Humbiretus.

Bishops of Dunwich after the division.

- 1 Acca.
- 2 Astwolpus.
- 3 Eadforth.

A. D.

- 4 Cuthwin.
- 5 Aldberth.
- 6 Eglaf alias Algar.
- 7 Heardred alias Har-
dulf. 747
- 8 Aelphunus.
- 9 Tidferth alias Todfrid.
- 10 Weremund.
- 11 Wilred.

These two Bishopricks by reason of the Danish wars lay vacant 100. yeares: afterwards An. 955. Aethulfas was ordained Bishop of the East-Angles by Edwyn King of the West Saxons, who kept his See at Elmham, Dunwich being quite extinct, as above.

Bishops of both Sees after the vacancy of 100. yeares abovesaid.

- 1 Athu: al. Astulfus. 955
- 2 Alfredus.
- 3 Theodredus al. Theodoricus.
- 4 Theodred.
- 5 Athelstan.
- 6 Algar.
- 7 Alwin.
- 8 Alfricus.
- 9 Alifreius alias Alfricus. 1038
- 10 Stigand.
- 11 Grinkerell. 1044
- 12 Egelmar alias Ethelmar. 1047

All these till the time of William the Conqueror had their Sees at Elmham.

After Bishop Egelmar King William the Con-

A. D.

querer caused Arfastus or Herfastus his Chaplain to succeed Egelmar, who removed the See from Elmham to Thetford, where it continued three successions.

Bishops of Thetford.

- 1 Herfastus or Arfastus.
- 2 Gul. Galsagus.
- 3 Herebertus Lofinga al. Gul. Herbertus. 1088

This Lofinga translated the See from Thetford to Norwich, where it hath since continued.

Bishops of Norwich since the removall of the See from Thetford.

- 1 Herebertus Lofinga al. Gul. Herbertus. 1088
- 2 Everardus. 1120
- 3 William Turbus a Norman. 1151
- 4 Jo: of Oxford. 1177
- 5 John Gray. 1200
- The See void 7. yeares.
- 6 Pandulfus the Popes Legate. 1222
- 7 Thomas de Blundevile. 1226
- 8 Radulphus. 1236
- The See void 3. yeares.
- 9 Will: de Raleigh. 1239
- 10 Walt: de Suseild. 1244
- 11 Sim: de Wanton. 1253
- 12 Roger de Skerwyng. 1268
- 13 Wil: Middleton. 1278
- 14 Ralph Walpool. 1288
- 15 John Salmon. 1299
- Robert Baldock, elected, but refused it.
- 16 Will: Ayermin. 1325
- 17 Antho-

A. D.		A. D.		A. D.	
17	Antho: de Beck. 1337	4	John Bridges, after the <i>See vacant 11. yeares.</i>	15	Beornmod <i>alsi</i> Beorn- red. 800
18	William Bateman.		1603	16	Tadnoth.
19	Thomas Percy. 1354	5	John Howson. 1619	17	Bedenoth.
20	Hen: Spencer. 1370	6	Rich: Corbet. 1628	18	Godwin.
21	Alexander Prior of <i>Norwich.</i> 1408	7	John Bancroft. 1632	19	Guthewulf.
22	Ric: Courtney. 1413	8	Robert Skynner. 1641	20	Swithulf.
23	Jo. Wakering. 1416	PETERBOROUGH.		21	Buiricus.
24	Will: Alnwick. 1426			22	Cheolmund.
25	Tho: Brown. 1436	<i>This was another of the 6. new Bishopricks erected by K. Hen. 8.</i>		23	Chineferth.
26	Walter Hart. 1445			24	Burrhicus.
27	Ja: Goldwell. 1472	<i>Bishops of Peterborough.</i>		25	Alfanus.
28	Thomas Jan. 1499			26	Godwin II. 984
29	Richard Nyx. 1500			27	Godwin III.
30	William Rugg <i>alias</i> Reps. 1536			28	Siward. 1058
31	Tho: Thirlby. 1550			29	Arnostus. 1075
32	John Hopton. 1554			30	Gundulph. 1077
33	Jo: Parkhurst. 1560			31	Ralph. 1108
34	Edm: Freake. 1575			32	St. Earnulphus. 1115
35	Edm: Scambler. 1584			33	John Archd: of Cant. 1125
36	Will: Redman. 1594			34	Ascelinus. 1137
37	John Jegon. 1602			35	Walterus. 1147
38	John Overall. 1618			36	Gualeranus. 1183
39	Sam: Harsnet. 1619			37	Gilbert de Glanville. 1185
40	Franc: White. 1628			38	Benedictus. 1214
41	Rich: Corbet. 1632			39	Hen: de Sanford. 1227
42	Mat: Wrenn. 1635			40	Rich: de Wendover. 1238
43	Rich: Mountague. 1638			41	Laurence de S. Mar- tino. 1251
44	Joseph Hall. 1641			42	Walter de Merton, founder of Merton Col- ledge. 1274
OXFORD.		ROCHESTER.		43	Jo: de Bradfield. 1278
<i>This was one of the 6. Bi- shopricks newly erected by K. Hen. 8.</i>		1 Justus. 606		44	Tho: Inglethorp. 1283
<i>Bishops of Oxford.</i>		2 Romanus. 622		45	Thomas de Wuld- ham. 1291
1 Robert King last Ab- bot of Oseney. 1541		3 Paulinus. 631		46	Haymo de Heath. 1319
2 Hugh Curwyn, the <i>See</i> having been vacant ten yeares. 1567		4 Ithamar. 644		47	Jo: de Shepey. 1352
3 John Underhill, after the <i>See vacant</i> 20. yeares. 1589		5 Damianus. 656		48	Wil: Wittlesey. 1361
		6 Putta. 669		49	Thomas Trillick <i>alias</i> Trilley. 1363
		7 Quichelmus or Guliel- mus. 676		50	Tho: Brinton. 1372
		8 Gebmundus, Godmun- dus, or Godwynd. 681		51	William de Bortle- ham
		9 Tobias. 693			
		10 Adulfus. 717			
		11 Dun or Duina. 741			
		12 Eardulfus. 747			
		13 Diota.			
		14 Weremund			

A. D.

A. D.

A. D.

Sham al. Bolkham. 1389

52 John Bolkham *alias* Bottleham. 1400

53 Rich: Young. 1404

54 John Kemp. 1419

55 John Langdon. 1422

56 Thomas Brown. 1434

57 Will: de Welles. 1436

58 John Lowe. 1443

59 Tho: Rotheram. 1467

60 John Alcock. 1471

61 John Russell. 1476

62 Edm. Audley. 1480

63 Thomas Savage. 1492

64 Richard Fitz-James 1496

65 John Fisher. 1504

66 John Hilsey. 1536

67 Nich: Heath. 1539

68 Henry Holbech. 1544

69 Nich: Ridley. 1547

70 John Poyner. 1550

71 John Scory. 1551

72 Maurice Griffin. 1554

73 Edm. Guest. 1559

74 Edm. Freak. 1571

75 John Peirs. 1576

76 John Yong. 1578

77 Will: Barlow. 1605

78 Richard Neile. 1608

79 Jo: Buckeridg. 1611

80 Walter Curle. 1627

81 John Bowle. 1630

82 John Warner. 1637

Bishops of Sherborn.

1 Aldhelmus *made the first Bishop of Sherborn by Ina King of the West Saxons.* 705

2 Fordhere. 709

3 Hereward. 730

4 Ethelwold.

5 Denefrith.

6 Wilbert.

7 Eahlstan. 817

8 Eadmund. 868

9 Ethelrage. 872

10 Alfif.

11 Asfer Menevensis.

12 Swichelm or Swi- gelm. 883

13 Ethelwald or Ethel- ward.

The See void 7. yeares.

A. D. 905. Three Bisho-

pricks were taken out of the

Diocese of Sherborn by

Plegmond Archbishop of

Canterbury, one for Corn-

wall, another for Devon,

of which see tis. Exeter,

the third at Wells for

Somerset-shire of which

see Bath and Wells, and a

fourth afterward at Wilton

for Wilt-shire, of which

see afterward. Now to pro-

ceed with Sherborn Bi-

shops. next after Ethel-

wald.

14 VVerstan. 905

15 Ethelbald. 918

16 Sigelm H. 934

17 Alfredus. 940

18 VVulfstinus. 958

19 Alfwold. 978

20 Ethelricus. 978

X x x x

21 Ethelsius.

22 Brithwin al. Brithric.

23 Elmor. 1009

24 Brynwyn *alias* Bryth-

win.

25 Elfwold.

After the death of Elf-

wold, Herman the last Bi-

shop of VVilton was Bishop

also of Sherborn, and joy-

ned both Bishopricks again

into one, and then remo-

ved the See to Salisbu-

ry.

Bishops of VVilton.

Whose Sees were some-

time at VVilton, sometime

at Ramesbury & otherwhile

at Sunning, and thereupon

sometime named Bishops of

those places.

1 Ethelstan at Ramsbury

905

2 Odo, there also.

3 Osulphus at VVilton.

934

4 Alfstanus. 976

5 Alfgarus or VVolfga-

rus. 981

6 Siricius.

7 Alfricus or Aluticus.

989

8 Brithwoldus. 998

9 Hermannus Chaplain

to King Edward the

Confessor, whom Camb-

den calls Bishop of Sun-

ning from his Episcopall

See there: he being after

the death of Elfwold

Bishop of Sherborn joy-

ned that and VVilton

into one, and then remo-

ved

SALISBURY.

This Diocese was former-
ly in two Bishopricks, Sher-
born and Wilton: out of
Sherborn Wilton was ta-
ken: which were afterwards
united together into Salis-
bury by Bishop Herman
A. D. 1045.

SALISBURY.

This Diocese was former- ly in two Bishopricks, Sherborn and Wilton: out of Sherborn Wilton was ta- ken: which were afterwards united together into Salis- bury by Bishop Herman A. D. 1045.

and his See to Salisbury, since which time they have been called Bishops of Salisbury.

Bishops of Salisbury after the remouall of the Sees thither by Bishop Herman as above.

1 Herman the last Bishop of Sherborn and Wilton, and first bearing the Title of Bishop of Salisbury.

1045

2 St. Osmond.

1107

3 Roger.

1139

4 Jocelin.

The See vacant 4. yeares.

5 Hubert Walter.

1189

6 Herebert or Robert

Pauper.

1193

7 Richard Poor.

1217

8 Rob: Bingham.

1229

9 Will: of York.

1247

10 Giles of Bridport.

1256

11 Walter de la Wile.

1263

12 Robert de Wikham-

pton.

1274

13 Walt: Scammell.

1284

14 Henry de Braundston.

1286

15 Laur: de Hawkburn.

1287

16 Will: de Comer.

1288

17 Nich: de Longespe.

1291

18 Simon de Gandavo.

1298

19 Roger de Mortivall.

1315

20 Robert Vivill.

1329

21 Ralph Erghum.

1375

22 John Waltham.

1388

23 Rich: Metford.

1395

A. D.

24 Nicholas Bubwith.

1407

25 Robert Halam.

1408

26 Jo: Chaundler.

1417

27 Robert Nevill.

1427

28 William Aiscolt.

1438

Hacliff.

29 Ric: Beauchamp.

1450

30 Lion: Woodvill.

1482

31 Tho: Langton.

1485

32 John Blyth.

1493

33 Henry Deane.

1500

34 Edm: Awdley.

1502

35 Laurence Campegius

Card.

1524

36 Nicholas Shaxton.

1535

37 John Salcot alias Ca-

pon.

1539

38 John Jewell.

1559

39 Edm: Gheast.

1571

40 John Peirs.

1578

The See void 3. yeares.

41 Rich: Coldwell.

1591

The See void 2. yeares.

42 Henry Cotton.

1598

43 Robert Abbot.

1615

44 Mart: Fotherby.

1618

45 Rob: Tomson.

1620

46 John Davenant.

1621

47 Brian Duppa.

1641

WESTMINSTER.

There was an Episcopall See erected at Westmin-ster by King Hen. 8. one of the 6. new Bishopricks by him ordained upon the suppression of Religious Houses, whereof Thomas Thirlby was the first and last Bishop, Consecrated An. 1641. He being thence removed to Nor-wich, the Diocese belong-ing to this new Bishoprick

A. D.

(which was Middlesex) was restored to London, and the Bishoprick of Westminster ceased.

WINCHESTER.

This Bishoprick was first taken out of the Diocese of Dorchester by Kenwalchus King of the West Saxons, and conferred on VVina the first Bishop thereof A.D. 650. Of the Bishops of Dorchester see Lincoln.

Bishops of VVinchester or VVinton.

1 VVina or VVini. 650

2 Eleutherius.

3 S. Headda. 673

4 Daniel. 704

In this last Bishop Daniels daies Ina King of the VVest Saxons divided his Province into two Dio-ceses: in the one he placed Adefmus at Sherborn, whereof see in Salisbury; in the other this Daniel at VVinchester, whose succes-sors follow.

5 Humfrey. 744

6 Kinchard. 756

7 Athelard or Hathe-

lard.

8 Egbard.

9 Dudda.

10 Kenebert.

11 Alhmundus.

12 VVightheinus.

13 Herefridus.

14 Edmund

A. D.		A. D.		A. D.	
12 Edmand.	834	mar.	1249	69 Richard Neile.	1627
13 Helmstan.		<i>The See void 4. yeares</i>		70 VValter Curle.	1832
16 S. Swithun.	837	42 John Gernsey <i>alias</i>			
17 Adferth or Athelred.	863	John of Oxford.	1265		
18 Dunbert.	871	43 Nic:de Ely.	1268		
19 Denewulfus a Hog-		44 John de Pontiffara <i>al.</i>			
heard under King Alfred.	879	Pontois.	1280		
20 S. Athelmus <i>alias</i>		45 Henry Woodlock	1304		
Bertulphus.	888	46 John Sandall <i>alias</i>			
21 Bertulph.	897	Kendall.	1316		
22 Fristan consecrated by		47 Reginald de Affer			
Archbishop Plegmond		the Popes Legate.	1320		
<i>An.</i>	905	48 John Stratford.	1323		
23 Brinftan.	931	49 Adam d'Orlton <i>alias</i>			
24 Elpheg: Calvus.	946	Tarlton.	1333		
25 Elffinus or Alffins.		50 Will: de Edington <i>al.</i>			
26 Brithelmus.	958	Edendon.	1345		
27 S. Ethelwold.	963	51 Will: de Wickham			
28 S. Elphege.	984	founder of new Colledg in			
29 Kenulph.	1006	Oxford.	1365		
30 S. Brithwold.	1008	52 Henry Beaufort Car.			
31 Elffinus <i>alias</i> Ealffinus.		Son of John of Gaunt.			
	1015		1405		
32 Alwinus, accused to be		53 VVilliam VVaynflet			
naught with Emma, Wife		founded Magd. Colledg			
to King Edward Confes-		Oxford.	1447		
for, but acquitted.	1038	54 Peter Courtney.	1486		
33 Stigand afterwards		55 Tho: Langton.	1493		
Archbishop of Canterbu-		56 Richard Fox.	1502		
ry <i>An.</i>	1047	57 Tho: VVolfsey Card.			
34 VValkelin.	1070		1530		
<i>The See void 10 yeares.</i>		58 Stephen Gardiner.			
35 VVill: Giffard.	1107		1534		
36 Henry de Bloys or		59 John Poynett.	1550		
Blesensis Card.	1129	60 John VVhite.	1556		
<i>The See void three yeares.</i>		61 Robert Horn.	1560		
37 Richard Toclive <i>alias</i>		62 John VVarfon.	1580		
More.	1174	63 Tho: Cooper.	1584		
38 Godf:de Lucy.	1189	64 VVilliam VVickham.			
39 Peter de Rupibus <i>al.</i>			1595		
de la Roche.	1204	65 VVilliam Day.	1595		
40 VVill: de Raley <i>alias</i>		66 Thomas Bilson.	1597		
Radley.	1243	67 Ja: Mountagu.	1617		
41 Ethelmar <i>alias</i> Adel-		68 Lancelot Andrews.	1618		

X x x x 2

VVORCESTER:

Ethelred King of Mercia
*An. 679. divided his
Country which had but one
Diocese into five Bisho-
pricks, whereof this of
VVorcester was one, and
consecrated Boselus the
first Bishop thereof by Theo-
dore Archbishop of Cant.*

1 Boselus.	679
2 Ostforus.	
3 S. Egwin.	693
4 VVilfrid.	714
5 Milred.	717
6 VVeremund, others say Denebertus.	
7 Tilherus.	778
8 Enthored.	781
9 Devebertus.	799
10 Eadbert or Hubert:	822
11 Alwin.	844
12 VVerebert, VVere- frid or Herefrid.	872
13 VVilferth I.	911
14 Ethelhun.	915
15 VVilferth II.	922
16 Kinewold.	929
17 S. Dunstan.	957
18 S. Oswald.	959
19 Adulfus.	971
20 VVulfstan.	
21 Leoffius.	
22 Briteagus.	1033
23 Livingus.	1038

*This Livingus was Bishop
of Devon and Cornwall,
which he united together
and*

A. D.		A. D.		A. D.	
and held it with his Bishopric of VVorcester.		57 Henry VVakefield.	1375	Bisepal Sees, London, and Car-leon in Wales, by Lucius the first Christian King of the Britans An. Ghrasti 180. The first Archbishop seated here by King Lucius was Sampson, and Tadiatus the last in the Britans time. The Names of the other Archbishops of the Britans (by the injurie of the times) are lost: Therefore we must be content to begin with Paulinus sent hither by Pope Gregory the Great to convert the Saxons.	
24 Aldred.	1049	58 Tidecomb de VVincomb 46 Rob. Tideman.	1395	Archbishops of Yorke.	
25 S. VValstan, built the Cathedrall of VVorcester.	1060	VVill: Badbury about this time, as Bale writes.	1380	1 S. Paulinus.	612
26 Sampson.	1097	59 Rich: Clifford.	1401	The See void 20. yeares.	
27 Theolphus.	1115	60 Tho: Peverell.	1407	2 Cedda.	666
28 Simon.	1125	61 Philip Morgan.	1419	3 Wilfrid I.	
29 Ahred.		62 Tho: Polton.	1426	4 Bosa.	
30 John Pagham.		63 Tho: Bouchier.	1435	5 St. John of Beverley.	687
31 Roger.		64 John Carpenter.	1443	6 S. VVilfrid II.	718
32 Baldwin.	1281	65 John Alcock.	1476	7 S. Egbert.	731
33 VVilliam of Northale.	1189	66 Robert Morton.	1487	8 Adelbert.	767
34 Robert.	1191	67 John Gigles.	1497	9 Eanbald I.	781
35 Henry.		68 Silvester Gigles.	1499	10 Eanbald II.	797
36 John de Constantius.	1196	69 Jul: de Medice, after Pope Clem. 7.	1521	11 VVulfius.	
37 Mauger.	1200	70 Hieronade Nugurius.	1522	12 VVimund.	832
38 Walter Grey.	1212	71 Hugh Latymer.	1533	13 Wilfer.	854
39 Silvester.	1216	72 John Bell.	1539	14 Ethelbald.	897
40 Will: de Blois.	1218	73 Nich: Heath.	1543	15 Redward alias Lode-ward.	
41 Walter de Cantilupe.	1237	74 Jo: Hooper: in Com-mendam.		16 VVulfstan I.	
42 Nic: de Ely.	1268	75 Richard Pates.	1554	17 Oskitell.	955
43 Walter Gifford.	1269	76 Edwyn Sands.	1559	18 Athelwold.	972
44 William of Gainf-borough.	1302	77 Nic: Bullingham.	1570	19 St. Oswald founded Ramsey Abby.	972
45 Walt: Reynold.	1308	78 Jo: VVhigist.	1577	20 Aldulf.	999
46 Walter Maydeston.	1313	79 Edm: Freake.	1584	21 Wulfstan II.	1003
47 Tho: Cobham.	1317	80 Rich: Fletcher.	1593	22 Alfricus Puttoc.	1013
48 Adam de Orton.	1327	81 Thomas Bilson.	1596	23 Kinfius.	1050
49 Simon de Mountacut.	1333	82 Gervase Babington.	1547	24 Aldred	
50 Tho: Hennyball.	1337	83 Henry Parry.	1610		
51 Wulfstan de Brantford.	1342	84 John Thornborough.	1617		
52 John Thursby.	1349	85 John Prideaux.	1641		
53 Reginald Brian.	1352	*****			
54 John Barner.	1362	DIOCESE of YORK.			
55 VVilliam VVittlesey.	1363	York is the ancientest Metropolitane See of Engl. first erected with two other Archie-			
56 VVil: de Lynne.	1368				

	A. D.
74 Aldred.	1061
75 Thomas I.	1070
76 Gerard.	1101
77 Thomas II.	1109
78 Thurstan.	1119
79 Henry Murdac.	1141
80 St. VVilliam.	1153
81 Roger.	1154
<i>The See void ten years.</i>	
82 Geoffrey Plantagenet	
<i>brother to King Rich: I.</i>	
<i>and King John.</i>	
<i>The See void 4 years.</i>	
83 VValter Grey Lord	
<i>Chancellor. He bought</i>	
<i>VWhite-Hill and called</i>	
<i>it York-place, which K.</i>	
<i>Hen. 8. got from Card.</i>	
VVolsey.	1217
84 St. Sewall.	1256
85 Godfrey de Kinton.	1258
86 VValt: Giffard.	1265
87 VVilliam VVickwane.	1279
88 John Roman.	1285
89 Henry Newark.	1288
90 Thomas de Corbridg.	1299
91 VVilliam de Green-	
<i>field.</i>	
92 VVilliam de Melton.	1317
93 VVill: Zouch.	1342
94 John Thursby.	1352
95 Alexand: Nevill.	1373
96 Tho: Arundell.	1388
97 Robert VValby.	1396
98 Richard Scroop, be-	
<i>headed.</i>	
99 Henry Bowet.	1406
100 John Kemp.	1425
101 William Booth.	1453
102 George Nevill.	1466
103 Laurence Booth.	1477
104 Thomas Rotherham al.	
<i>Scot.</i>	
	1480

	A. D.
55 Thom: Savage.	1501
56 Christopher	
<i>bridg. Card.</i>	
57 Thomas Wolsey Ca.	1515
58 Edward Lee.	1531
59 Rob Holgate.	1544
60 Nich: Heath.	1553
61 Thom: Young.	1560
62 Edm: Gryndall.	1570
63 Edwyn Sands.	1576
64 John Piers.	1588
65 Mar: Hutton.	1594
66 Toby Matthew.	1606
67 George Mountaine.	1627
68 Samuel Harner.	1628
69 Richard Neile.	1631
70 Jo: Williams Lord	
<i>Keeper.</i>	
	1641

*There was an Episcopall
See in Northumberland
in the Saxons time, de-
stroyed afterwards by the
Danes, named Hexam,
Higulstad and Hextold,
which was afterwards uni-
ted to York, the Names of
ten Bishops thereof fol-
low.*

X. Bishops of Hexam.

1 St. Eata the fifth Bishop	
<i>of Lindesfarn.</i>	
	655
2 St. John of Beverley.	685
3 St. Acca.	709
4 Frithebert.	734
5 Alhmund.	769
6 Tilhere.	781
7 Ethelbert.	789
8 Heandred.	797
9 Eanbert.	800
10 Tidferth the last Bi-	

shop of Hexam.

CARLILE.

*Carlile at the first was
part of the Diocese of
Whithorn or Candida
Casa in Galloway in
Scotland, then belonging
to the Kingdom of the
Saxon Northumbers. But
after the Scots had regain-
ed Galloway with the Bi-
shops See, Carlile A. D.
679. was bestowed by the
King of Northumberland
upon S. Cuthbert Bishop
of Lindisfarn or Holy
Island, and so it continued
till An. 1133. at what
time a Bishops See was
there first erected.*

Bishops of Carlile.

1 Athelwolf, Adelwald	
<i>or Athelward.</i>	
	1133
2 Bernard died	1186
<i>The See void 32. years.</i>	
3 Hugh.	1218
4 Walter Man.	1223
5 Silvester de Everden.	1247
6 Thomas Vipont.	1255
7 Robert Chanse.	1258
8 Ralph de Ireton.	1280
9 John de Halton.	1288
10 John de Rosse.	1318
11 John de Kirkby.	1332
12 Gilbert de Welton.	1353
13 Tho: de Appleby.	1363
14 Robert Reade.	1396
15 Thom: Merkes.	1397
16 William Strickland.	1400
17 Roger	

	A. D.
17 Rog: Whelpdale.	1419
18 Will: Barrow.	1423
19 Marmaduke Lumley.	1430
20 Nicholas Close.	1450
21 William Percy.	1452
22 John Kingscot.	1462
23 Richard Scroop.	1464
24 Edward Storey.	1468
25 Richard Dunelmensis or of Durham.	1478
26 William Sever.	1496
27 Roger Leibourn.	1503
28 John Penny.	1504
29 John Kite.	1520
30 Rob: Aldrich.	1537
31 Owen Oglethorp.	1556
32 John Best.	1561
33 Richard Barnes.	1570
34 John Mey.	1577
35 Hen: Robinson.	1598
36 Rob: Snowdon.	1616
37 Rich: Milborn.	1620
38 Rich: Senhouse.	1624
39 Francis White.	1628
40 Barnaby Potter.	1629

CHESTER.

This is one of the 6. Bishopricks erected by K. Hen. 8. upon the Dissolution of Religious Houses.

1 John Bird.	1541
2 John Cotes.	1556
3 Cuthbert Scot.	1556
4 Will: Downham.	1561
5 Wil: Chadderton.	1579
6 Hugh Billetr.	1595
7 Rich: Vaughan.	1597
8 George Lloyd.	1604
9 Thomas Morton.	1616
10 John Bridgman.	1618

DURHAM.

This Bishoprick of Durham was erected there by Aldwin Bishop of Lindisfarn or Holy Island A. D. 990. That ancient Bishoprick being destroyed by the Danes about An. Christi 800. and till that year 990. wandring up and down unsettled; which Bishop of Lindisfarn was first erected by Oswald King of Northumberland, A. Christi 637

Bishops of Lindisfarn or Holy Island.

1 St. Aidanus.	637
2 St. Finan.	651
3 Colmannus.	661
4 Tuda.	664
5 St. Eata.	665
6 St. Cuthbertus.	684
7 St. Eadbertus.	687
8 Egbertus I.	698
9 Ethelwold.	721
10 Kenulph.	738
11 Higbald.	781
12 Egbert II.	802
13 Egfrid.	819
14 Eanbert.	845
15 Eardulf.	854
16 Cuthard.	
17 Tilred.	915
18 Witherd.	927
19 Uhtred.	944
20 Sexhelm.	
21 Aldred dyed	968
22 Alfius.	968
23 Aldwin.	990

This Aldwin first settled the See at Durham, where it hath ever since continued.

Bishops of Durham after Aldwin last Bishop of Lindisfarn.

1 Eadmund.	1020
2 Eadred.	1048
3 Egelricus.	1049
4 Egelwinus.	
5 Walcher Earl of Northumberland.	1071
6 William de Carlefe alias Cairliph.	1080
<i>The See void 4. yeares.</i>	
7 Randall Flambard.	1099
8 Geoffrey Rufus.	1128
9 William de S. Barbara.	1143
10 Hugh Pudsey Earl of Northumberland.	1154
11 Philip de Pictavia.	1197
12 Rich: de Marisco.	1217
13 Rich: the Poor.	1228
14 Nic: de Fernham.	1241
15 Walter de Kirkham.	1250
16 Rob: Stichell.	1260
17 Rot: de Insula.	1274
18 Anthony Beck Patriarch of Jerusalem.	1283
19 Richard Kellow.	1311
20 Ludovicus Beaumont.	1317
21 Rich: de Bury.	1333
22 Tho: Hatfeld.	1345
23 John Fordham.	1381
24 Walter Skirlaw.	1388
25 Tho: Langley Card.	1406
26 Robert Nevill.	1438
27 Laurence Booth.	1457
28 Willi: Dudley.	1476
29 John Sherwood.	1483
30 Richard Fox.	1494
31 VVill: Sevier.	1502
32 Chri-	

	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
32 Christopher bridg.	1507	ed by Pope Gregory 4. The Bishops See is in Ruffin or Castle-Town, and the Bishops are termed in La- tine Episcopi Sodorenses. The VVestern Islands (now belonging to Scotland) who have now a Bishop of their own, did anciently belong to this Bishoprick. The new Bishop (upon a vacancy) is nominated by the Lords of the Isle (who have been the Stanleys Earles of Darby) and presented to the King, and then consecrated by the Archbishop of York. And this seemeth to be the cause why the Bishop of Man is no Lord of the Parliament, be- cause it is not at the Kings disposing, none having Suf- frage in Parliament but	those who hold immediate- ly from the King. The Names of the Bishops of this See are not exactly known, having (as yet) no meanes to procure a Cata- logue thereof: such as are extant are these.
33 Tho: Ruthall.	1508		
34 Tho: Wolfey.	1523		
35 Cutbert Tunstall.	1530		
36 Ja: Pilkington.	1560		
37 Rich: Barnes.	1577		
38 Matth: Hutton.	1587		
39 Toby Matthew.	1594		
40 Will: James.	1606		
41 Richard Neile.	1617		
42 George Mountain.	1628		
43 John Howson.	1628		
44 Tho: Moorton.	1632		
Of the Bishops of the ISLE of MAN.			
This Bishoprick of the Isle of Man was first erect-			
		1 Machilla.	518
		2 Michael.	
		3 Nicholas.	1203
		4 Reginald.	1217
		5 Richard.	1257
		6 Robert Walby.	1396
		7 Henry.	1556
		8 John Merick.	
		9 George LLOYD.	1604
		10 Forster.	
		11 Richard Parry.	1641

In the Catalogue of the Bishops of Bristol, p. 695. adde

- 12 Tho: Westfield. 1642.
13 Tho: Howel. 1644.

ADDENDA.

In the Marginall Notes.

Page 321. *Propter Ecclesie bona ubique bellatur; Romanenses, ut retineant, Reformati, ut obtineant.* Grotius Pacific.

Page 326. Sir H. Spelman values the L. Cromwel's estate in K. Hen. 8s: dayes worth 20000l. sterling. MS. of Satrikidge.

Page 329. *Piaculum olim, nunc lusus Principum & profanorum sacra profanare; & adhuc quatimus cur bellis tam atrocibus vastamur Christiani?* Grot. Pacific.

Page 337. *Procopius in vita Justiniani* tells of the vessels of the Jews Temple, which at last were sent by that Emperour to the Church at Jerusalem.

ERRATA.

Page 16 l. 4. read, growing up. p. 92. l. 13. r. signancy. p. 132. l. 39. r. Protestant. p. 244. in the title, for descending r. deserving. p. 282. l. 29. for sand r. saw. p. 326. l. 20. r. 20000. p. 418. l. 39. r. abated. p. 419. l. 4. dele next. p. 449: l. 17. r. evident by. l. 27. r. un subordinate. p. 643. l. 25. for them read those. p. 682. l. 16. for part, r. park. p. 684. l. 14. for as him, r. in him.

In the Catalogue of Books written by the Author, p. 692. adde, *A Treatise of Christian Marriages to be solemnly blessed by Ministers*, in Quarto.

THE END.

...W... ..

Year	Name	Notes
1804	George Lloyd	10
1805	Richard Parny	11
1806	John Henry	12
1807	Robert Walby	13
1808	Richard	14
1809	Reginald	15
1810	Nicholas	16
1811	Michael	17
1812	Macmillan	18

1841	Richard Barry.
1842	Forster/
1843	George Lloyd.
1844	John Menick.
1845	Henry,
1846	Robert Walby.
1847	Richard.
1848	E. Reginald.
1849	Nicholas.
1850	Michael.
1851	Macchill.

In the Catalogue of the Bishops of Britain, p. 697, adds

1001 - Menck W. 1897
1002 - Menck H. 1897

ADVICE

APPENDIX

[illegible]

THE END

